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G. G. 54. Art. 882

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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
*J A M A I C A.*  
O R,  
GENERAL SURVEY OF THE ANTIENT  
AND MODERN STATE  
O F  
T H A T I S L A N D:  
W I T H

Reflections on its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, Climate,  
Products, Commerce, Laws, and Government.

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I N T H R E E V O L U M E S.

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ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER PLATES.



V O L. I.

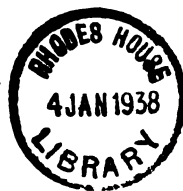
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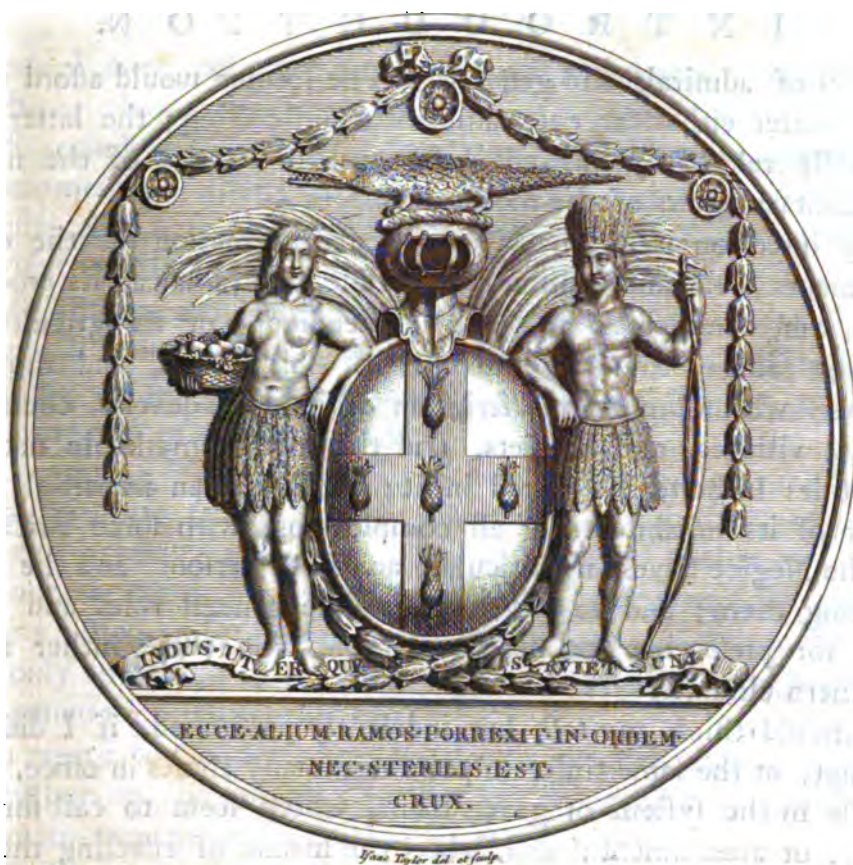
— mea fuit semper hæc in re voluntas et sententia, quemvis ut hoc vellem de iis, qui  
essent idonei suscipere, quàm me;—me, ut mallem, quàm neminem.

Cic. Orat. in Cæcilium.

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L O N D O N:  
PRINTED FOR T. LOWNDES, IN FLEET-STREET.  
MDCCLXXIV.





## INTRODUCTION.

**S**EVERAL histories have been published of this island; yet none, that I have met with, affords much more than a general outline, very unsatisfactory to those who intend to settle in it.

Having spent some years of my life there, I thought I could not devote my leisure to better purpose, than endeavouring to give an idea of its products, and importance to Great-Britain, beyond what may be conceived from a perusal of those publications.

In regard to the plan of this work, it may be proper to advertise the reader, that I have avoided entering into detail of the characters and speeches of our governors; or reciting the various

VOL. I.

B

exploits



exploits of admirals and generals. The former would afford very little matter either for entertainment or instruction; the latter are copiously related by different historians, in treating of the naval and military affairs of the mother state.

My intention is, to give a competent information of the establishments civil and military, and state, of Jamaica, its productions, and commerce; to speak compendiously of its agriculture; to give some account of the climate, soil, rivers, and mineral waters; with a summary description of its dependencies, counties, towns, villages, and hamlets, and the most remarkable natural curiosities hitherto discovered in it; to display an impartial character of its inhabitants of all complexions, with some strictures on the Negroe slaves in particular, and freed persons, and the laws affecting them; and to recommend some general rules and cautions for preserving the health of those who come hither from Northern climates.

I should think my task but indolently performed, if I did not attempt, at the same time, to point out many abuses in office, and defects in the system of government, which seem to call for remedy, or amendment; and, where the means of effecting the remedy have occurred to me, I have presumed to offer my sentiments with freedom and impartiality.

The subjects, which I wished to handle with most accuracy, are those which have relation to our commerce. Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain such ample information as I wanted. But, where a full information has been wanting, I have substituted the result of my own judgement, founded on the best lights in my power to procure.

I confess, that, in order to illustrate some particulars, as well as to render this tract more satisfactory, I have had recourse to a variety of authors: so that, in many respects, it will have the appearance of a compilation.

The period of its history, from the invasion under Penn and Venables, to the first establishment of civil government, has been very superficially touched in other publications relative to this island. A narrative, therefore, of that memorable expedition, with the state of affairs whilst the army remained embodied in the island,

island, I have collected from the best authorities I could meet with.

In regard to my remarks upon mal-administration, whether of government or office; as I utterly disavow any thing personal, so I desire they may be construed to stigmatize measures, not men; or, if the latter, those only who have been criminal.

My readers must be sensible of the many disadvantages under which a writer labours, who, in treating of recent facts, or speaking of his co-temporaries, is equally in danger, either of flattering, or of giving offence.

The spring of men's actions, as well as the true colour of their characters, are seldom clearly discernible whilst they are living. On this account, a writer is liable to be misled, either by popular rumour, or his own imperfect judgement; for, where the grounds of any action are unknown to the multitude, a common spectator can only endeavour to fix them as near to probability as his reason and penetration will enable him.

In regard to Colony administration in general, there is scarcely an author on the subject, who has not produced instances of consummate tyranny and injustice, practised in these remote parts of the British empire. The subjects here may be compared to the helpless offspring of a planter, sent to the distance of many thousand miles from his parent, exposed to the imperious domination of strangers, and exiled beyond the reach of fatherly protection.

It is not an easy matter to discredit what so many evidences have concurred in asserting: but it is very natural to suppose, that the lust of unlimited power, inherent to mankind, will always ravage most licentiously in those sequestered places, where the hand which should restrain its career is too distant, and the reins are too much slackened by their immoderate length. Men, entrusted with public offices so far from the Mother-state, require a chain, instead of a thread, to hold them within bounds. It was for this reason, that the Romans, the most generous of all conquerors, instituted a means for punishing extortion committed by their prætors, or other officers, in their several provinces. The impeaching before the senate, and bringing to justice, such offenders, was thought highly honourable; and was anxiously coveted,

and undertaken, by advocates most distinguished in the city for their virtues, rank, and ability.—We have seen (unhappily) the reverse of this in our system; and tyranny has not only been defended, but even caressed and rewarded, in proportion as it has been uncommonly daring and enormous.

The tyrant had only to call the struggles of the oppressed by the name of *faction*; and, under the shadow of this word, he could conceal their wounds, and his own guilt.

A faithful description of our Provincial governors, and men in power, would be little better than a portrait of artifice, duplicity, haughtiness, violence, rapine, avarice, meanness, rancour, and dishonesty, ranged in succession; with a very small portion of honour, justice, and magnanimity, here and there intermixed, to lessen the disgust, which, otherwise, the eye must feel in the contemplation of so horrid a group.

How unpleasant then would be the task of such a Biography, which is to exhibit the deformities of human nature, unenlivened with any, or but too few, of its graces!—Yet, I confess, that, if a writer could suppress the aversion which naturally rises at the sight of loathsome objects, it would be no small relief now and then to paint those brighter tints of character, whose radiance glistens through the dismal scene, and receives a heightening from the shades and darkness that surround it.—It is not the least of our misfortunes, that, without recurring to past annals, we can find but too much employment for the pencil in describing tyrannies of the present hour: let these be expunged, and we shall soon forget what our progenitors have felt.—Among the reigning oppressions, none are more grievous than those which flow from *the insolence of office*.—Whatever examples of this sort I may drag to the light, they will only be exposed from the hope of producing future amendment.—We are not to expect, that men, invested with power at discretion, will forbear, from an innate principle of goodness, to make an ill use of it, while they can abuse it with impunity and profit. The most certain method of teaching them moderation is to take this exorbitancy of power out of their hands; as a bear is rendered an inoffensive animal by muzzling; or a viper, by drawing its fangs.—A knowledge of what passes  
within

within these distant governments will convince the public, that the two-edged weapons of power ought to be dealt out in them but very sparingly. Perhaps, one principal cause of its abuse in the colonies may have been, that it has seldom been arraigned at the bar of the public: for, however ridiculous some men would affect to treat such appeals; yet there are no delinquents, who are not conscious that they feel an inward tremor at the very idea of having their deeds of darkness revealed, and dissected, before so impartial and rigid a tribunal. And, as frequent free assemblies of the commons, by uncorruptible representatives, have been justly esteemed the best safeguard to our national freedom; so frequent appeals to the public may be a sure and speedy means of procuring redress for provincial grievances.—When the planters have complained of violations done to their liberty, the enemies of the West-India islands have often retorted upon them the impropriety of their clamouring with so much vehemence for what they deny to so many thousand Negroes, whom they hold in bondage. “Give freedom” (say they) “to others, before you claim it for yourselves.”—Servitude, restricted to a particular class of persons, was tolerated both by the *Romans* and *Athenians*: yet no people were ever more jealous of their own liberty; nor did they find their own enjoyment of it at all incompatible with the exclusive obligation to labour imposed on others within a certain limit. On the contrary, the higher estimation they put upon their own independence, the more indulgent masters were they to their slaves: for who doubts, but the servant of a free man is more likely to receive a mild treatment, than the servant of an enslaved person?—What I have said does not imply, that a system of servitude ought to be introduced into any free country; but only means to shew, that it may be permitted with least disadvantage, both to the master and vassal, in those parts of the world, where it happens to be *inevitably* necessary, and where, under proper limitations, it cannot tend to enslave the principal state.—To pave the way for so fatal an effect as the last mentioned, the slave-owners themselves must first be gradually inured to subjection, and deprived of the right notion of a generous, legal freedom. They must be taught to consider implicit submission to superiors as the greatest of all virtues; and a boundless,

boundless, blind obedience to authority, as the essence of all civil duties.—Nothing is more repugnant to such a degeneracy of the human mind, than to encourage a high, a liberal, and independent spirit : and, for this reason, the planters, or owners of slaves, in our colonies, cannot be too steddily supported in the possession of British freedom, to the fullest extent that our constitution will bear.—Considering the many efforts, that have been made, at different periods, to debase their minds, and the firm resistance they have given to such ungenerous attempts ; we have grounds to hope, that they never will surrender their birth-right, but continue to maintain the sacred charter, with equal fortitude, to the end ; that, when Time shall have left scarce a fragment of it extant in the country where it was first promulged, it may still be found entire and undiminished in *British America*.

To obviate slanders, and explode those prejudices which malice, or error, have generated, is another branch of this design.

In the execution of my plan, I have digested the various subject-matters under their respective heads. They might possibly have been thrown into a more connected train. But there are some among them, which, with the remarks upon them, are particularly interesting to the gentlemen of the island ; and not of a nature to claim much attention from those who have nothing to do with its internal policy and regulations. In such a variety of topics, it is difficult to avoid some little confusion, and perhaps repetition ; though I have fallen into such irregularities, I may hope, but seldom.

A complete history, which should omit nothing worthy of notice, either in the frame of constitution, the government, laws, manners, commerce, climate, diseases, and natural history, can only be formed upon a regular course of strict enquiry, vast application, and very long experience or, perhaps, from the united endeavours of several persons ; for these various materials can neither be well collected, nor digested, by one man, especially in a place where such subjects of enquiry are very little attended to.

They who in general visit this island do not emigrate for the purpose of compiling histories, but avowedly that of accumulating money ; which being their chief employment while they continue



to reside in it, we cannot expect that any one person should of himself find leisure sufficient for bringing together the many things required to form so perfect a structure; or that he can reap much assistance from others, who regard it only as a temporary abode, and have no incentive to know any thing further about it, except in what relates to their immediate occupation.

It is well understood, that our governors have not gone thither merely for the sake of taking the air; yet a gentleman in this office is better enabled than any other man to collect the useful points of information, as he possesses ample authority, as well as influence, to obtain it from parties, and documents, the best calculated to satisfy his enquiries.—It is to be lamented, that none of these gentlemen have favoured the public with an account, for which they might have procured the ground-work with so much ease to themselves, and utility to others. For want of such information, it is impossible not to commit mistakes in treating of the commercial state and population of this island. Private men are unable to rectify these errors, as they want the means and opportunity of acquiring exact intelligence.

It may be thought, that political considerations may have restrained them: but, surely, when a colony is found to be in a more flourishing condition than is generally imagined, no injury can accrue from correcting the popular misapprehension; and a disclosure of its strength must rather serve to intimidate than encourage an enemy.

What relates to forts and fortifications does not fall within the historian's province so much as those defences and muniments which are founded on a right system of government and policy; these are the essential bulwarks of a country. Whilst Britain continues mistress of the sea, it is of very little consequence, whether the forts at Jamaica are well or ill constructed for defence.

The true strength of the island must originate, not from the number or nature of its lines and bastions, but from a well-regulated spirit of industry, diffused through every part of it. If this spirit, by means of any defects in administration, is hindered from acting to its free and full extent, they ought to be pointed out, in order to be re-

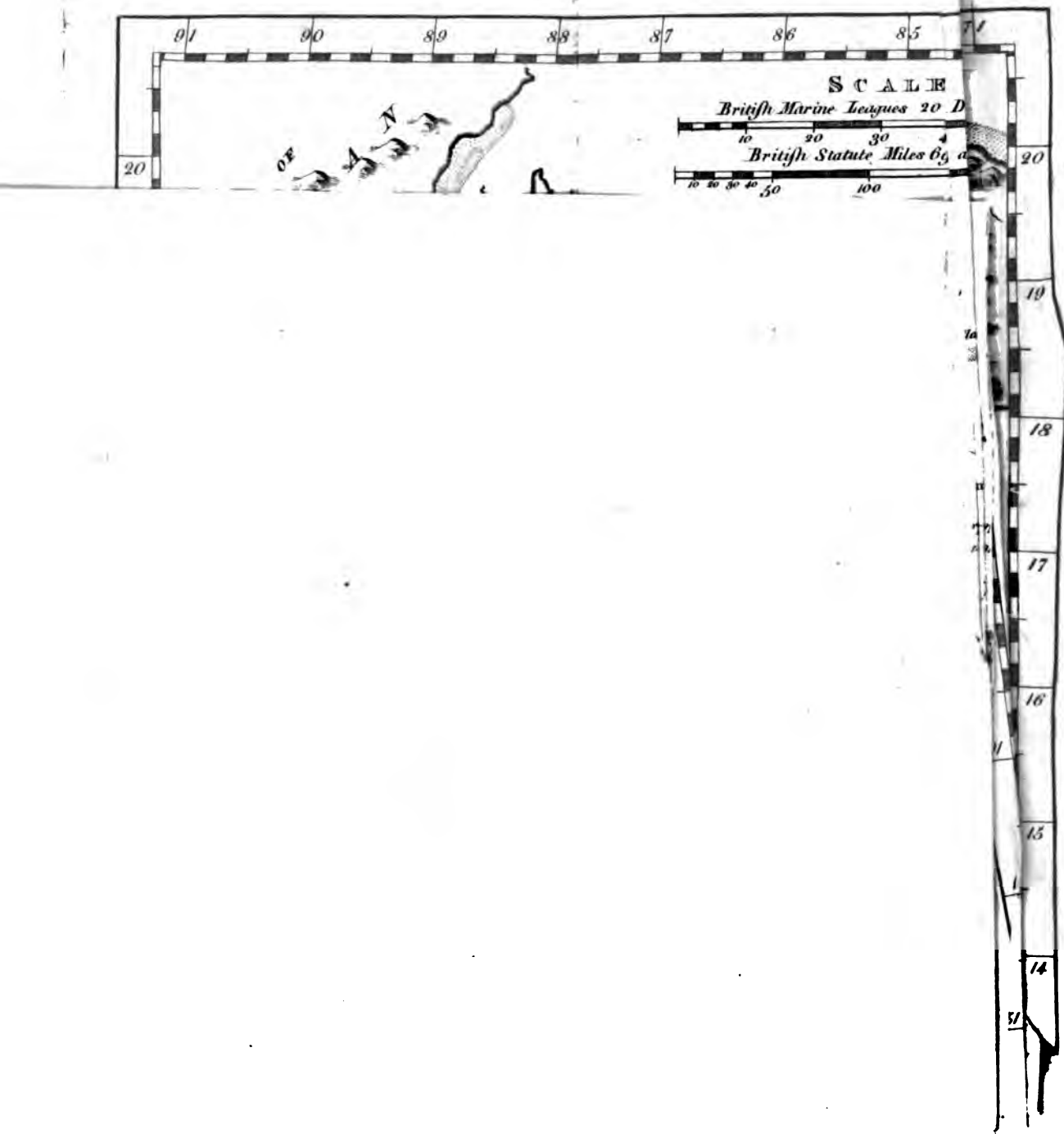
moved; and the removal of them must tend to invigorate the colony.

Where any weakness, therefore, is observed to spring from this source, a national enemy can derive no advantage from knowing it, unless he is able to prevent a removal of it; which cannot happen, but by his bringing it under his own sovereignty and legislation.

But it is of the utmost consequence, that it should be laid open to the view of those, whose duty and interest it is to apply fit remedies. And the present calm of peace most opportunely affords leisure for deliberating on the best plans, and executing them without interruption.

I have remarked, in public assemblies, that the ablest politicians are not always the first speakers; that all wait with impatience till silence is once broken, perhaps by orators of the smallest capacity. Like one of these orators, I deliver my speculations and projects; because none other of the crowd has stood forth to anticipate me; and in the hope, that some of better knowledge and experience will second my argument. Imperfect as my endeavours are, I shall think them well rewarded, if they meet with approbation from those worthy men, who, having fixed themselves upon the soil, dispense happiness and sustenance to thousands in Britain. To their use I principally dedicate my pen; and to their generous opinion I submit this unpolished *survey of Jamaica*.





## C H A P. I.

*Of the Government and Constitution.*

**A**FTER the reduction of the island by Penn and Venables, the Spaniards either quitted it, or were all driven out; so that it remained inhabited chiefly by the soldiers who had conquered it: and it was governed, of course, by *military law* (which is a branch of the law of England), until some time after the Restoration of Charles II.; when the measure of making it an English settlement was adopted. The king, in order to induce his subjects to transport themselves and families hither, put out a proclamation [*a*], offering them many encouragements; and particularly, “that all children of natural-born subjects of England, to “be born in Jamaica, shall, from their respective births, be reputed “to be, and shall be, *free denizens of England*; and shall have the “same privileges, to all intents and purposes, as the free-born subjects of England.” Nor could any thing less than this have been sufficient to induce the free subjects of England to quit their country, and settle in a remote climate.—In pursuance of the royal promise, and as soon as the colony was numerous, and considerable enough to make it an object for civil government, a civil government was instituted, in most respects the same as what now exists. The king could not give any other form of civil government, or laws, than those of England; and accordingly the form of government here resembles that of England almost as nearly as the condition of a dependent colony *can* be brought to resemble that of its mother country, which is a great and independent empire. Here, as in England, we have coroners, constables, and justices of the peace. We have a court of common-pleas, court of exchequer, and court of king’s-bench: we have grand and petty juries: we have a court of chancery; court of ordinary for the probate of wills, and granting administrations; a court of admiralty for trial

[*a*] See chap. X. of this Book. Appendix, D.



of offences on the high seas, and other business civil and maritime; courts of quarter-session, vestries; and, in time of law-martial, a military court, whose jurisdiction is controuled by the militia acts, and from whose judgement an appeal lies, in capital offences, to the governor in the first instance, and to the king in council in the *dernier resort*; in inferior cases, to the governor only. The coroner is elected by the people; the constables are appointed by the justices of the peace; and the judges of all the courts act by authority of the king's commission under the broad seal of the island. The different orders of judicature are then exactly like those in England, subsisting by the same authority, and are instituted for the same purposes. There is somewhat of the same resemblance preserved in the forms of our legislature. It is composed of three estates, of which the governor (as representing the king) is head. Having no order of nobility here, the place of an house of peers is supplied by a council of twelve gentlemen appointed by the king; which, in the system of our legislature, forms the *upper house*. The *lower house* is composed (as in Britain) of the representatives of the people, elected by the freeholders. These three bodies form a legislature, which exercises the highest acts of legislation; for it raises money; and its laws extend to the life, liberty, and property, of the subject, several persons having suffered death upon laws passed by our legislature, even before they have received the royal assent. These *three estates* ought, by the English constitution, to be perfectly free in their deliberations, and perfectly independent of each other. But the two first branches do not by any means resemble those they are to stand for so nearly as the assembly does. For example: The king appears personally, and in full majesty, at the head of his parliament; his consent gives full life and duration to such bills as are offered to him by his parliament; and he has in himself full power to approve or reject them. The governor, although he represents the king in our legislature, yet acts by a delegated power, and exercises only such parts of the prerogative as the king is pleased to instruct him. Thus too, although his consent be necessary to the enacting of laws, and to the giving them full force while they last; yet it can give them but a temporary existence, until the king's pleasure is known; it is from his majesty's consent, that they receive

ceive their full life and duration. Our governor is also bound to follow instructions in his legislative capacity; and is not therefore, nor can, from the nature of things, be independent. The members of the council hold their places at pleasure, are liable to be displaced upon any occasion by a governor; and they have often been displaced upon very slight pretences. This body, therefore, is but a very imperfect representation of a *house of peers*; and, because of the uncertain tenure by which they hold their places, wants much of that independence which is proper to every branch of the legislature in a free country. In their legislative capacity, they claim a right to the privileges of parliament; since, in our constitution, their consent has been thought necessary to the enacting of laws. The assembly, or lower house, has an exact resemblance of that part of the British constitution which it stands for here; it is, indeed, an epitome of the house of commons, called by the same authority, deriving its power from the same source, instituted for the same ends, and governed by the same forms. It will be difficult to find a reason, why it should not have the same privileges and powers, the same superiority over the courts of justice, and the same rank in the system of our little community, as the house of commons has in that of Britain; especially since all the courts of justice here are governed by the same laws, enjoy the same privileges, exercise the same powers, and hold the same rank, with those they respectively represent. In Charles the Second's time, the earl of Carlisle was sent hither governor, and brought with him a body of laws fashioned after those in Ireland pursuant to *Poyning's act* [b], with instructions to get them passed here. But the assembly rejected them with indignation; no threats could frighten, no bribes could corrupt, no art nor arguments could persuade them, to consent to laws that would enslave their posterity. The endeavours of successive ministers were continued, for this purpose, until the year 1728, when king George II. gave his most gracious assent to an act, commonly called the *revenue act*, which put an end to the contest. This ratification of what may not improperly be deemed our *great charter* was purchased by granting therein a *perpetual revenue* to his majesty and his successors.—Having thus given a general view of our form of go-

[b] See Appendix, B.

vernment, I shall represent its progress from the conquest of the island to the year 1684, a space of twenty-nine years, extracted from a manuscript whose authenticity may be depended on.

After the conquest of Jamaica, part of the army being left for its security, and the protection of those who should be induced to settle and plant there, *martial law* became the rule of their government, and was continued until the Restoration of king Charles II.: but his majesty, bending his thoughts and councils to promote the prosperity of this colony, soon resolved, that the army should be disbanded, and that a civil government should be erected, under such known customs and laws as would render the island agreeable to the inhabitants, and beneficial to his kingdom. Accordingly, colonel Edward D'Oyley, by his majesty's commission under the great seal of England, dated the 8th of February, 1660, was appointed governor of the island; and was directed to proceed forthwith to the election of a council, to consist of twelve persons, whereof the secretary of the island was to be one, and the rest to be fairly and indifferently chosen, by as many of the army, planters, and inhabitants, as by his best contrivance might be admitted; and, with their consent, the governor was empowered to act according to such just and reasonable customs and constitutions as were held and settled in his majesty's other colonies, or according to such other as, upon mature deliberation, should be held necessary for the good government and security of the island, "provided they were not repugnant to the *laws of England*." In obedience to this commission, a council was elected by the colonists, in the nature of their representatives; several municipal laws were enacted; civil officers were constituted; and provision made, by a revenue act, to support the charge of government, which was then computed at 1640*l. per annum*. But, the Spaniards frequently disturbing them in their new possessions, the army was still kept on foot: which preventing the increase of the colony, and restraining the industry of the inhabitants; the planting business, and breeding of cattle, during this governor's administration, were very little attended to.

The first essay towards establishing and settling of the government proving therefore defective, his majesty constituted Lord Windsor governor of the island; and, by his gracious proclamation of the 14th

of December, 1661, (which his lordship carried with him [c]), gave great encouragement to the planters; and declared, that all the children of his natural-born subjects, to be born in Jamaica, should be free denizens of England, and have the same privileges, to all intents and purposes, as the free-born subjects of England. And, as his lordship's commission and instructions contained greater privileges, concessions, and indulgences, to the inhabitants, than those that were sent to his predecessors; so they were better calculated for the more effectual establishment of the government, by directing, that it should be assimilated to that of the kingdom: and, to this end, he was empowered to appoint his council, and to call assemblies, according to the custom of his majesty's other plantations; to make laws, which were to be in force for two years, and no longer, unless confirmed by his majesty; and, upon emergent occasions, to levy money, &c. Lord Windsor, not enjoying his health, remained there but a few months: however, he settled the militia, and consequently disbanded the army. Upon his departure, in October or November, 1663, Sir Charles Lyttelton at that time chancellor of the island, succeeded in the government; and in December 1663, by advice of his council, called the first assembly, which consisted of *thirty* persons; and, upon their meeting, they enacted a body of laws, with an act for raising money for the public uses, wherein the collection, disposal, and accounting, were appointed by the assembly. In 1664, Sir Charles Lyttelton left the government under the care and direction of the council, who chose Colonel Thomas Lynch president. *Two thousand five hundred* of the inhabitants were then regimented, besides *four or five hundred* more dispersed in the country; and their provisions (as he asserted) greatly increased. This account was so acceptable to his majesty in council, that Sir Thomas Modiford was recalled from *Barbadoes*, and, by commission under the great seal, (15 November, 1664,) was constituted governor of Jamaica; with a power to erect judicatories, to call assemblies, and (with their consent) to make, ordain, and constitute, all manner of laws, statutes, and ordinances, and, upon imminent occasions, to levy money for the good and safety of the public; which laws were to be, as nearly as might be, suitable with, and

[c] See Appendix, D.

agreeable to, the laws of England. Accordingly, in his first year, he called an assembly, who enlarged and re-enacted the former laws; and these, upon some assurances given him of his majesty's approbation, were continued in force during his government, which ended in the year 1670. By the muster-rolls of the militia about this time, transmitted to the lords of the committee for trade, it appears their number was *two thousand seven hundred and twenty*; and that the number of seamen, in and about the island, was *two thousand five hundred*; privateering being then the great business and concern of the island. But, an end being put to that trade soon after the American treaty with Spain, and the government being confirmed by the new governor Sir Thomas Lynch's commission and instructions, the improvement of the island was industriously prosecuted and encouraged; and the planters increased, by the constant accession of others from all the several parts of his majesty's dominions. An assembly was called soon after his arrival; by which the laws that were passed, and had expired in the time of the preceding governor, were altered and enlarged; and, in two years after, not being confirmed, they were again re-enacted, and sent to England for his majesty's royal approval. Lord Vaughan succeeded Sir Thomas Lynch in 1674; his commission named his counsellors, directed his calling assemblies, to be chosen by the freeholders and planters, according to the custom and usage of Jamaica, who were to be deemed the representatives of the people, to make laws (as near as conveniently might be) agreeable to the laws and statutes of England; these laws to continue in force for two years; but none to be re-enacted, except upon very urgent occasions, and in no case more than once, except with his majesty's express consent. His lordship immediately summoned an assembly, and passed all the laws that were then expired, which were sent to England to be confirmed, or otherwise disposed of, as his majesty should determine; but, not being returned in two years, another assembly was called, by whom all the same laws were re-enacted, except the revenue act, which was rejected by his lordship. As he found the island in a flourishing condition, and that the people had been very easy under the mild and successful government of his predecessor; so, by his indulgent, steady, and impartial conduct, he greatly contributed both to the in-

crease

crease and strength of the island. By an account of the militia sent home, not long after his departure, they were augmented to *four thousand five hundred and twenty-six*, a greater number than they have ever since mustered; and the planters exported, in the four years from the commencement of his government, very near three times as much sugar as they had exported in the three years and three quarters preceding. Nevertheless, this prosperous course was soon interrupted. Upon examination of the laws then in force in Jamaica, such objections were raised by the lords of the committee for trade, that his majesty was pleased to reject some, and direct the *new-modeling* of the rest, which were to be sent back, that they might be passed, by the assembly, after the manner in Ireland, according to *Poyning's laws*; to which rule they were to be bound for the future: and, the assembly having imprisoned one of their members, for several misdemeanors and breaches of order of their house, the privileges they insisted on as natural and necessary to the representatives of that colony, which were the same that the house of commons have in England, were likewise controverted. The afore-said laws were accordingly returned to Jamaica in 1678, by the earl of Carlisle, their new governor; who, on his arrival, called an assembly, in order to pass the same: but they, being much dissatisfied with this frame of government, and with losing their deliberative part in making and passing their laws, rejected them. The next year, 1679, the said laws were again transmitted thither under the broad seal of England; and, though his majesty was advised to furnish his governors, and *their council*, for the time to come, with *power to raise money*, as had been practised in their infant state, if they did not comply with his royal commands, yet they again rejected them. It would be too tedious here to enter into the arguments and reasons, that, on the one hand, were urged to oblige the assembly to comply, and, on the other, that were offered to support the necessity of re-establishing their late constitution. However, it must be observed, that, on the 23d of June, 1680, his majesty in council was pleased to order, that the following question should be proposed to all the judges, viz. “Whether, by his majesty’s letter, proclamation, or commission annexed, his majesty had excluded himself from the *power of establishing laws in Jamaica*; it being  
“*a conquered*”

“*conquered country*, and all laws, settled by *authority* there, being “now expired?” What was reported hereupon by the judges doth not appear; neither is it material, since his majesty very graciously condescended, after hearing colonel Long and colonel Beeston (who were deputed by their colony to support their allegations), and the planters and merchants then residing in London, by and with the advice of his most honourable privy council, to determine in their favour; and accordingly, by a new commission to the earl of Carlisle, under the broad seal, dated the 3d of November following, not only restored to their island its former government, and all privileges they had hitherto enjoyed, but enlarged them; and, in consideration of the languishing state of the country, granted, that the quit-rents, &c. there arising to his majesty, should thereafter be appropriated and applied to the use of the public. The earl of Carlisle having left Jamaica during this debate, Sir Henry Morgan acted as lieutenant-governor in his absence. His lordship declining to return, his majesty gave the island a further instance of his great favour and goodness; and, in 1681, appointed Sir Thomas Lynch governor, and empowered him, with advice and consent of the assembly and council, to make such laws as should be conducive to his majesty’s interest, and agreeable to them. Accordingly, in 1682, several new laws were passed by the governor, council, and assembly, whereof twenty-eight, on the 23d of February following, were approved and confirmed by his majesty for seven years; and those, with some others that complete the first volume now in print, on the 17th of April, 1684, were approved, and confirmed by his majesty for twenty-one years, and are still in force.

In this manner was the legislature of Jamaica at last happily settled, to the great satisfaction and encouragement of the inhabitants: and as this government was assimilated, as near as possible, to the government of their mother kingdom; so their assemblies were allowed, and enjoyed, the same privileges that the house of commons possessed there. And, since lord Windfor, under whose commission assemblies were first established, was directed, “to do “and execute all things according to such reasonable laws, customs, “and constitutions, as should be settled, provided they were not re-  
“pugnant

“ pugnant to the laws of England, but agreeing thereunto as much  
 “ as the condition of affairs would permit.” And, as the commis-  
 sions of succeeding governors are of the same import (as it cannot  
 be doubted, it was absolutely necessary the assembly should have a  
 rule to go by); so it is submitted, whether the governors had it not  
 in their power to prescribe this known rule to themselves, and  
 recommend it to the assembly; and whether they could lay down  
 a better. Their opinions, however, both of the constitution and  
 privileges of the assembly of Jamaica, will appear by what follows.  
 In the year 1669, Sir Thomas Modiford answers to the committee  
 for trade, upon their enquiry how the legislature was settled, “ that  
 “ the legislative power of making and repealing laws is settled in  
 “ the governor, as his majesty’s *commissioner*; in his majesty’s *council*,  
 “ as representing the lords house; and in the *assembly*, composed of  
 “ the representatives of the freeholders, two persons elected out of  
 “ each parish, and these chosen as the commons of England; being  
 “ an humble model of our high court of parliament, each of the  
 “ respective bodies enjoying a *negative*, as well as an *affirmative*,  
 “ vote.” Lord Vaughan, on a question that arose about the method  
 of passing laws, declared to the assembly, “ that he should guide  
 “ himself according to the *usage and custom of parliaments in Eng-*  
 “ *land.*” The assembly, in an address to the earl of Carlisle, upon the  
 objections that were made against the imprisoning their members for  
 misdemeanors, &c. say, “ they hope it is justifiable; the king’s go-  
 “ vernor having assured them, that they have the same power over  
 “ their members, which the house of commons have over theirs;  
 “ and all speakers here praying, and the governor granting, the  
 “ usual petitions of speakers, as in England.” Sir Thomas Lynch,  
 about the same time, being called upon to give an account of the go-  
 vernment of Jamaica, argues thus: “ If the king’s commissions  
 “ have appointed assemblies, and if they have been appointed in all  
 “ the colonies from their first establishment, as a government the  
 “ most just, and like this of England; then they hope, that they  
 “ alone, of all the colonies, shall not be retrenched in any of the  
 “ privileges natural to such assemblies.” And, upon the aforesaid  
 design relative to the passing of their laws according to the Irish  
 model, he offers it as his opinion, “ that, it was possible, the council



“ might join with the governor to order those laws to be continued ;  
 “ but, he verily believed, they would not continue the *revenue bill*,  
 “ for *that* they thought peculiar to the *assembly*.” In Sir Thomas  
 Lynch’s state of Jamaica, which he transmitted to England in  
 1663, when he was placed the third time at the head of govern-  
 ment, and after its re-establishment, he asserts, “ that all the me-  
 “ thods and proceedings of the assembly were conformable to those  
 “ of the English parliament, as much as so little a body may be to  
 “ so great a one.” And, in another account, he adds thus: “ The  
 “ king, by his *charter of government*, as commissioner, has consti-  
 “ tuted assemblies, that are *umbræ* of an English parliament.” Nei-  
 ther were such concessions inconsistent with the ancient, nor the  
 modern, constitutions of colonies ; for, as Grotius observes, the  
 Grecian colonies, which constituted particular commonwealths,  
 were to enjoy equal privileges and liberties with their mother cities.  
 And those that were afterwards planted by the Romans were mo-  
 dels of that republic, notwithstanding they kept them in subjection  
 and dependence : to which example all the nations in Europe have,  
 in general, ever since respectively adhered. From the whole, there-  
 fore, it is very apparent by what rule the assemblies of Jamaica were  
 at first constituted, and afterwards directed. And, since neither the  
 standing rules of those assemblies, nor the privileges they enjoyed,  
 were ever disallowed at home, or opposed abroad, during the reign  
 of Charles II. except as has been related ; it was manifest upon what  
 foundation they stood. And it is submitted, whether any frame of  
 government less perfect, or less acceptable to the inhabitants, could  
 have supported them under those terrible calamities to which they  
 have been exposed ; or have enabled them to sustain the losses and  
 damages they have suffered, and to surmount those difficulties under  
 which they have long laboured.—A few observations necessarily oc-  
 cur on the foregoing Chronicle [d].

That the original foundation of government in this island was  
 planned on the grounds of assimilation to that of the mother coun-  
 try, by introducing a legislature, and by forming courts of justice,  
 and every other civil establishment in general, agreeable to the model

[d] Drawn up by Sir W. Beeston, and quoted in “ Privileges of Jamaica vindicated ;” a pamphlet.

of

of the mother state; leaving it to time, and the progress of settlement, to render the same more exact and perfect resemblances.

That, under this mode of established government, the inhabitants were easy and content, the colony grew populous, and continued to flourish; until the ministry attempted a total innovation in their legislature, which aimed at taking away from the common people their deliberative share in the framing of those laws, by which their lives, liberties, and properties, were to be bound. The flame, which this indiscreet measure kindled, in this infant and as yet unsettled colony, gave an immediate check to its growth, and had well nigh consumed it to the very root. And, although this dispute with Lord Carlisle was terminated at length to the satisfaction of the inhabitants; yet, during the contest (I shall affirm upon the faith of other manuscripts, equally authentic), a very great number of planters, and new settlers, deserted the island, and sought refuge in other colonies; induced by a very natural and just apprehension, that, if the solemn promises held out to them in the king's proclamation, brought over by Lord Windsor, and the uniform assurances of all their governors, were thus infringed, at the pleasure of the prince, in one essential point, they could hope for no security against subsequent violations of them in every other. From a distrust, therefore, of the machinations of government towards their island, they feared to continue any longer in a country, to which the prospect of enjoying an English constitution had invited them, but where they began to find they were likely to have no sufficient safeguard against an arbitrary form.—It would have been more consistent with the honour of the sovereign, to have taken the sense of his judges on the rectitude of the measure, rather *previous* to its being adopted, than *after*. But the court chose rather to make the experiment first, and then to consider its legality. The advisers of so unjust and indefensible an outrage ought most deservedly to have fallen under the vengeance of parliament; but it passed unnoticed. The ruinous condition of this colony, for some time afterwards, demonstrated the wretched policy, as well as the base perfidy, of attempting such a change. The writer has mentioned, that, after this fatal epoch, the inhabitants of his time continued in the uninterrupted possession of their ancient establish-

most. But innovations have nevertheless been attempted since those days. Within the present century, a ministerial project was started, for compelling the people of this island, by the power of prerogative, to pay the *four and half per cent.* annual duty on their produce, to the crown, according to the usage of Barbadoes and the other islands. But the solicitor-general (Mr. Lechmere, if I mistake not), being consulted hereupon, assured the minister, that such an attempt would be no less than high treason. And under the terror of this opinion the scheme was dropped. Attempts have been also made, and frequently renewed, to prevail on the assembly to pass their bills with a clause suspending their operation until the king's pleasure relative to them should be known; but this with an exception of *money bills*: an exception, which immediately betrays the cloven foot; for, no doubt, bills for levying money on the subject must be always supposed free of error, and perfectly unexceptionable; but a bill of more public utility would probably meet with many obstacles, unless purchased for a valuable consideration, like the clause in the revenue bill before-mentioned. The admitting a suspending power of this kind would at once preclude us from all temporary provisions (money bills excepted), even the most necessary and beneficial. It is, in short, the old story of *Poyning's law* new-dressed. Most ministers, who endeavour to force innovations of this nature upon a colony, are unfortunately so little acquainted with its internal policy, that they do not, indeed cannot, see the objections against them, arising from that very policy, most of which are insuperable. Human wisdom is so limited, that laws are never made perfect at first: time, and long experience, detect their mistakes in some points; their inefficacy in others. When a legislature is established in a commercial colony, not half peopled, and where a species of slavery has been admitted, new objects, new incidents, are daily arising, to call for new legislative regulations. Our distance from the mother country is so great, that matters, which require an instant application of legal expedients, would become irremediable evils; and the colony would be exposed to the heaviest oppressions, and most fatal calamities, before his majesty's pleasure, concerning our acts of assembly, could possibly be known; oftentimes, before those acts could

could perform half their voyage to Great-Britain. Our case would be very different, if, like Jersey or Guernsey, we were almost in the neighbourhood of Whitehall. Any person, that shall inspect the minutes of our assembly, and peruse only the titles of those acts which they annually frame, alter, or amend, will be convinced, that our claim of legislation, according to the present mode, is grounded in reason, just policy, and the necessity of the case; and that to pass them with a *suspending clause* would be highly pernicious to the colony. The greater part of them are merely local, or provincial; some calculated for only temporary ends; others to take effect as probationary, and to be rescinded again, or gradually enlarged and amended, according as experience may determine their good or evil operation for the purposes intended. I shall beg leave to enumerate a small number of the heads, in order to justify these remarks, viz. acts—“for the better order and government of slaves;”—“for preventing the inveigling of slaves from their owners, and the transportation of them from the island by mortgagees, and tenants for life or years;”—“for preventing the practice of *Obeah*, and the firing of houses and canpieces;”—“for regulating buildings, wheel-carriages of burthen, highways, tolls, turnpikes, prices of meat, markets, and fisheries;”—“for removing occasional nuisances from towns, harbours, roads, and rivers;”—for encouraging settlers, regulating free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Negroe towns, sale of Negroes on writ, execution of levies, elections, courts, lawyers, and collecting constables, Militia, martial law, and articles of war;”—“sales of certain goods by weight, and not by invoice;”—“droguers, or coasting vessels;”—“transcribing decayed records, and making them legal evidence;”—“appointing commissioners of forts and fortifications;”—preserving the public papers and records;”—giving freedom to slaves, in reward of public services;”—and various other provisions, all incidental to the colony, and calculated for the relief or benefit of its inhabitants; who, it cannot be denied, are in general the best judges of the evils they feel, and their proper remedies: and, if some of their acts have been deficient in style and composition, or have failed of due success upon the first trial, still it should seem, that these are not sufficient reasons for the abolition

lition of their legislative rights, or depriving the inhabitants, by suspension of two or three years, of beneficial provisions, framed to secure their lives and properties, which, in various cases, might require such immediate protection, and where delay would be death or ruin.—In all states it is best, that evil practices should be nipped in the bud; the detection of them ought instantly to be accompanied with a suitable remedy. The invention of some men is ever on the stretch, to find out some new modifications of criminal pursuits: and hence arise those frequent sophistical evasions of penal laws; and the reiterated exertion of legislature to stop up every hole, that the most wily transgressors may not escape. Yet, as it is impossible to advert to every contingent circumstance; so the genius of man invents new evils, which require new and timely remedies. The maxim of our constitution is, *ubi damnum, ibi remedium*. This should be a lesson to every legislature; not only that the evil and remedy should be constantly found together, but that the former should no sooner be discovered than repressed by the latter. But, if a legislature has power only to enact laws, to be of effect at a future, distant period of time; their provisions will operate, until that time, only as notices to bad men, to employ every moment of the interval in reaping a full and plentiful harvest. It is not many years ago, that a mortgagee found means to get possession, upon his debtor's decease, of all his estate, and shipped off the island and sold all his Negroes, whose value was of treble the amount of his demand. He also conveyed himself away soon afterwards, to the great loss of the other creditors and heir at law. Had this man staid in the island, here was no law upon which he might be tried and punished. What then would have been the consequence, if our legislature had laboured under a disability of providing a remedy? Every other mortgagee in possession throughout the island might have adopted this iniquitous example with impunity, and set our courts of justice at defiance for several years, or until the preventative law should have been confirmed by the crown, and published in the island. A multitude of cases might be proposed, to demonstrate the absurdity and evil tendency of *suspending clauses*. Every colony-man is fully sensible of this; nor will any, but the most profligate and ill-intentioned, ever give them the smallest countenance.

countenance. The ministry, I am persuaded, would cease to contend for them, if they were better informed, and made to see their mischief in its full latitude. Some of the ablest writers have considered the *dispensing power*, formerly exercised by the crown, as amounting to a full legislative authority. Of the two, a *dispensing* is, doubtless, of more pernicious consequence to the public welfare than a *suspending power*. It is more fatal for the sovereign to break at pleasure the established laws, which are the main restraints upon his despotism, than at pleasure to hinder any from being established. This, however, must be taken in a relative sense, and according to the circumstances of any particular state: for, in a state as yet unprovided with sufficient laws for controuling the regal will, the power of suspending would, at all times, strive to prevent any new controuling laws from taking effect. These two powers, though tending in the main to an issue somewhat different, may yet be productive of one effect common to both; namely, that of enabling the sovereign to absorb the whole legislative authority into himself; since a power of suspending *durante bene placito* implies a power of taking off the suspension, and giving vitality to any law upon such conditions only as he may please to impose or exact. Thus the assembly could never be secure of permission to obtain any new law, except with a tack of perhaps very unpleasant conditions, entirely foreign to their inclination and interest. In this case the sovereign might proceed to exercise a full legislative authority, by framing, as well as enacting, the essential parts of a law; or might annihilate the legislative authority of the people at pleasure, by rendering all their acts non-effective; or he might assent to them only upon such terms as should wholly destroy their legislative independency. The distinction between these two exorbitances seems to be, that, as the *dispensing power* enables the sovereign to free himself from all obligation of the laws to which he has solemnly assented; so the *suspending power* enables him to disqualify the popular representatives from possessing any share of legislation, except in laying burthens upon their constituents; leaving them, in short, no other power, than the power of *oppressing* the subject under the colour of law. Another attempt has more recently been made, to deny the assembly their accustomed privilege of freedom from arrests pending the session.

sion of their house; the right of taking in custody, by their speaker's warrant, contumacious persons, according to custom of parliament; and, thirdly, to subject such commitments to the absolute controul of the governor as chancellor; reducing them, by this means, to an inferiority of jurisdiction to all those courts which are necessarily constituted amenable to the assembly; and disarming them of all power to enquire into the illegal proceedings of the chancery and other courts; or to procure, for injured and oppressed subjects, that redress which they could no otherwise hope to obtain. But from these extraordinary attacks of despotism, as well as from an endeavour to wrest, out of the hands of the people, their right of raising, appropriating, and examining into the expenditure of, their own monies, notwithstanding every art of wheedling and intimidation have been used, they have been hitherto shielded by the laudable spirit and virtue of their representatives: nor will these, nor other evil designs, be attended with any thing but reproach and disgrace to the projectors and abettors of them, so long as the assembly shall be composed of honest, steady men; who know, that, however much the concession of such rights may be pleasing to the governor, or minister of the day, it cannot fail, in the end, of desolating this colony. Whatever a governor, or other minister, may think, or be told, the most valuable men, and best supporters of it (who are the honest and industrious), will easily remove to other countries, perhaps to a worse government, even in the French islands, where men, bringing their families and effects, would be well received, rather than continue where they are not suffered to enjoy an *English government*. An unsettled mode of governing, and the apparition of freedom without the substance, will make every thinking independent Briton rather prefer a settled, absolute form of establishment, than such a fleeting, painted shadow. The uncertain tenure of the largest property, under a government which is ever mutable, and whose limits are not marked by the plain lines of known laws and equitable sanctions, will incline all reasonable persons rather to seek an asylum, where they may be sure of holding a certain, though smaller, benefit, where they already know, or think they know, the worst, than remain in a situation, where they are ever suspicious of some conspiracy against their welfare, and retain only the sound, not the

the reality of a birth-right. It is much to be regretted, that the people of the colonies should not be left undisturbed in the possession of those few liberties their progenitors dearly eathed, and which are absolutely necessary for them; and that they should not be rather amplified than abridged. But history evinces, that, in all ages, there has been one set of persons uniting its efforts to enslave mankind; and another set, to oppose such attempts, and vindicate the cause of freedom. The accidental circumstances of men may, perhaps, occasion this difference: the rich are the natural enemies of the poor; and the poor, of the rich; like the ingredients of a boiling cauldron, they seem to be in perpetual warfare, and struggle which shall be uppermost: yet, if both parties could compose themselves, the *faces* would remain peaceably at the bottom; and all the other particles range themselves in different strata, according to their quality, the most refined floating always at top. It is the mysterious flame, the *sacer ignis* of prerogative, which causes the ebullition, and raises that ferment which goes under the stigma of popular factions: by which means it not seldom happens (as I have somewhere read), that the dregs, by degrees, attain to the top, and there settle themselves. In a colony, which, by the nature of things, can flourish no longer than whilst its inhabitants are at peace with each other, and employed in the avocations of industry; nothing surely can be more impolitic, and baneful to the mother state, than to introduce party feuds. The contagion of this pestilence reaches far and wide; none escape it; even our very Negroes turn politicians. Waste of time, obstruction to all profitable business, are the least hurtful consequences. Fortunes have been consumed here, whole families ruined, by opposition; and many honest creditors defeated of their due (perhaps ruined also), by numerous insolvencies. The father has been embittered against the son, the son against the father; the warmest friends have been converted into implacable enemies; and many have descended into their graves without reconciliation or forgiveness. Such are the deplorable effects of kindling party rage in small communities; and more particularly in those parts of the world, where the nature of the climate tends to exasperate men's passions, and is ever adding fuel to the fire. That minister of state, or governor, will deserve best



of his country, who labours most to preserve the colonists in peace and unanimity; and to hold their minds directed to a steady course of industry, so beneficial to Great-Britain; granting them all due protection, and every other just encouragement and favour that a reasonable people can require, or a patriotic minister bestow.

## C H A P. II.

## S E C T. I.

*Of the Governor.*

**T**HE governor is representative of the king in acts of legislature; generalissimo of all the military forces; vice-admiral for conservation of the rights of Flotam, Jettam, &c.; and president on trials for piracy, under the *Stat. Gen. tert.*; chancellor, and keeper of the great seal, of the island; judge of probate of wills, and granting administrations in the ecclesiastical court; judge of appeal in the court of errors. He is styled, "governor of Jamaica, " and of the territories thereon depending in America." By these territories are supposed to be meant the three Caymana islands, situated a few leagues Westward of Jamaica; the logwood creek at Honduras; Campeache bay; and the country of the Mosquito Indians; who, having many years since submitted voluntarily to the crown of Great-Britain, and admitted several British subjects to enjoy very large tracts of land among them, may justly now be deemed adopted subjects of the empire, and merit our encouragement, not only for their long and faithful attachment to us, but for their annual consumption of British manufactures, by no means inconsiderable; for which they pay us in valuable productions of the Continent. But to return to the governor. He is a vice-roy; a legislator; a general; a judge in equity and law, in ecclesiastical and in maritime affairs; a combination of offices, which, at first view, seem to require such an accomplished education, such a comprehensive power of genius, judgement, memory, and experience,

as

as are almost inconsistent with the limited period of mortal existence, or with the common faculties of the human mind. What then are we to expect from those governors, whose education and profession have tended more to mislead, than instruct them in the knowledge of these so very dissimilar functions, and who cannot be supposed to know what has never been any part either of their study or pursuit? Would not a Chinese philosopher, if he was to be told of these various employments thus centred in one man, necessarily conclude, the first and ablest geniuses were selected from the whole nation, to undertake and execute a system of duty so complicated? But what must be his amazement, to be informed, that, *in general*, their qualifications have been neither enquired into, nor regarded, in the appointment? From the commander of a brigade of foot, a gentleman is metamorphosed, on a sudden, into a grave judge of courts, to discuss cases in equity, solve knotty points of law, or expound the doctrine of last wills, devise, and inheritance. What is to be expected from such judges? May they not either commit gross absurdities from ignorance, make arbitrary decisions from avaritious or tyrannical principles, be remiss and dilatory from a scrupulous fear of doing wrong, or, conscious of their own weakness, rest themselves on the private opinion of some selfish retainer to the law, who has cunning enough to turn this absolute controul over a governor's judgement to his own lucre in the course of practice? I have heard of a colony-chancellor, who used *to throw the dice*, in order to determine which way he should decree: the highest throw went in favour of complainant; the lowest, for defendant. Sometimes (the story says) his decrees were confirmed: but whether he was right once in five times, or oftener, I must leave to the enquiry of those who are learned in the calculation of chances. I have been told of another, who, after the cause (which respected a certain title-deed then given in evidence) was finished, found himself exceedingly puzzled with the arguments of counsel on both sides. But at length, happily discerning the gift, and delivering his opinion, "that, if it were not for that same deed, no cause of litigation would remain between the parties," which they assured him was extremely true; he very wisely poked it into the fire, and consumed it before their faces, in order to take away

the bone of contention; and upon this maxim, *cessante causa, cessat effectus*. I have been informed of another, who, after hearing a cause in chancery, descended so low as to ask a stupid, drunken solicitor, one day after dinner, and over the bottle, "how *he* thought the decree ought to pass, for that, as to himself, he was "d—mn—bly at a loss what to determine." I have heard of another, who refused a civil officer the *habeas corpus*, and caused him to be laid in gaol; and confined like a felon for a long time in irons, for no other offence, but because the officer would not assist him in making false returns of assembly members. The same chancellor held a disputation from the bench with a solicitor of his court; and threatened to imprison him *for life*, because he had taken notes of some expressions that had dropped from the chancellor at the hearing, which the chancellor denied having spoken, although every one present assured him that he had uttered them; and, to complete all, he committed the solicitor to prison, for this *high contempt of the court*. The same chancellor is more than suspected of having caused a suit to be instituted against a gentleman of fortune, who had opposed his violent proceedings in the colony. He is said to have set up an attorney at law to claim an estate belonging to that gentleman, and to have given a decree in favour of the attorney, which entitled him to immediate possession: but, upon appeal to Great-Britain, the decree was reversed, as in justice was to be expected [e]. Report says, that another waived holding courts of chancery, to the great oppression of the suitors, who cared not which way he decided, so he would not thus obstruct their causes from travelling onwards to the appeal court. The reason he assigned for this neglect and delay of justice was, that his profits in chancery (about 50*l. per annum*) were not proportioned to the trouble and drudgery of sitting; as if the large salary given him, and the whole emoluments of his government, were not a sufficient compensation for his trouble in the exercise of his several duties. The same chancellor used, when he did sit, to cite the king's instructions as rules of his conscience in that court. I need not add more examples in corroboration of my premises. Indeed, most of

[e] *N. B.* Since this affair, the governor's decree (by order) cannot give possession, except where the losing party declines his right of appeal.

our governors have been ingenuous enough to confess, that there was no part of their duty which they disliked so much, and understood so little, as that of determining causes in the courts of chancery, and ordinary. No wonder, then, if they are frequently bewildered in a maze of doubt and uncertainty; liable to great errors, if they rely on their own opinion (which, however, is the most conscientious mode of deciding); and to partialities and injustice, if they suffer their judgement to be influenced and perverted, by asking advice of venal, crafty persons, who will be more likely to consult the fattening their own purse, than preserving the governor's character from blemish. Besides, some of this mercenary stamp are apt to value themselves on being thought intimate confidants of a governor; like those coxcombs, who wish to appear in the height of favour with women of rank, beauty, and virtue, and thus bring, sometimes, an unmerited slur upon their reputation. As a remedy for this, we may suppose the office of chancellor to be held and exercised by a distinct person or persons: for example; by one, or more old barristers, who have practised at the bar a certain number of years (fourteen at the least), of known good ability, moderate fortunes, and respectable characters; who should have a salary, to be paid by the island, over and above the customary fees, and should every year hold four courts, at stated times, for motions and petitions, and four for hearings. Nothing is more true, than that the procrastination of justice is as grievous as a denial of it. The tardy process of the chancery court is the principal cause of its being made (with us) a sanctuary for knaves, and malicious litigants. The easy and honest method of giving relief in this case is, by frequent sittings; thus counteracting the *vis inertiae* of process by the great energy with which it is urged forward. This is one means of preventing vexatious suits: another is, by rendering the institution of frivolous suits a matter of more serious concern than it is ordinarily considered. This is to be effected by enhancing the expence, and making it ultimately fall upon the party *in the wrong* in all adversary suits; and this will be no inequitable tax upon his wilful obstinacy. For instance; a tax might be laid after this manner:

On

	£	s.	
On every bill filed, ————	2	0	except <i>in forma pauperis</i> .
On every answer, ————	2	0	
On every interlocutory decree,	2	10	
On every attachment, ————	1	0	
Attachment, with proclamation,	1	10	
Commission of rebellion, ————	5	0	
Commission to examine witnesses,	2	0	
Final decree, ————	5	0	
Motions and petitions, each ———	0	5	

The produce of this tax (which should be received by the register, and by him accounted for, and paid over once a month to the receiver-general, deducting a fee of six pence in the pound for his trouble) might be applied towards defraying the chancellor's salary; which officer should be removeable by the governor by advice of his council, or by his majesty in council, upon due proof and conviction of misdemeanor in office. The governor to be allowed 50*l. per annum* by the island, in addition to his salary, for the loss of his usual profits of this office. The judge of probate of wills, and granting administrations, should also be a distinct person, a man of fortune sufficient to set him above corruption, qualified by education for this office, and satisfied to transact it for the customary fees and emoluments, which, I believe, do not exceed 100*l. per annum*, including the seal-fees on every *dedimus*. This fee is 2*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* which might still be paid to the governor: but, if it should appear, upon fair inquiry, that the remaining fees should come short of 100*l.* surely, this appointment would not fall very heavy on the public, in bestowing such an annual salary. Perhaps, no person is better qualified for this duty than a sensible clergyman. Our governors have usually given the rectory of Spanish town to a man of good character and ability. The stipend and surplice-fees of this living are a very sufficient provision to keep the incumbent above meanness and venality: besides, he is resident where the court of ordinary has been usually held; and the public would have a firm security for his faithful discharge of the office, if he was to be declared, by law, to incur forfeiture of his stipend, upon being legally found guilty of mal-practice and corruption in the office of ordinary. The addition of 100*l.* a year to the rector's income might be a desirable object to him, who

has

has so many leisure hours to spare; and, perhaps, it might not be equally so eligible, or so proper in all respects, for most others. The governor's jurisdiction, as chancellor and ordinary, bring, in the course of a few years, the greatest share of this country's property to his determination; which furnishes another obvious argument.

## S E C T. II.

*Governor's Salary.*

ORIGINALLY, governors were paid by the king out of his civil list. By degrees, as the colonies grew richer and more populous, they gave presents or donations to such governors as merited well, or had art enough to cajole them into good humour. The crown at length fearing, that, if governors were left at liberty to take whatever was given by the people, they might accept bribes, and relax in their care of prerogative, with a view to please their benefactors, forbade them to accept of any gratuity, unless settled upon them by a law, on their entrance into administration, to continue during the term of it. When a perpetual revenue was established in Jamaica, the governor's salary was fixed at 2500*l.* currency *per annum*, and charged upon that fund. The inhabitants have, since that time, usually made an augmentation to it of 2500*l.* more. Our governor, for the time being, has likewise a farm stocked with cattle and sheep, and a mountain settlement for provisions, with a comfortable house upon it; both at a small distance from the seat of government. His emoluments altogether are computed, one year with another, at a certain 5000*l.* sterling *per annum*, in time of peace: but they exceed this in time of war; the granting letters of marque, and commissioning cartels, or flags of truce, being no inconsiderable perquisites. In the hands of some gentlemen, whose vigilance nothing could escape, it has been raised to much more, by the sale of escheats, rectories, and all other appointments, which happened to fall vacant during their administration. Some have practised this; and others descended to very culpable meannesses, till they contrived to make the profits double what I have mentioned: for there are between fifty and sixty offices of profit in this island,

island, without including benefices; some of which are in the governor's absolute grant by warrant; and of the remainder he has the appointment, *pro tempore*, upon accidental vacancies by death, suspension, or otherwise. A governor, not of rapacious disposition, might unquestionably support the dignity of his station in every necessary point, live with elegance, and lay up 3000*l.* sterling *per annum*. The colonies are remarkable for having always shewn a spirit of liberality towards their governors; which rarely met with a grateful return. The inhabitants of Barbadoes were drawn in to grant to the crown four and half *per cent.* on their island produce annually; which, they were assured, should be strictly applied to all the contingences and exigences of their government. So far was it, however, from serving these purposes, that it became only a present from the crown to worthless favourites; and the people had the mortification to find, that not a shilling of it was expended on the uses for which it had been granted. The people of Jamaica, profiting by example, resisted, and escaped the tax. Although secured from this imposition, they have nevertheless exceeded the provision, made in their revenue law, by a bill, which is passed at the accession of every new governor, as I have already mentioned. This addition they mean as an inducement to their governor to treat them well. A governor considers it in a different light; for, this act of liberality being confirmed and strengthened in a course of several years, he regards it as much a matter of right belonging to him, as what is called the king's salary, which is paid out of the island revenue. It must be owned, he is excessively civil and complaisant at first setting out; but, the bill being once passed which settles the annuity upon him during his government, he seems to retain very little sense of obligation. He acts like a groom, who coaxes and caresses the steed that enjoys freedom in the pasture, until the bridle is fixed in its mouth, and, then vaulting on its back, whips, kicks, and spurs it on through thick and thin, without mercy. The people, it must be allowed, have shewn some prudence in granting this salary only during the governor's actual residence in the island; by which precaution, no person appointed to the post can enjoy these fruits of it without coming to reside here, and not an hour after quitting the island. The people have, now and then,

then, determined to break through this strong hold of custom, and pass an annual bill: but this could only be effected with a new governor; and such a man having generally (as a stranger) many friends, and no enemies, the assembly have relented, from a generosity and good-nature peculiar to them, and from an unwillingness to greet a gentleman of rank, on his first arrival among them; in a manner that might seem disobliging, and to carry the appearance of a punishment inflicted upon him for the sins of his predecessors in office. It had been better, perhaps, if, like the people of New-England, they had shut their eyes and ears against every argument, but the peace and welfare of their country. If their donation was originally intended as a purchase of friendship, and they found, by experience, that they gained nothing by making payment beforehand, they ought to have been less liberal to men of whose dispositions they were totally ignorant. A competent knowledge might have been obtained of both upon proper enquiry and reasonable trial: the reward should have followed the service; for the expectation of future recompence will, in general, be more prevalent with mankind, and stimulate more to good deeds, than a sense of gratitude for past favours; a sense, that too often is observed, like the memory of distant transactions, to grow every day more faint and inactive, until at length it becomes totally obliterated. A governor, having once established his salary, has nothing left to wish, or desire, from the people, except the *popularis aura*, the breath of applause, which it has been fashionable for all those to disdain, who were ambitious of being well with the minister: for, as the minister is the object either of detestation or popularity, his subalterns must, in common good-manners, take share with him in the former, and not rival him too far in the latter. A governor, then, having got all he can expect from the bounty of the island, exclaims, with Syphax in the play, "*Cæsar, I'm wholly thine!*" and, necessarily turning his eye towards his ministerial creator, pursues such a system of conduct as, he thinks, will best obtain present protection, and entitle him to future remunerations at home, after the task of his prætorship shall be accomplished. I mean not to give offence: I apply to no particular man. The Roman provinces were not without their Verres. Our island has unfortunately been scourged by



more than one of that family. I must, therefore, exhort my generous countrymen to draw their purse-strings with discretion, and never lose sight of the beacons held out to view in their sister colonies, as well as in their own. It is more natural to suppose, that a man, who has himself an interest in a country, should be more concerned for the good government of it, than one who looks upon it as a temporary dwelling [f], whither he has procured himself to be sent, to build a fortune from the ground, or patch up one that is wearing into a state of decay. The people of Barbadoes, in the year 1663, by the persuasion, it is thought, of Lord Willoughby their governor, passed that fatal law before noticed, granting to the crown four and half *per cent.* "upon all dead commodities of the growth or produce of their island, shipped off the same." This was intended, "for maintaining the honour and dignity of government there, the charges of the meeting of the sessions-house, the attendance of the council, reparation of forts, building a sessions-house and prison, subsisting the regular troops, the governor's salary, and all other public charges and contingences incumbent on government." Not one of which articles was in the least complied with; but, on the contrary, the inhabitants were obliged, by other taxes, to defray all the charges of their government: none of the money remained in Barbadoes, except with the collectors of the duty. Charles II. in whose reign this grant was made, laid claim to the whole for the supply of his privy-purse, and distributed it away in pensions; so that the island received no benefit whatever from it. The people made some attempts, particularly in 1673, when their country was almost desolated by a terrible hurricane; to get this law repealed; and petitioned for this purpose, but without effect; for the doctrine of *refunding* never holds in these cases. So far from giving any redress, an additional duty was laid upon their sugar in the following reign; which, though obtained in parliament upon the faith of the king's promise [g], "that, if it proved grievous to the plantations, it should be taken off," has been ever since continued, in breach of the royal word, notwithstanding the

[f] This is meant only of governors so long as they may continue to be paid and maintained by the colony, and not by the crown.

[g] King James II.

many representations of distress thereby occasioned ; and, in subsequent reigns, it has been swelled with fresh augmentations. About the year 1722, Mr. Worley being appointed governor of the same island, the assembly there settled on him 6000 *l.* a year sterling, for the support of his government, by a tax far exceeding the ability of the people, no less than 2*s.* 6*d.* per head on Negroes. This was over and above the usual fees and perquisites of office, which alone would have been sufficient for his personal and household expences. It was granted from the hope, that it would induce him to obtain redress of their grievances, and restore peace and tranquillity to the island. The governor, however, having securely fastened this burthen upon their shoulders, was so void of all sentiment and gratitude, that he exercised his authority over the people in the most arbitrary and unwarrantable manner. This at last grew so intolerable, that the incensed sufferers came to an almost general resolution not to pay the tax. Hereupon he applied for orders from home for putting the law in execution. The assembly petitioned against him, but in vain. The inhabitants paid, at that time, 10,000 *l.* a year to the unappropriated revenue ; and 50,000 *l.* a year in customs. They complained, “ the island had been so far from reaping any advantage “ from their indiscreet generosity, that, on the contrary, the public “ good was entirely neglected, and no measures taken to redress their “ grievances ; but his excellency and his creatures had thereby “ been better enabled, and more at leisure, to oppress the inhabi- “ tants ; the militia had been totally neglected ; their fortifications “ suffered to go to decay ; the public stores were embezzled ; and “ all persons in office under his excellency busied in nothing but “ how to raise fortunes from the ruins of the people : that, by this “ tax, all the current cash of the island was brought into his ex- “ cellency’s coffers ; trade stagnated ; the value of the island pro- “ duce was lowered, to the vast damage of the distressed inhabitants, “ who were forced to part with their goods at any price, to raise “ their quota of a tax, not only heavy in itself, but doubly grievous “ in regard to the ill effects it had upon trade, and the markets in “ the colony.” Such is the picture exhibited, by the representatives, of the wretched state to which their country was reduced by an excess of confidence and bounty, lavished on their base and worthless

governor. Such was the vice-roy, selected from a great kingdom, and sent to fleece and play the tyrant over the industrious planters of an abused colony. Such was their supreme legislator, and commander in chief. The bashaw, who should be found guilty of having perpetrated such iniquities in a Turkish province, would infallibly forfeit his head, or perish by the bow-string. But our English despot was permitted to sit down quietly in the enjoyment of his plunder, to laugh at the easy credulity, and mock the impotent rage, of an injured people. At the time when this hero thought proper to quit the island, and repair to England, near 20,000*l.* of this money was in arrear. This he prosecuted, and recovered to the uttermost farthing. The bad effects of this enormous and fatal grant were the principal cause of the steadiness of the New-England assembly, in opposing the stated settlement of an annual salary on their governor, although he was a native, and therefore not likely to misuse the treasures that might be given him. They have inflexibly persisted in this wise resolution ever since; and experience has not only confirmed them in the propriety of their conduct, but has also taught them this position, that their determined inflexibility has forced their governors thankfully to accept a salary according to the measure and mode prescribed by their assembly, and notwithstanding any *instructions* to the contrary.

### S E C T. III.

#### *Militia Commissions.*

THE governor grants all commissions in the militia independently of the council and assembly, and takes them away at discretion. It is, in part, by an improper exertion of this power, that the militia of our island is much degenerated from what it antiently was. The policy of it requires every man to enlist, who is capable of serving; and our militia laws have enforced this maxim. How injurious, therefore, must it prove to the welfare of the island, and its security, that men of fortune and ability have so often been capriciously superseded, and causelessly deprived of their commissions, to  
regale

regale the passions and humours of such governors! Few such men are now ambitious of serving. Instead of this, they hasten to be superseded by the governor, that they may retire as reformed officers, not being compellable to accept a commission inferior in rank to what they have before held. Governors, having no interest in the fate of the country, nor caring what became of it after their present turn was served, have too frequently been addicted to these abuses; promoting mean and unworthy persons to commissions of rank, and arbitrarily removing gentlemen of the most respectable qualifications, to make way for them. There is nothing of more consequence to the safety of the island, than to keep up a well-disciplined and properly-officered militia, and to make this service (which is without pay) so honourable, as to be coveted by the most opulent men in the island. The way to effect this is, to obtain the royal sanction to a law which shall deprive the governor of this pernicious power, and leave him the right of appointing with advice and consent of his council; but in no case to vest him with authority to break, or supersede, an officer, except after a regular, fair trial, conviction, and judgement, by a *court-martial*. If this regulation took place, no officer could be stripped of his commission without having been guilty of some misdemeanor to deserve such disgrace; and governors would not be left at wanton liberty to sacrifice, to their private spleen and petulance, the general good of the island. It is greatly to be wished, that his majesty would so far relax his prerogative in this necessary point, since the very being of his colony seems to require it. The terms of every man's patent *here* provide, that he shall bear arms, and defend the island against all insurrections against his majesty's government, and hostile invasions of foreign enemies. But what defence is to be expected, on the one hand, from a parcel of hired servants, who have no interest worth contending for; and, on the other, from men of real property, who, by becoming reformed or superseded officers, are in a manner excluded from all active service, and totally unpractised in the use of arms, and knowledge of military discipline? A new regulation of our militia seems to be much wanted; but the strictest rules of war will be ineffectual, while this exorbitant authority is suffered to remain in the hands of a commander in chief.

## S E C T. IV.

*Instructions.*

PRIVATE instructions from the crown to the governor are held to be restrictive, as *laws*, upon him and his privy council: they cannot be such on the people. They may be considered as the grand sources that feed the ferments and divisions between governors and colonists, which have so often plunged a whole country into the utmost confusion, and drawn the industrious, labouring inhabitant from his husbandry, or trade, to idle contests in the political field, with no less detriment to the colony, than to the mother state. Governors have a discretionary power, in most cases, whether to dispense with these instructions, or enforce. Many of them are repugnant to each other; and, by lapse of time, and change of manners, are now grown inconsistent with the constitution: yet the same form is literally adhered to, and, like a shadow, regularly accompanies every new commission. Ought they not to be revised? or, rather, why do they exist at all? if they are not effectual, why are they suffered to remain *in statu quo*? The people will not receive them, and are not compellable to receive them, as *laws*. Why then are they not, at least, pruned of excrescences, and reduced to a small number, relative to such articles alone as materially affect the just prerogative of the crown, and discipline of the privy-council? A wicked and artful governor, sheltering himself under the ambiguity of their expression, is able to pervert them to the worst purposes, and to expound some clause for his justification in the most violent and daring attacks he can make on the liberties of the people. They, who are perfectly sensible of this, from sad and long experience, receive every proposition that comes from their governor with jealousy and suspicion. Hence a total want of confidence; which is followed by mutual discontent and hostile behaviour. Hence the public business is interrupted, the affairs of administration neglected, the people dissatisfied, and anxious for a change. These instructions are never communicated to the

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people

people by some governors; and, by others, they are retailed in piece-meal, only to shew, that their hands are tied up from doing what, perhaps, the colony exigences, and universal voice of the people, require. A man, armed with *secret* orders and institutions, comes, like an assassin, with a dagger concealed beneath his cloak; and his smiling countenance is justly regarded as a cover to some villainous design. Is it becoming the dignity and candour of British government, to tolerate, now-a-days, this appearance of perfidy and under-hand dealing? Inform the people at once what is expected from them; and, if it is legal, not a man would lift his hand against it. Establish *mutual confidence*. This is the only way to make British subjects in love with government, and ever ready with their hearts and purses. You may gain both by openness of conduct; but you must ever depend on finding them shut fast against duplicity. Diffidence directs the way to caution; caution to resistance. In the primitive unsettled times of colonization, instructions might be proper; in this age, they seem in great measure unnecessary and insignificant, the springs of much animosity, and of no one apparent advantage to government. If they serve for shelter to a bad governor, that he may screen himself from the resentment of an injured community, they will as assuredly be turned into stumbling-blocks in the way of an upright one. They are disliked by such governors; and execrated by the people.

## S E C T. V.

*Of Factions in Jamaica.*

IT has been a commonly-received opinion, that the people of this island are fond of opposition to their governors; that they are ever discontented, and factious. This notion, artfully disseminated by bad governors and their adherents, is extremely unjust. The native spirit of freedom, which distinguishes British subjects beyond most others, is not confined to the mother country; but discovers itself in the remotest parts of her empire, and chiefly in a resistance

to acts of oppression, and such unwarrantable measures, as they know, or at least believe, have a certain tendency to abridge them of those rights to which they lay claim in virtue of our excellent constitution. It has been observed by a writer, and very justly, that, whenever any innovations are, by administration at home, intended to be made upon the established constitution of our colonies, they naturally will begin with some insignificant colony, and, from precedents of impotent colonies, proceed to impose on the more rich and valuable ones. A recollection of attempts of this nature, and the apprehension of losing any part of their established rights, render the colonies ever vigilant, jealous, and ready in opposition to their governors, upon the first glimmering of such an intention to impose upon them. It must be confessed, that administration first allured people to settle in the colonies by every offer of favour and indulgence; yet has it afterwards been, at all times, too prone to repent, as it were, of its generosity, and to endeavour to draw back again some part of its first concessions. The attempt, during the reign of Charles II. to impose the Irish mode of legislation upon this island, is still fresh in their memory: not less so are the many subsequent endeavours to abridge their legislative freedom; to substitute the king's instructions for laws of the island; to hold their acts of assembly in suspense, until the pleasure of the crown should be known; to raise money by governor and council, without the concurrence of the people's representatives; and other enormities of the like nature. Besides, not a few needy ministerial dependents have been shuffled into this government, merely to enable them to replenish their empty bags by meanness and oppression; some of whom, being far inferior in fortune, education, and ability, to many gentlemen in the island, have justly become the objects of their contempt, if not abhorrence. The gentlemen of this island regard a governor in no other light than as their *fellow-subject*. If he acquits himself with honour, good sense, and propriety, in his office, they respect and esteem him accordingly: but, as they are for their own parts honest, undesigning, frank, and munificent in their dispositions; it is very natural for them to despise a person invested with this high office, who sullies it with the haughtiness, baseness, penury, and rapacity, of his temper and actions. If a governor, fancying himself on board

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a man of war, will take upon him, in a fit of wrath, to lay men in irons in a common gaol, to laugh at the *habeas corpus*, and attempt innovations in government, of the most dangerous tendency; ought he not to be resisted? If another, qualified by preeminent abilities for governing with honour, sinks unhappily beneath the influence of an avarice which neither a sense of duty to the nation, nor regard to his office and character, can restrain; prostitutes all for money; and not only practises himself, but encourages in subordinate departments, the most pitiful exactions; if, sullyng every virtue of his heart with disingenuity in his professions, rapacity and despotism in his actions, he stabs the trade of the colony, sets the inhabitants at variance with each other, impairs the public credit, degrades the dignity, and abuses the duty and power of his trust; can it excite wonder, if such a ruler should be opposed by all, except that most servile and abandoned herd which is endued with the like sordid passions, and actuated by the same views, as himself? Our misfortune is, that the people at home are informed of the existence of these disputes and disgusts, without knowing the true and genuine springs of them. When they hear the inhabitants blamed, the governor extolled, they should reserve their determination until they can learn the whole merit of the case on both sides; for they would then find, that, nine times in ten, the people are in the right, their governor greatly culpable. Acts of arbitrary power, and other misdemeanors in office, which frequently involve a whole colony in discord, must ever be attended ultimately with consequences disagreeable to all persons in Great-Britain who are connected with it in commercial transactions. Such persons rarely look further, than to see that the consignments arrive in their hands regularly and punctually. They chuse not to have the sober walk of trade interrupted with the cabals and politics of a colony: they judge these to be incompatible (as indeed they seem) with the spirit and success of mercantile business; they are, therefore, ever forward in censuring the planters for leaving the *main-chance*, to contend against the violences of a governor; not considering that a colony must cease to flourish, the planters to be industrious, their settlements to thrive, trade itself to prosper, or their remittances to flow plentifully towards Great-Britain, when-



ever the inhabitants are deprived of those necessary benefits, protection and encouragements, which chiefly render their settlements eligible, the colony vigorous: for such were the true and original foundations upon which the colonists were first induced to exhaust their purses, and almost their lives, in these distant corners of the world. They may think it immaterial: but I will venture to say, that no governor will ever be acceptable to the colony, whose disposition and behaviour do not qualify him to be beloved at home. On the other hand, a governor, who possesses a generous heart, a liberal and comprehensive mind, a suavity of manners, and virtuous principles, will ever be admired, respected, and almost adored, among the inhabitants. Such gentlemen as Lord Howe, at Barbadoes; Sir William Beefton, and the late governor Trelawney, at Jamaica; will always command the affections and purses of a colony. But, as for the whole tribe of hirelings, tools, and sycophants, men of narrow souls and mean prejudices, they must never expect to meet with that friendly reception amongst plain, honest men, to which neither their character, principles, nor conduct, entitle them. Their conceit and vanity, on being elevated to a viceroyalty, will pervert what little understanding they possess; and, when joined to a corrupt heart, and a selfish, servile turn of mind, they must necessarily be prompted to exercise every species of wanton caprice, and oppressive and arbitrary measures; descending, at the same time, to the lowest practices of venality and dishonour. The whole body of our Jamaica merchants and traders is deeply interested in the appointment of a governor of that island. While the internal tranquillity and harmony of the planters remain uninterrupted by wanton insults and mis-rule of their governors; and while the traders of the island receive all due encouragement and protection in every useful branch of their commerce; the whole and united force of industry throughout the island, every portion of time, will be applied, in one general exertion, to the increase of produce, and successful progress of trade. The effects of this, in punctual and satisfactory remittances to the mother country, must (we may suppose) be more pleasing and desirable to the British merchant, than to suffer under those frequent disappointments,

alarms,

alarms, delays, and short confinements, which are usually the consequence of political distraction in a colony: by these, the hours, days, and weeks, that should be devoted to business, are consumed in the vehemence of party wrangle and election contests; the mills stand still; shops are shut up; and the whole country becomes a scene of tumult and litigation. Seeing, therefore, the importance of their interposition, I sincerely wish, that they may, at all times hereafter, exert themselves in preventing the appointment of any man, whose character, disposition, or circumstances, may have a tendency to produce a scene of discord and confusion, so very obnoxious to the interest and welfare of every person connected with the island. It is, indeed, their particular duty to be thus attentive; for the gentlemen of Jamaica have it not in their power to contest any appointment, though ever so displeasing to them; scarcely learning who is to be their governor till he sets foot among them. Besides, the characters of public men are much better known in England than they can be abroad: and, when persons are honoured with this commission, whose reputation and principles are irreproachable, and even highly approved in England; the people of Jamaica will, with greater propriety, merit the epithets of factious and turbulent, if they should wantonly oppose the administration of such men. Factions need not be apprehended, if the person, appointed to this government, joins integrity of heart to a competent share of ability. Nor will the duties of administration be so arduous, in the hands of such a man, as might at first be supposed; for, in the conducting of ordinary business, after acquiring a knowledge of the forms, what remains will be found to glide on easily, by means of order and method. In fact, the *routine* of business is a point of the least concern. Abilities will add lustre to the station, and may give dispatch to business when *rightly applied*. But the essential qualification is goodness of heart; without which, the greater the abilities are, the more reason will the people have for dreading their prostitution to bad purposes. In few words, the first great principle is, to *mean well*; the next, to *do well*.

## C H A P. III.

## S E C T. I.

*Lieutenant Governor and President.*

THE lieutenant-governor and president of the council are allowed, by the king's instruction, to take only one half of the revenue salary of 2500*l.* if they should succeed to the supreme command; notwithstanding that the expences, during their government, are as large as those of a governor in chief. If the governor and lieutenant-governor happen to die, or are obliged to be absent from the island for a twelvemonth, on account of health, one half of their revenue salary, or 1250*l.* devolves, upon their demise, or during their absence, to the president of the council; who then becomes commander in chief *pro tempore*. In the mean time, the country allowance of 2500*l.* is suspended, as it is made payable only during actual residence on the island. Some ministers have conceived an opinion, that the surplus of the governor's revenue salary, viz. 1250*l. per annum*, accruing during the administration of a lieutenant-governor, or president, is a lapse to the crown, and lies in his majesty's disposal, at pleasure. But in this they have been mistaken, for want of knowing, that, by our revenue-law, the crown has fully granted, and conveyed away, all right and pretension to any such surplusage unto the public of Jamaica, for the uses of government there [b]. The crown, therefore, being precluded for ever by this grant, cannot alter the disposition of it: and, in pursuance of that law, it is appropriated, by the legislature of the

[b] By clause 23, it is enacted, "that the said whole revenue shall be appropriated to the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof, and the other uses in this act mentioned; and to no other use, intent, or purpose, whatsoever."—And, by clause 27, "all surplusages of the revenue, or excess, over and above the stipulated annual estimate of 8000*l.* are to be applied to such uses as the governor, council, and assembly, by any law, may think proper."—The meaning of which seems to be, that they should not be applied, except under the directions of a positive law of the island; nor to any uses other than the uses of the island government.

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island, in aid of the other provisions for defraying the contingent charges of government. Previous to the existence of this law, the crown disposed of fines, forfeitures, quit-rents, and escheats, at pleasure. With respect to the revenue allowance itself, of 2500*l.* the crown may still grant it in such measure, to the commander in chief for the time being, as seems good : and, on the succession of a lieutenant-governor, who is ordered to take only one moiety of that sum, the other moiety commonly serves as a *sinking fund*, to make good deficiencies in any other branch.

It is supposed, that a president of the council, taking upon him the government on the demise, absence, or non-appointment, of a governor, or lieutenant-governor, cannot legally *dissolve* the house of assembly, nor issue writs for calling a new one ; because he has no express commission from the sovereign, under the great seal of Great-Britain, giving him authority for this purpose. By the laws of England, the king ought to be present in his parliament, either in person, or by representative. The manner in which he is represented is by a commission under the great seal, directed to certain eminent persons, empowering them to begin the parliament, to prorogue, or to dissolve it. His majesty's commission, under the great seal, to his *locum tenentes*, the governor, or lieutenant-governor, authorizes them, by the same constitutional rule, to do and execute certain things which they could not otherwise legally or constitutionally do. I have never heard, that such an authority to dissolve assemblies was ever given to a president of the council ; and, if a president has at any time exercised such a power without the authority of such a commission, I presume it was wholly illegal and unwarrantable. I have mentioned this, because it seems necessary that the extent and limits of their several provinces should be precisely marked, and publicly known. Against the oppressive acts and mis-rule of governors, the people of the colonies have three modes of redress. The first is, by petition to his majesty in council, praying the removal of the offender. The second, by suit in the court of king's-bench at Westminster-hall [i]. The third, by complaint preferred at the bar of the house of commons. The first mode is what has generally been pursued. It is true, his majesty in council may not

[i] Per stat. 11 & 12 Geo. III. cap. 12.

have

have power to inflict any other degree of punishment on the governor, than removal from his post : but the colonists have been satisfied with bringing his tyrannies to this period, without desiring to prosecute any further revenge. This mode, it must be allowed, is extremely imperfect, and the redress dilatory. The people must be greatly incensed, by a continual repetition of injuries, before they will make this request to the throne : and, considering the remoteness of their situation, the governor has full leisure to take vengeance on his accusers, previous to his recall : he may also throw such obstacles in the way, by dissolving their assembly, and refusing to call another, as may prevent them from uniting, and framing such a petition in the regular way. Their last resource in this event is by remonstrance of a grand jury ; and of this the history of Jamaica furnishes one example. The second means of redress is suitable only to private wrongs done to individuals : for the collective body of the people cannot sue in the king's-bench court ; or, if they could, a law-court seems insufficient for the purpose, because offences in government, though very grievous, can hardly ever be so accurately defined, as to be the proper objects of such a court, tied up by forms, and the rigid letter of the law. The third mode is undoubtedly equal to the subject of complaint : but, as the bad conduct of any governor must reflect some scandal on his patrons, and thus involve them in his disgrace ; and as such a person is generally powerful in his family or party connexions at home ; we do not find any example of effectual redress obtained through this channel. The colonies must, therefore, appear to be left too much exposed ; and not adequately provided with a means of bringing a bad governor to condign punishment. Such a man can never be deterred by the fear of a recall, after he has enriched himself by his iniquities : fearless of any other consequence, he regards it not as a punishment, but as a means given him of retiring quietly to enjoy the fruits of his mal-administration. It may not be improper to close this subject with a sketch of the constitution which prevails in the French islands : but I shall leave it to the reader, to draw his own conclusions from an impartial comparison.

The government of the several divisions of the French islands is in a governor, or general, an intendant, and a royal council. The  
governor

governor is invested with a great deal of power ; which, however, on the side of the crown, is checked by the intendant, who has the care of the king's rights, and whatever relates to the revenue ; and, on the side of the people, it is checked by the royal council, whose office it is to see, that the people are not oppressed by the one, nor defrauded by the other ; and they are all checked by the constant and jealous eye of the government at home ; for the officers at all the ports in France are charged, under the severest penalties, to interrogate all captains of ships, coming from the colonies, concerning the reception they met at the ports they were bound to ; how justice was administered to them ; what charges they were made liable to, and of what kinds : the passengers, and even the sailors, are examined upon these heads ; and a verbal process of the whole is formed, and transmitted with all speed to the admiralty. Complaints are encouraged ; but a difference is made between hearing an accusation and condemning upon it. That the colonies may have as little load as possible, and that the governor may have less temptation to stir up troublesome intrigues, or favour factions in his government, his salary is paid by the crown. His perquisites are none ; and he is strictly forbidden to carry on any trade, or to have any plantations on the islands or on the continent, or any interest whatever in goods or lands within his government, except the house he lives in, and a garden for his convenience and recreation. All the other officers are paid by the crown, and out of the revenues of Old France. The fortifications are built and repaired, and the soldiers paid, out of the same funds.

## S E C T. II.

*Seals.*

THE governor's privy-seal, or seal of office, is his coat of arms cut on a die about the size of a half-crown piece. This is used for sealing orders of council, orders for surveying land, civil and military commissions, warrants, presentations, and the like. The great seal of the island is, I believe, equal in size to the great seal of

Great-Britain.

Great-Britain. It is affixed to all patents, commissions *de lunatico inquirendo*, grand commissions of the peace, and of oyer and terminer, writs for electing members of the assembly, and generally to all such instruments as are sealed in the like manner in Great-Britain.

On one side of the great seal are the royal arms and titles. On the reverse, in the time of Charles II. that monarch was represented enthroned in his royal robes, holding the globe and sceptre: at the foot of the throne, two Negroes *à genoux* before him, supporting a basket filled with American fruits. On the exergue, CAROLVS SECVNDVS, DEI GRATIA, MAGNAE BRITANNIAE, FRANCIAE, ET HIBERNIAE, REX; DOMINVS JAMAICAE; FIDEI DEFENSOR.

The addition of *dominus*, or lord of Jamaica, was assumed by that king in compliment to the island, meaning to take it under his especial patronage. Below is this motto: DVRO DE CORTICE, FRVCTVS QVAM DVLCIS!

On the present seal his majesty is represented in his regalia, standing a little inclined forward, holding the sceptre in his right hand, and extending his left towards a basket of fruit, which a Negroe, in a savage dress, presents *à genoux*, or in a kneeling posture. In another compartment are the arms of the island. The inscription is, *mutatis mutandis*, the same as that above-mentioned. If the group was intended as emblematical, there seems a very striking propriety in it. The attitude in which his majesty is placed may denote his gracious condescension towards his subjects of this colony; and the substitution of *one* Negroe, with a very large collation of fruits, in the room of *two*, with a much smaller basket, may serve to indicate, that the crown receives far greater benefits, in its present flourishing state, from the labours of one subject, than Charles gained from double the number.

## C H A P. IV.

*Of the Council.*

THIS body is appointed by his majesty's writ of privy-seal, which constitutes the individuals of its members of his majesty's privy-council for this island. Their legislative authority is supposed to be held by virtue of a clause of his majesty's commission to his governor under the great seal, empowering him to concur with the council and assembly in passing laws, statutes, and ordinances. What further concerns their authority and proceedings is regulated by their own votes, or by the royal instructions, of which every governor receives a code at the time of his appointment. Upon being honoured with a seal, they take an oath of *secrecy* and *fidelity*. The full complement of the board is twelve. The governor is empowered to fill it up to seven, but not beyond; and this is necessary, because it has sometimes happened, that governors have thought themselves obliged to suspend every one of the members, and replace them with a new set; whose appointment in this mode, being grounded on an instruction, is not valid without his majesty's confirmation. Five, I think, according to their usage, make a *quorum*. Their officers are a chaplain, clerk, usher of the black rod, messenger, and printer. The governor may suspend any, or all of them, without assigning his reasons either to the member suspended, or to the rest, or taking the sense or consent of the majority thereupon. He is, by the crown, commanded to signify the cause of suspension to the lords commissioners for trade and plantations (perhaps also to the secretary for the colonies), to be laid before his majesty in council, that he may judge of its fitness. He is to allow them freedom of debate on all matters which may be debated at their board; to communicate such of his majesty's instructions as he thinks proper for his majesty's service; and, before the suspension of any members for non-attendance, he is to admonish them; but, if they persist in their error, he may then apply the rod of suspension. He is likewise directed to transmit lists of



such persons in the colony as he thinks most proper to supply vacancies at the board, who are specially required to be men "of good ability, fortune, and *not much in debt*;" an injunction which has not always been rigidly obeyed. In the suspension of members, a governor may be influenced by unworthy motives; but, as a remedy for this, his majesty is judge of appeal. It is very common, therefore, to see counsellors, who have been suspended by one governor, restored to their seats again at the commencement of the succeeding governor's administration: and the ministry seem cautious of much encouraging these suspensions, as the gentlemen serve without any other pay than the honour of their privy-seal. In the province of Massachusetts, in New-England, the council consists of twenty-eight members, who are to be advising and assisting to the governor, and constitute *one negative* in the legislature, analogous to the house of lords in Great-Britain. They are annually chosen by joint vote of a majority of the last year's council, and of the new house of representatives. But, although their election is annual, the former counsellors are generally returned. Seven make a *quorum*; and the governor appoints, with their advice and consent, all civil officers, except those of the finance: and such appointments are not made without a summons, issued out seven days before the nomination, to such of the counsellors as are at that time residing in the province. The inconveniences supposed to be incident to this constitution are, that the council may be intimidated by the governor, who has a power of negating any counsellor's election, without alledging reasons; and may also stand in awe of the house of representatives as to their election: and, when this is really the case, they must appear not to be free agents. I agree with the historian (Douglas), that the counsellors, so elected, are in these circumstances not absolutely free agents. But they seem to me as much so as men can be who are not hereditary members of the great legislative body like the house of peers: for, if they are in awe of the governor's negative on the one side, they may be equally so of the representatives negative on the other; and therefore are obliged, if they wish a continuance in their seats, to hold such a moderation of conduct between the two opposite powers, as must render them perfectly impartial to either in their proceedings; and not liable to be

be hurried away by those gusts of passion and prejudice, which are so apt to overset the minds of a council dependent solely upon one branch. Nor can I think any just objection would be offered against this mode of appointment : for, if they lean too much towards the popular scale in one year, they may stand excluded afterwards by the governor's right of rejection : if, on the contrary, they should incline more than becomes them to the measures of a governor in the extension of illegal prerogative, and turn arrant courtiers, there can be little expectation that the house of representatives will make choice of them a second time. I own, that the discovery of this happy medium of conduct may be difficult to some, and the idea hateful to others, who are more ambitious of lording it over their fellow-subjects, than of pursuing the common objects of public welfare. But men of sense and integrity may, in most emergencies, treat on public affairs coolly and dispassionately, as mediators between the two contending parties ; which if they were themselves of either party, they might be apt to espouse with too much heat and acrimony. However imperfect, then, this second branch of the New-England legislature may be, I persuade myself, that it will appear far better constituted than our Jamaica council. I shall hereafter endeavour fully to point out the impropriety of confounding a privy and legislative council together ; suggesting, at the same time, what I humbly conceive would be a more rational and constitutional plan. Impeachments cannot be put in use here in the same mode as practised in England, because we have no house of peers ; yet something in the nature of impeachment has obtained here. I need not enumerate every instance : one of the most recent will suffice, viz. the case of Mr. P——, *anno* 1756, at that time chief-justice of the island, and a member of the council ; whose conduct in both capacities was arraigned by the house of assembly ; and evidence solemnly taken at their bar, to prove the charges against him. These charges were reduced into several resolutions : and concluded with an address to the then lieutenant-governor, desiring, that he would be pleased to suspend the said Mr. P—— from his seat in the privy-council, until his majesty's pleasure should be known ; and, further, that he would remove the said Mr. P—— from the place and office of chief-justice, and from all other posts and employments

of public trust which he then held. This address, with the several examinations taken before the house in support of their allegations, was sent to the lieutenant-governor, who, in consequence thereof, after hearing what Mr. P—— and the rest of the privy-counsellors had to say in his defence, was pleased to suspend and remove him, according to the prayer of the house. I have cited these particulars, to shew the course and order of proceeding, and how exceedingly they differ from impeachments by the house of commons in Great-Britain. With us, the commander in chief is the judge to decide; to him the charge and evidence are transmitted on the one side; and he also receives the evidence and answer from the other: but no opportunity is given the assembly to rejoin upon the reply of the accused person, nor to argue upon the errors, fallacies, or insufficiency of it, or to enlarge on the points of their accusation and testimony, and pray judgement upon a full discussion on both sides: so that their proceeding has not the essentials of a regular issue and trial. It may be observed here, as in Britain, that accusations have frequently sprung from violent party-heats and animosities; by which means, presumptive evidence has been received for proof positive, circumstances exaggerated, and the gratification of private rancour more often found to be the leading motive, than honest zeal for public justice. The few members who compose the council, and the smallness of their quorum, form an objection to their sitting as judges upon an impeached brother counsellor; for, in most cases, they may be so connected with him in the quarrel, as to be parties as well as judges, and therefore partial and prejudiced in their judgement. But, imperfect as this form of proceeding is, it is certainly better than none at all. Governors may sometimes carry an undue affection towards a counsellor; but, in general, the people can reasonably hope for a more impartial decision and effectual redress from a governor, than from the more immediate friends, partisans, and confederates, of the delinquent. In the British constitution, there is said to be no mal-practice without a suitable remedy. So, in the colony, neither a chief-justice, nor privy-counsellor, are to oppress the subject, or act in either capacity with flagrant injustice or illegality, without being amenable to a power of controul. The grand inquest, or power of bringing such offenders to justice, is constitutionally

stitutionally and necessarily lodged with the house of representatives. The power of giving judgement rests with the crown, or its delegate. The house of assembly has always been used to inquire into the abuses and corruptions of office, the obstructions to public justice, and the complaints of subjects oppressed by the hand of power; and to bring the delinquents in such case to justice. “If  
 “an offender be in any station below the governor, the custom has  
 “been, to lay the evidence of his guilt before his excellency, and by  
 “address desire he may be prosecuted, and dismissed from the office  
 “he has abused. If the oppression comes from any of the courts,  
 “or offices which the governor himself holds, they seek for redress  
 “by an application in the same manner to his majesty: insomuch  
 “that public officers and magistrates, of all ranks, from the justice  
 “of the peace up to the chief-justice, the members of the council,  
 “and the governor, have at times been made to feel the weight of  
 “this authority, and to suffer for their excesses. So that, although  
 “the assembly do not *impeach*, in the strict and usual acceptation of  
 “the term; yet they exercise powers as constitutional, though not  
 “in every respect so effectual, to protect the subject, and bring the  
 “guilty to punishment [k].”

## C H A P. V.

*Of the Assembly.*

THE assembly is chosen in consequence of a writ issued by the governor, in his majesty's name, to the provost-marshal general, who stands here in place of high-sheriff, and executes the like office. The writ recites the royal proclamation issued, declaring his majesty's will and pleasure for calling an assembly, to meet at St. Jago de la Vega, on a certain day mentioned, to make, constitute, and ordain, laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the public welfare, and good government of the island, &c. He is required, at a certain time and place mentioned, in each parish or town respec-

[k] Privileges of Jamaica vindicated; a pamphlet.

tively, to summon the freeholders to meet; and then and there proceed to elect the fittest and discreetest of their body (mentioning their number), to be chosen by the major part of them then present. He is further directed, to see that the election is freely and indifferently carried on, without faction or interest, and to make a due return thereof to the governor in council, with a certificate of the member or members elect, under the hands and seals of the principal and most sufficient freeholders of the town or parish. The return on this writ is in the form of an indenture between the provost-marshal-general and the subscribing freeholders; which sets forth the names of the persons whom the majority has representatively chosen as most fit and discreet, "giving and granting to the said representatives full and sufficient power, for themselves and the commonalty of the town or parish, to do and consent to those things which at the assembly (in the writ mentioned) shall be agreed upon concerning the affairs in the said writ specified." In testimony of which, the certifying freeholders set their hands and seals to one part, to remain with the governor until the meeting; and the provost-marshal attests the counterpart. This writ and return being left in the governor's office till the house is assembled, they are then sent down to the house, and afterwards lodged in the chancery office. The house, when met, send a message to acquaint the governor, who thereupon directs two of the council, with the clerk of that board, to attend them, and administer the usual oaths, and among others the oath of qualification. After this ceremony, the counsellors inform them, that the governor commands the house to proceed to the choice of a speaker. The speaker being chosen, and conducted to the chair, another message is sent to the governor; after which, the whole house attend to present him. The governor receives them in council; and, having approved the choice, the speaker demands, in the name of the house, their ancient rights and privileges, freedom of debate, liberty of access to his excellency's person, and exemption from arrests during the sitting; which being recognized by the governor, they receive his speech: and, on returning to the house, elect their clerk, messenger (or serjeant at arms), and chaplain; the two former are then sent with a member,

and

and sworn in before the governor. Some other preliminary business being done, they proceed to establish their rules, of which there are about thirty-seven, all fairly engrossed, and hung up in their house, for the information of the members. These rules are frequently altered, or new ones resolved, according to exigences, by every new assembly. Among others, not very material to mention, are the following, which may be called standing rules, viz.

That seven be a quorum, to meet and adjourn, and send for absent members: That the assembly always, at rising, do adjourn from time to time, as they shall see it convenient for the speedy dispatch of affairs; and that none depart the house without the speaker's leave, upon any pretence whatsoever.

That no member of the honourable the council of this island hath any right to interfere with, or to give his vote in, the election of any member to serve in this assembly.

That twenty-one make a quorum, to act as if all the members were present, and to proceed to all business.

That no member of this house hath any privilege in regard to his goods or chattels, except such as are necessary for his accommodation during his attendance on the house.

That every member of the house enjoy the privilege of his person, against all arrests and imprisonments, in such manner as hath been heretofore used and accustomed, except in cases of treason, felony, breach of the peace, forcible entries, forcible detainers, payment of any aids, supplies, or taxes, granted for the support of his majesty's government of the island, or of any parish duties. The assembly exercises a right of adjournment *de die in diem*; but, for a longer space, the speaker obtains the governor's leave. For better supporting the dignity of the house, and more effectual dispatch of the public business, they exercise also the powers of sending for persons, papers, and records; of commanding attendances at their bar, or on their committees; of ordering into custody of their messenger all persons wilfully and contumaciously disobedient to their authority, by refusing attendance, or otherwise, in matters of the *public concern*; privileges, which are in general cautiously and sparingly exerted. Their bills undergo three readings. On the second, they are considered and amended in a committee of the whole

whole house, and afterwards, if approved by a majority, they are ordered to be engrossed; then read a third time; and, upon the question, either rejected or passed. If passed, they are signed by the speaker, and sent to the council; where they go through much the same process. When passed by all the three branches, the *teste* is subscribed in this order:

Passed the council, C.D. Cl'k Conc.	I consent, E. F.	Passed the assembly, A. B. speaker.
{ Date 2. }	{ Date of the governor's signature 3. }	{ Date 1. }

After being thus passed, they take immediate effect, if not otherwise provided by some clause contained in them; the political circumstances of the colony not admitting of their continuing in suspense until his majesty's pleasure be known thereupon, as is the case with Ireland, and, I believe, some other branches of the empire, where the like necessity does not operate so strongly. The assembly consider their privileges as derived to them from their constituents; and that they are not concessions from the crown, but the right and inheritance of the people; and that the privileges which they claim are absolutely necessary to support their own proper authority, and to give the people of the colony that protection against arbitrary power, which nothing but a free and independent assembly can give. Their right they found on this presumption, that the assembly of this island holds the same rank in the system of their constitution, as a British house of commons does in that of the mother country [1]. And, surely, these are principles settled on so just and rational a foundation, that no true Briton will attempt to controvert them. They consider instructions from the crown to the governor as recommendatory only, but not obligatory upon them; that acts of parliament only are obligatory; that they are at liberty to vary at

[1] It is a well-known anecdote, that Mr. Yeomans, agent for Antigua, and another gentleman, attending on Lord Wilmington, as president of the council, on affairs of that island; the gentleman proposed to his lordship, that he should *oblige* the assembly of Antigua to do what he supposed ought to be done. His lordship, turning to Mr. Yeomans, said, "What do you think of this doctrine?" Who answering, "that he must leave it to his lordship;" he replied, "Then I must say, that, in my opinion, we have no more right to *compel* the assembly of Antigua, than we have to *compel* the *parliament* of Great-Britain."

pleasure from any former grants of salary to their governors; that the council may only concur or not concur in a tax, or any other money-bill; but may make no amendments, the business of supplying the treasury always originating in their house. The times of their meeting, and their duration, are at the governor's pleasure. An attempt was once made to appoint their term triennial; but the bill miscarried. A governor has been known to dissolve several times in the same year, endeavouring to garble an house to his liking: but few attempts of this nature have succeeded; because it is not in the power of any governor to seduce the majority, by any modes of bribery and corruption that he can exercise. The votes of very few electors are to be bought. The freeholders in general are possessed of so independent a spirit, that they preserve in most of the parishes an absolute freedom in their choice, founded on the opinion they have conceived of their candidate, his principles, character, and ability to do his country service. The qualification of a freeholder for voting at elections is 10*l. per annum*, arising from lands, tenements, or hereditaments. A person elected member must swear, before he can be admitted to sit, that he is possessed of 300*l. per annum*, or 3000*l.* in gross, over and above what is sufficient to pay all his debts: and sometimes this qualification has been minutely inquired into. The twenty parishes return forty-three members to serve in assembly; the parishes of St. Katharine, Kingston, and Port Royal, having each of them three representatives. But there are as yet no county members, answerable to knights of the shires in England; nor seems there at present any necessity, in respect to *matters of business*, for a further augmentation of their number. Forty-three are perhaps sufficient for transacting all the public affairs which properly fall under cognizance of the house. If there be any other reason to increase the number, it must be founded on the inequality of representation. In the year 1768, the proportions of the poll-tax, paid by the respective counties, were as follow:

	£	s.	d.
Middlesex, ——— ——— ———	10,535	18	10½
Surry, ——— ——— ———	8,000	11	8½
Cornwall, ——— ——— ———	8,756	12	6
Total,	27,293	3	1



So that the counties of Middlesex and Cornwall paid more than twice as much as the county of Surry. The town of Kingston, in Surry, pays about two thirds more than the other two counties, in the articles of house, wheel, and rum tax, country houses not being rated. But, in regard to real property, the last-mentioned two counties possess, in the *ratio* of three to one, more than the county of Surry. For example:

Middlesex and Cornwall contained,

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-estates.
	127,362	and 114,288	and 505
Surry,	39,542	21,465	146

And the property is thus represented; viz.

Middlesex returns Members	—	17	} 27
Cornwall,	—	10	
Surry,	—	—	16

The two former counties, therefore, to be on equal footing of representation in the legislature, ought to send forty-eight members, instead of twenty-seven: and the whole number of assembly would then be sixty-four. For the cause of this inequality, we must go back to those early times when the island was not so extensively settled as it is present. In the year 1693, there were only sixteen parishes formed. In that year a tax of 450*l.* was laid upon the whole island, to defray the charge of public agents in England. This was levied upon a fair valuation: and, classing the several parishes under their respective counties as now settled, the quotas would stand thus:

	£	s.	d.
Middlesex,	—	—	234 16 00
Cornwall,	—	—	54 3 4
Surry,	—	—	173 5 3

Here Surry raised three times more than Cornwall; and Middlesex more than both of them added together. At that time there were, in the parishes which now form the county of Surry 833 families, and 6602 inhabitants. In Middlesex, 884 families, and 8696 inhabitants. And, in all the other parts of the island, not more than about 220 families, or 2000 persons. The major part of the white inhabitants then found, amounting to about 8000, were

were either seated in the towns of Port Royal and St. Jago de la Vega, or scattered near the sea-coasts; few, if any, attempts being as yet made to form inland plantations. The assembly appears to have been very remiss, in not attending to several particulars, whereby the number of inhabitants, progress or decline of settlements and trade, might from year to year be competently ascertained. Nothing is more necessary to this end, than to form two standing committees; one to be called the committee for trade, the other for settlements and state of the island. Under the former of these heads would be inquired and reported, in the annual session of the house, the number of topsail and other vessels cleared and entered in the preceding year; their tonnage; ports of destination; amount and quality, as far as can be obtained, of their cargoes, imports, and exports. Under the other head might be reported, a list of absentees; number of white inhabitants, men, women, and children; of soldiers, free Blacks, Maroons, and Mulattoes; Negroes and other slaves; cattle, and other stock; returns of the militia, horse and foot; number of settlements of all sorts; quantity of sugar, rum, indigo, and all other product, exported, or consumed within the island, during the preceding twelvemonth. It is easy to conceive, how necessary and useful a plan of this nature, annually digested, and preserved in the minutes of the house, must be, to give the members and their constituents a just idea of the planting and commercial state of the island. Without this knowledge, they are but groping in the dark, whenever any question is started and considered, affecting these important points. They cannot well understand the value and security of their lives and properties, the flourishing condition or declension of any material branch of product, nor know when nor how to apply timely remedies, without having a collection, drawn from a regular series of years, whereon to ground their judgement and conclusions. I shall desist from entering further into political discussion on the constitution of our legislative branches, reserving this for a separate part of my work; as what I have to mention would be too multifarious for this place. But I cannot any where so properly as under the present head introduce an estimate of one year's supply raised by assembly; which, being recent, and differing but little from that of any other year,

except upon extraordinary emergencies, may serve to convey a pretty correct idea of our public disbursements. The 8000*l.* standing annual revenue is not included in the estimate; but added to the sum total. Thus will be shewn the whole amount annually raised and expended within the island in support of our government, and for public services.

Hheads of the Estimate of Supplies for the Year 1768.

	£	s.	d.
Governor's additional salary, ——— ———	2,500	0	0
Clerk of the crown, and clerk of the court, 100 <i>l.</i> each	200	0	0
The regiments, forts, and fortifications, — ———	21,480	6	8½
Maroon-negro town, ——— ——— ———	1,300	0	0
Annuities to 26 Negroes, freed for public services,	290	0	0
Certificates of freedoms, ——— ——— ———	13	5	0
Gaol-fees of king's Negroes, ——— ——— ———	100	0	0
Waiters, and port-officers, ——— ——— ———	1,740	0	0
Repairing public buildings, ——— ——— ———	1,000	0	0
Officers of the assembly, ——— ——— ———	1,680	0	0
Agent for the island and committee of correspondence,	470	0	0
Chancery records, ——— ——— ——— ——— ———	499	0	4½
Transcribing and printing laws, ——— ——— ———	590	8	9
Printing the votes, ——— ——— ——— ——— ———	50	0	0
Transient sick and poor in Kingston and Spanish town,	400	0	0
Officers of the Bath, ——— ——— ——— ——— ———	240	0	0
Free school in Spanish town, ——— ——— ———	100	0	0
Annual king's plate, or horse-race, ——— ——— ———	118	15	0
To redeem a mortgage on Stewart's new-invented } cane-mill, ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— }	480	4	0
Public roads opening and repairing, ——— ——— ———	2,040	0	0
	<u>35,381</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>10</u>
Of this the 538 <i>l.</i> may be struck off for extra } charges, not occurring every year. This being } deducted, the average supply may be rated, } <i>communibus annis</i> , about ——— ——— ——— }	30,000	0	0
To which add the revenue, estimated by the law, at	8,000	0	0
	<u>38,000</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	The		

The sources of the revenue fund are import duties, laid by an act of the island, passed in 1728, on all foreign wines, spirituous liquors, beer, ale, cyder, mum, refined and other sugar, indigo, cotton, tobacco, ginger, cocoa, wine-licences, the crown's share of all fines, forfeitures, escheats, and produce of quit-rents; besides a duty (called the tonnage) of one pound weight of gunpowder *per* ton on all vessels arriving from parts beyond the Tropic of Cancer, or an equivalent in money, valued at 1*s.* 6*d.* *per* pound weight. The product of these several heads, in the year when this law passed, was supposed to amount as follows :

	£	s.	d.
Impost taken at a medium of nine years, — — — — —	2966	2	1
Quit-rents, — — — — —	1460	14	3
Fines, forfeitures, and escheats, — — — — —	437	13	3
Wine-licences, — — — — —	200	0	0
Gunpowder, — — — — —	257	2	11
New impost, including indigo and sugar, at moderate computation, — — — — —	3000	0	0
	8371	12	6

Upon this were founded the charges ; viz.

	£	s.	d.
The captain-general's salary, — — — — —	2500	0	0
Forts and fortifications, — — — — —	1250	0	0
Chief-justice's salary, — — — — —	120	0	0
Officers and gunners of fort Charles; viz.			
The captain, 6 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> , — — — — —	109	10	0
The lieutenant, 4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> — — — — —	82	2	6
Twelve matrosses in <i>actual service</i> , at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> , to be inhabitants of Port Royal, and continually resident there, and not to be enlisted in the independent companies, — — — — —	547	10	0
Armourer, — — — — —	40	0	0
Water for the garrison, — — — — —	24	0	0
Captain of the train in Spanish town, — — — — —	45	12	6

Auditor..

	£	s.	d.
Auditor-general, 150 <i>l.</i> sterling, at 40 <i>per cent.</i> exchange, — — — — }	210	0	0
Waiter's salary, — — — — —	120	0	0
Several ordinary charges; viz. public buildings, attorney-general's fees, clerk of the council, provost-mar- shal, clerk of the crown, clerk of the chancery for issuing writs of election, deputy-marshals for pri- soners, executing writs of elec- tion, receiver-general's commis- sion, king's evidence, and other small expences, computed at a me- dium, for nine years past, — — — — }	2390	0	0
Contingent charges <i>per annum</i> , — — — — —	568	15	0
	8007	10	0

According to this computation, there is a surplus, — 364    2    6

But the surplus is, in fact, much more, and still on the increase. The quit-rents alone, if faithfully paid and collected, ought to produce at least 3000*l.* *per annum*; and the tonnage duty 2000*l.* if received in money, instead of powder, over and above supplying the forts and magazines with what is sufficient and necessary to be constantly kept for the public defence. No œconomy seems to attend the management of this duty; but, on the contrary, a very enormous waste has been usually made of the powder, in salutes, watch-guns, minute-guns, scalings, siftings, and many *et cœteras*. Much of it is annually damaged; and this has sometimes been re-shipped for sale to Great-Britain; where it cannot produce much, when the charges of freight and commission are deducted. It would, perhaps, be more beneficial to the revenue, if this duty was always to be collected in money alone; and the receiver-general directed, by law, to import every year a certain quantity of powder *pro re natâ*, such as shall be considered absolutely necessary to keep up a sufficient magazine for security of the island, to be a charge upon the revenue fund, and to be honestly accounted for under suitable regulations;

or a payment of the duty might be admitted and settled, of one proportion in powder, the remainder in money. Some of the articles of revenue have been fluctuating; as indigo, which, in some years, has produced little or nothing, in others considerably, and in particular during the last war. But, as other increased articles make up for this deficiency, the average income is probably not so little as 10,000*l.* yearly. The surplus (supposing it to be 2000*l.*) ought, pursuant to the directions of the law, to form a kind of aggregate fund, to be applied in fitting out parties against rebellious Negroes, or such other use as the governor, council, and assembly, should, by any law to be passed for the purpose, think fit to direct. It is further provided, that the 1250*l. per annum*, for repair of the forts and fortifications, shall be strictly applied to that use, and *no other*; and, for better observance of this clause, that sum is ordered to be carried by the receiver-general into a distinct account. The governor and council are the administrators upon, and trustees for, the annual 8000*l.*; and it is their duty to draw on the island treasury for payment of the real, legitimate charges of government, and none other. Let us now examine, with what fidelity they appear to have executed this trust. In the year 1763, they represented to the assembly, that the revenue act did not sufficiently provide for the contingences of government. To demonstrate this, they added a state of what had been paid to their orders, for seven years back, on different heads, far exceeding the legal provision. From this exhibit it appeared, that, instead of *fees* paid the attorney-general, which are what the law directs, alluding plainly to occasional crown actions, in which that officer might happen to be retained and consulted, they allowed him

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
An annual salary of ————	400	0	0
To a solicitor for the crown, an officer not mentioned in the law, upwards of ————	500	0	0
To the carrier of public dispatches, another officer unnoticed in the law, 500 <i>l.</i> This office is usually given to the governor's secretary, and attended with about 120 <i>l.</i> expence. ————	500	0	0

To

To the chaplain, usher, and clerk, of the council, (the two former not mentioned in the law,) 1240 <i>l.</i> out of which, if we deduct 500 <i>l.</i> allowance to the clerk, there remains a superfluous expence of ———	<i>£ s. d.</i>  740 0 0
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*per ann.* 2140 0 0

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It appeared further, that they had brought the revenue in debt, to the annual fortification fund, 6013*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*; that is to say, they had drawn the money out of that fund, which by law is strictly required to be kept sacred, and applied solely to repairing the forts, &c. and dissipated it in expences which the law does not warrant. They had also issued orders to the amount of 6586*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* for payment of which the receiver-general had no revenue money in his hands: and they acknowledged several accounts to be still open against them, which were not yet settled and adjusted. By mere inattention (for it could proceed from nothing else) to the annual collection of the revenue, they found no less than 7720*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* outstanding debts, due to the crown; many of which, through lapse of time, were become bad: and they alledged, that the good debts would amount to no more than would discharge the sum they were in arrear to the annual fund. Setting one of these, therefore, against the other, their excess of expenditures in seven years will appear to be 6586*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* which is about 941*l.* *per annum.* Now, if we cut off the exorbitant salaries, or douceurs, granted by the pleasure of the board, and which are neither comprehended in, nor warranted by, the intention of the law; it is plain, that no excess of this kind could have happened, even admitting that, in all their other disbursements, they adhered rigidly to the letter of the law, and their duty to the public, and shewed no favours nor partialities in the settlement of charges and accounts rendered in by the different creditors of government. But, not to be strict with them, let us admit a moderate salary to the attorney-general, and others upon their pension-list, and state the account in the most reasonable manner; we shall then find, that the following savings might and ought to be made:

On

	£	s.	d.
On the attorney-general's pension, ———	200	0	0
On solicitor-general's bill, ——— ———	100	0	0
Carrier of public dispatches, ——— ———	200	0	0
Chaplain and usher, ——— ——— ———	500	0	0
Clerk of the board, ——— ——— ———	100	0	0
Printer (wholly, as an unnecessary of- ficer), rated one year with another, } upon conjecture, ——— ——— ——— }	50	0	0

Total, 1150 0 0 *per ann.* saving;

which in seven years amounts to 8050*l.* which exceeds their pretended debt by 1464*l.* Hence, therefore, it must evidently and fairly appear, that due moderation, even on these few heads, would have prevented them from leaping over the bounds of the law, and infringing upon the fortification deposit, and annual surplusage fund. Yet the board made no scruple to affirm, on this occasion, that the expences of government could not be supported with less than 10,000*l. per annum!* This is true, while managed by such notable economists, who, to ape the house of peers, must have their usher of the black rod, their chaplain, and printer; who have made it a rule, to allow their clerk and officers the very same sums which they found granted by the assembly to theirs; nay, sometimes to exceed them, by way of fixing themselves a step higher in mock pagantry. If the revenue was augmented to 10,000*l. per annum*, there is no doubt but, by such means, and perhaps some additional caprices, the people might be called upon every seven years, or oftener, to add two or three thousand pounds more to their civil list. The assembly had too much regard for their constituents, to clap another pannier on their shoulders; and wisely resolved, that many of the articles in the council's catalogue were not comprized within, nor warranted by, the law; that it did not appear, the revenue fund had fallen short; that the house ought not to make good the sum of 6586*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* the said money not having accrued due upon any deficiency in the funds, duties, and impost; but from the council's having added several new heads of expence to the estimate, and issued orders on the receiver-general for larger annual sums than the



law prescribed ; that making good the same by the house would not only be repugnant to the revenue law, but might become a *precedent* of a very dangerous nature to *future assemblies* ; as the like application might be renewed, to induce the assembly to supply every deficiency which the council might think fit to create. Such were their just and unanswerable grounds for rejecting this attempt. But it seems to cast some blame upon them, that, instead of insisting on the strict annual application of the fortification and surplusage funds, they had suffered the council to invade and dissipate them for so many years ; burthening, at the same time, their constituents with heavy taxes, to defray the very contingences to which these funds were specially appropriated. They now take upon them the whole charge of supplying the forts with water ; a salary to the clerk of the crown ; provide annually for repair of the fortifications, and equipment of parties ; all of which, not forty years ago, were compriz'd under the revenue law. I have detailed this proceeding, in order to shew how much it behoves them to guard against those encroachments, which, when once admitted, become fixed and permanent, and are never after to be effectually rescinded. The assembly shewed itself worthy the confidence of the people, by refusing to comply with a requisition so unreasonable. And the gentlemen of the council, finding that they could not carry their point after successive attempts, were obliged to fall on that method at last which they ought to have embraced at first, and which was, indeed, the only prudent one remaining, to get them out of debt ; *e. g.* by retrenching many superfluous expences. Had this measure been taken some years sooner, it would have preserved their credit, and have entitled them to the honourable appellation of faithful depositaries for the crown and people. Whenever their credit shall be re-established, and the board confine themselves within the just limits of the law, their annual orders will be of very great benefit to the island, by standing in place of so much real money ; for they will have all the operation and currency of bank-notes [*m*]. But, at present,

[*m*] For this purpose, I submit the following scheme. Let all the orders issued be not exceeding 10*l.* each. Supposing the annual expenditure to be, at an average, 9500*l.* the number of orders issued for this will be 950. The governor's seal-fees now fall on the party receiving the order, *i. e.* the public creditor ; which I cannot think equitable ; for, if the debt is just and right (which is presumed,

sent, and so long as they are behind-hand, their orders are not passable at a discount of less, in general, than 10*l.* *per cent.* or upwards. Hence several honest men have been great losers by this sort of payment. Others have saved themselves by the extravagance of their charges, which afforded this deduction, and left them ample profits besides. But this insolvency was attended with a further inconvenience, in furnishing some of the receiver-general's clerks with a pretence for refusing payment of all orders of council presented at the office, unless a very large discount was allowed them for prompt payment; which being generally complied with, rather than wait many months, or years, for the whole sum, these honest brokers found means to enrich themselves very handsomely by this species of trade.

The ordinary funds for the other supplies are, the deficiency, a tax imposed on all owners of slaves who neglect or refuse to maintain a certain rated proportion of white servants; a poll-tax upon slaves and cattle; a duty on new Negroes imported and sold in the island; a duty on rum retailed; and taxes on wine and rum licences, transient traders, public officers, house-rents in the towns, wherries, and wheels. The parochial taxes vary much in the different parishes, and also in the same, being heightened or lowered according to exigency: they are commonly raised by a poll; and in some the transient traders, house-rents, and wheels, furnish a small part. The produce of these taxes is applied to church and poor rates, repair of barracks and bridges. The highways are repaired by an allotment of each person's slaves. All these are raised after an easy mode, at no greater deduction than 5*l.* *per cent.* paid to the receiver-general for the public monies; and 2½*l.* *per cent.* to the collecting constables for parish taxes. By which means, the whole of our internal taxes, both public and parochial, which together may be averaged, one

presumed, as it must pass the audit and examination of the council, who are bound to disallow every exorbitant charge), the creditor is surely entitled to full payment of his balance without any deduction. Besides, this fee, which I think is 1*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* is extremely unequal; since the man, who receives only a 50*l.* order, pays the same as he who receives one for 500*l.*; and upon the 50*l.* it is a defalcation of more than two and a half *per cent.* An agreement might, therefore, be entered into with the governor, to fix his fee at one shilling *per seal*; which, upon 950 orders, amounts to 47*l.* 10*s.* and is equal to one half *per cent.* This might be paid, by the council, out of the revenue fund; by which means, the creditor, as is just, would receive the full value of his honest demand.

year with another, at about 60,000*l.* do not cost the island 2500*l.* in the collecting; a circumstance very favourable to the planters, on whom the burthen principally rests. The following is only given as a general estimate of the produce of the ordinary taxes, viz.

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Rum bill, ——— ——— ——— about	8,000	0	0
Additional duty, ——— ——— ——— ditto	10,000	0	0
Deficiency, ——— ——— ——— ditto	12,000	0	0
Poll-tax single, ——— ——— ——— ditto	14,000	0	0
Ditto double, ——— ——— ——— ditto	28,000	0	0

The rates of these imposts are varied as occasion requires; and the last, or poll-tax, is never laid, except when the public exigences make it unavoidable. When emergency required, some years ago, new ways and means to be contrived, a lottery and stamp-bill were introduced; but, as the one tended to excite a pernicious spirit of gambling, and the other proved extremely inconvenient and oppressive, they were soon laid aside. The former produced 5479*l.*; the latter, 7000*l.* The surpluses of the funds are sometimes considerable. Not many years ago, I have been credibly informed, that there was at one time 100,000*l.* in bank in the treasury, which was afterwards all drawn out, and wasted in constructing fortifications; and so much more necessarily thrown after it every year, as to keep the public coffers rather low and impoverished ever since. The treasury accounts are kept by the receiver general; and annually inspected, chequed, and settled, by a committee of the assembly at their meeting. That body are also the inquirers into public abuses, breach and negligence of duty committed in the several courts of justice and offices of record; an exercise of controul of the utmost consequence, not only to the inhabitants, but to every British merchant who has monies out here upon loan, which is the case with many of them: and this circumstance argues very strongly for the assembly's annually meeting, and proceeding to business; since the various great abuses they have from time to time detected and rectified, and which happened in occasional long intervals of their meeting during contests with a governor, manifestly shew what the consequence would be, if the persons conducting those offices were to be left entirely to themselves:

selves : and there can be no doubt, but that the terror of this yearly visitation may restrain some of them from many exorbitancies, and violations of law and duty. The public taxes have in some years, as in consequence of quelling insurrection, building barracks, or fortifications, amounted to 100,000*l.* It is well this occurs but very seldom, or it might go near to ruin the island. Nor can a more cogent reason be urged, to prove how expedient it is, either that the regular forces should by the mother country be compleated to 2000 effective men, or that the assembly should of themselves, and with permission, support a body of troops equivalent ; in order, with a moderate annual addition to their present taxes, to save the island effectually from these incidental loads of grievous taxation ; which, falling all in one or two years successively, are far more burthen some and oppressive, than if the same sum was to be paid by little and little, in the course of several years ; for the poorest planter can easily afford to pay a thousand pounds, in the series of ten years, by instalments of 100*l. per annum* : when, if the whole fell payable in one year, it would probably crush him [*n*]. Indeed it must be granted, that the maintenance of a standing army in a commercial colony is not the most eligible nor œconomic plan, and ought only to be admitted in a colony of that class, when there is but little hope of settling and peopling it extensively. Its own permanent inhabitants are unquestionably its most natural, faithful, and active defenders ; and, when they are become sufficiently numerous to execute this important trust, the maintenance of soldiers must be an unnecessary burthen, and conducive to no honest design. But I shall consider this subject more largely hereafter [*o*].

## CHAP.

[*n*] In general, the French West-India colonies raise no taxes ; but, when, upon an extraordinary emergency, taxes are raised, they are very moderate. During the late war, when the French finances were extremely distressed, by capture of their merchant-vessels, and interruption of trade with their sugar islands ; the duties, ordinary and extraordinary, upon their Muscovado sugars exported from Hispaniola, amounted to no more than sixpence sterling *per* hundred weight, about a sixtieth part of the value. And, that even their taxes may operate for advancement of the colonies, they who begin new plantations are exempted from them. The duties upon the export of their produce at the islands, and at its import into France, are next to nothing, hardly making together two *per cent.* What commodities go to them, pay no duties at all.—The case in our islands is very different. The duties on our sugars are about one third ; and on rum, about two thirds.

[*o*] I hope it will not be thought impertinent, here to observe, that the code, or volume, of *acts of assembly*, published in the year 1756, and which is the only printed code extant, was not published by

# J A M A I C A .

## C H A P. VI.

### *Chief-Justice.*

**H**IS post is of great trust, and the utmost consequence to the well-being of this colony. We are under infinite obligations to the ministry, for having abstained hitherto from interfering with this appointment. Were they to supply it with necessitous retainers to the law from home, I should from that moment date the ruin of this colony. The court of this officer has comprehended in it, matters of common plea, king's-bench, and exchequer; but the far greater part of the business is grounded on the customs, the policy, and equitable laws of Jamaica; the understanding of all which judicially and perfectly requires a long residence in the island, constant habitudes of public business, and

by authority, nor under sanction of the house of assembly. This book contains the public acts then in force and unexpired, beginning in the year 1681, and ending at 1753; and the number of these are 199. No book of the laws has been published since; though the number is now prodigiously increased. It must needs happen, that some or other of these laws are frequently pleaded; and, therefore, to be exhibited, or read, in the different courts of law, in a variety of causes instituted. But, as these laws were not printed by authority, and contain many errors of the press, and other mistakes; the courts in Jamaica will not suffer them to be given in evidence, but compel the parties to take copies from the manuscript laws, on record in the secretary's office: which practice is attended with a very heavy, though a necessary, expence to the suitors, and deserves the attention of the assembly; who ought to apply the remedy. They might (for example) send to England a copy of all the laws in force (taken from the records in the secretary's office, and carefully examined and corrected by a special committee, to be appointed for that purpose), to be there printed accurately: and, upon return of them in print, they might be re-examined, the errors (if any) corrected, and published by authority of the house in a table, which might be inserted in a bill to be then passed the legislature of the island, empowering and ordering all judges, justices, &c. to admit that printed code as authentic, and to be pleaded and given in evidence before them. So necessary a work ought not to be overlooked: for the laws of any country cannot be made too public; in Jamaica particularly, where every planter and man of business has frequent occasion to consult them, they ought to be in every one's hands. But, when the courts of justice refuse those already printed, because of their incorrectness, they become useless to the subject; for, not knowing wherein they are erroneous, he may be liable to suffer greatly, if he depends on their authenticity; and therefore questions whether he should pay any regard to them at all. But even this printed code might be rendered useful, by comparing it under authority of the house, and correcting it carefully by the original manuscripts, publishing the *errata*, or corrections, in a short bill passed for that end, which every person might bind into his volume; and, by the same bill, these printed laws, with the proper corrections being made, might be duly authorized.—The laws of the Windward islands are printed under authority of their legislature.—Jamaica, I believe, is almost the only exception to this rule.

no mean abilities. His salary, charged on the revenue, is only 120*l. per annum*; but his fees and perquisites of office are considerable, though by no means too much for supporting the dignity and independency of it. He should be entirely free in his mind, and independent in his circumstances, that he may administer justice without fear or favour. He ought, therefore, to hold his office *quamdiu se bene gesserit*; as the judges in Great-Britain hold theirs. An act was passed in the island for this purpose in the year 1751, but disallowed by the crown; so that the tenure of it still continues *durante bene placito*. He ought not to be a member of the council; for, as he is *ex officio* called up to advise the governor and council in the appeal court of errors, he should not vote there on matters which he has already prejudged in the court below. Perhaps, it would be better, if he was excluded from the assembly also; that he might apply his whole time to the arduous duties of his place, and not be liable to have his judgement warped by influence, or his passions heated by the cabals and wranglings of party. I can call to mind more than one chief-justice displaced, by an imperious governor, for no other cause than the having voted in assembly according to their conscience. Ought the chief dispenser of law and justice to be subjected to such a tyranny? or be left to stagger between the insecurity of a lucrative post on the one hand, and the dictates of his conscience and honesty on the other? It is disgraceful to government, and baneful to private as well as public virtue and honour. Whether a gentleman of rank and fortune in the island, or a barrister, is the more proper man to fill this place, is a question that seems to have been resolved, by a course of near one hundred years experience, in favour of the former. I do not recollect more than one or two instances of a lawyer appointed to it. As the bulk of our island laws were for the most part framed by persons not educated to the practice of the law, but by plain well-meaning planters, who consulted more the general interests of the country, than finely-turned periods, and accurate phraseology; so we find them, or at least many of them, so loosely worded; as not to bear the nice and subtle distinctions attended to by the gentlemen of the long robe; consequently, if a mere hackneyed lawyer becomes the expositor of them and definer of their intention,

intention, he will be apt to treat them according to the course of his usual practice, or what happens to be the modish practice of Westminster-hall; and thus impair their vigour, explain away their tenour, and fritter them into absolute nullities, to make room for his own pragmatistical fancies and institutes. Nothing is more true, than that all men are fallible; and that grave judges are as liable to trip as other men: the many inconsistent opinions, which are to be found in our huge folios of Law Reports, are an unanswerable argument for this. Judges, who have not the solid principles of the constitution, of right and wrong, of truth and reason, for ever before their eyes, may lean more to the false refinements of sophistry, and the hair-breadth lines penciled by the courts of Westminster-hall, than to the equity and merits of the cause in issue before them; and by this means substitute form, cant, and finesse, in the room of Truth and its unerring maxims. This is a consequence which may often happen in our island; the municipal laws of which differ, in many respects, from those of the mother country. They should then be judged according to the exigences, policy, and welfare, of the colony; and not by Westminster-hall authorities, which have relation to other laws, other facts, and to a people differently circumstanced. It is therefore, I think, for the general advantage of the colony, that the presidial officers in our supreme court of law should be gentlemen of the best understanding and rank in the colony; their education, and experience in the public affairs of the island, qualifying them to be excellent judges there, although they would be very ignorant ones in Westminster-hall. I cannot but believe, that the admission of some little portion of equity and common sense, to qualify that obstinate rigour and *abracadabra* of downright law jargon, would best adapt the practice of our courts to the constitution, and general benefit of our colony. On the other hand, it may be said, that men, not bred lawyers, must have very unsettled, and frequently varying, opinions concerning the order and forms of practice essential to a court; and that the course of practice must be regulated with due precision and uniformity, upon settled grounds and principles; that the pleaders and practisers may understand plainly what it is, and in what manner they are to conduct themselves. I grant, that the practice ought

ought to be uniform and consistent, as far as it is strictly just, and consonant to reason : nothing more than common sense, and a fixed resolution to commit no injustice, and tolerate no hardship under pretence of law, are sufficient to make it such. But this Augean stable requires a virtuous, patriotic heart, and a clear head, to purge it of all its impurities ; to throw out all that useless and confused rubbish of nugatory forms and terms ; to suffer no suitor to be injured through a defect of technical gibberish, or the mistake of great *A* for little *a* ; in all cases, to labour at distinguishing where a remedy is due, and not to make that a primary consideration which ought only to be a secondary and subsidiary one ; I mean, that no suitor should be aggrieved, or sent away unredressed, for the sake of an inflexible adherence to what is styled practice, and to capricious rules, which every judge is left at discretion to alter, and seems bound by his oath to dispense with, or wholly expunge, rather than any wrong be done by an overweening bigotry to them. I have some reasons which justify me in the foregoing opinion. I think, I have observed Westminster-hall practice too fondly extolled and caressed in our court, from a vain parade and ostentation of *regular lawyership*. I wish the practice to be rational, and best-adapted to the frame and welfare of the colony ; and that we assimilated ourselves in this point, as in our laws, to the mother state ; rejecting what is useless to us, and adopting nothing heterogeneous to the true interests of a society composed of industrious planters and merchants, having a due respect to their separate conditions. The judicial function, as to conscience and the exercise of unprejudiced reason, is alike in both countries. But, if the chief court of law of a vast kingdom is clogged and beset on all sides with forms, modes, and mysteries of practice, which, if peculiar or customary to it, are frequently changing their camelion hue, and are many of them confessed to be superfluous and dilatory, others to be founded on no other law than some judge's *ipse dixit* ; why is the administration of justice, in a little colony, to be manacled also with these arbitrary fetters, and interrupted in its free course ? *Currat lex, fiat justitia*. Law, the law of reason and justice, should be ever spreading on the wing, to attain its true ends ; it ought not to halt on leaden heels, and loiter by the way. Gentlemen of property in the island



will always accommodate their judgement *juxta æquum, bonum, et factum*, and be more studious for discovering the truth, and doing what reason and humanity adjudge to be right, than in making a display of prodigious learning and immense reading, by splitting the distinction between a black and white horse and a pied horse, or between a plea and a plea pleaded.

I shall readily admit, that, when a gentleman of the island duly qualified cannot be found, no person will more properly fill this post than some honest barrister, who, by a course of several years experience, is become thoroughly versed in the laws and customs of the colony. And, indeed, the inconvenience, that would be likely to follow the appointment of a rigid lawyer, might be in a great measure obviated, by joining able assistants with him; who, as they ought to be principally selected from among the most sensible and worthy planters, so they should have at all times the power of over-ruling the chief's opinion, if it should be of a texture too exotic for this climate. Mr. Wood, who printed the laws in 1716, informs us, that, in his time, "the chief justice had four or six judges his assistants, who served for honour." But, whether it be on account of greater business in the court, or from a desire of governors to extend their influence by conferring honorary commissions upon one solicitous to wear them, the number of the judges of assize is now increased to about thirty, and of the judges of common-pleas to about seventy-five; making, in all, a respectable (or rather formidable) corps of one hundred and five!

When judicial commissions are rendered so cheap and common, they soon begin to lose much of their dignity and value in the eyes of many, even among the wiser planters; and by this means very unworthy and illiterate persons may presume to aspire to them, and thus make the office of an associate disgraceful and useless: all which tends to emancipate the chief from any further controul, or contradiction. His opinion is received as law by his parasitical brethren; he delivers it with the confident air of a dictator; and is raised, in short, to the unconstitutional authority of a sole judge in the supreme court of judicature. This juridical despotism may be accompanied with effects very pernicious to the welfare of the inhabitants. Every thing may be dreaded from the vengeance,  
the

the caprice, the partiality, or iniquity, of such an usurper on the bench : the more so, as he may become in his turn not less pliant to a governor's will in many great cases affecting the subjects life, liberty, and property, than his associates, who are conscious that they hold their puny honours entirely at the governor's pleasure ; and not uninformed, that their want of ability to deserve the post conferred upon them must be supplied by the superior skill and knowledge of the chief, and compensated by their ready concurrence in, and support of, every arbitrary act of injustice, or violence, which may come recommended from their gracious master. It seems, therefore, for the advantage of the island, that the number of the judges should be restricted by a law. The office of an associate might then become more acceptable to gentlemen of rank and integrity. Such men are not eager to covet places of trust, in the exercise of which, their delicacy of character and sentiment may be liable to suffer any blemish or taint by the depravity and ignorance of vulgar associates.

Hanson says, " the chief-justice is usually a man of the best quality, who is well read in the laws of England." Hence may be inferred, that the more opulent planters of his time took some pains, by studying the laws of England, to qualify themselves the better for so arduous an office. And when we consider the importance of it, not only as it respects the well-being of the inhabitants in general, but as it more particularly concerns the fortunes and peaceable enjoyments of the rich, we cannot too much commend the attention and diligence of those gentlemen. To be the dispenser of justice and happiness to a whole community, has always been esteemed among the highest honours at which a subject can arrive : there is none, I am sure, that should more excite a worthy and sensible planter's ambition and pursuit. A competent knowledge in the laws of his country, and in books of authority, joined to an expertness in the just forms of process, which are found not unattainable even by meaner capacities, will enable him to abolish quirk and chicanery ; to make the practice in his court, what it ought to be, consistent, methodical, and equitable ; to discountenance delays ; give clear exposition of our provincial laws ; and hold the subordinate officers and ministers of justice to the strict observance

## J A M A I C A.

of their several duties. But, without a previous application to the theory of his office, and a steady attention afterwards to the practice, a gentleman planter, although with the best intentions and most upright heart, may not be compleatly qualified to execute it with honour to himself and satisfaction to the people.

There is, however, an objection which may be made against the appointment of a planter to this office. It may be said, that family connexions subsist among gentlemen of this class; and those so extensive, that it would be difficult to fix on a man entirely free and unexceptionable in regard to this point: that the mind of man is subject, from the infirmities of human nature, to receive an impression of partiality in many cases, where friendship, consanguinity, family interest, or sense of honour, severally act upon the passions; that, for this reason, a person, presumed to be under the impulse of such motives, is deemed an incompetent witness in matters wherein that impulse may pervert his conscience; and it is as probable, that a false judgement, as a false testimony, may be given where the mind is prejudiced.

On the other hand, it is urged, that a gentleman, liberally educated in England, and bred to the bar, if he comes hither to earn a subsistence by his profession, and by merit is advanced in time to the office of chief-justice, cannot be suspected of this undue partiality arising from family connexions; nor be so little skilled in the authorities and practice of a law court, as a gentleman born and educated in the island; that the making this post an object of emulation and pursuit to able, honest, and experienced lawyers, may prove an encouragement for such to come over, and practise here; by which means, the supreme court of justice will be always supplied with men learned in the science, whose knowledge will be an acquisition to the public stock, and redound greatly to the credit and advantage of the island. The objection, as well as the reasons of a contrary tendency, I confess, have some weight; nor shall I undertake to determine in favour of either side. Although I must declare this much, that a truly honest, diligent, and sensible gentleman of the country may, by his application to business, become sufficiently qualified to execute this office, and with strict impartiality, which is implied in the character of a truly honest man;

and that an upright, judicious and experienced barrister may so regulate the practice, as to be equally eligible [p].

C H A P. VII.

*Court of Vice-admiralty.*

**T**HIS was the first civil court of justice established in the island. It was constituted in Cromwell's life-time, for adjudication of Spanish prizes and plunder taken by his fleet on this station. The court was, for many years, held by two or more commissioners. In 1721, is the first commission on record here, to one person, or a sole judge; which constitution has ever since been adhered to. Its jurisdiction comprehends civil and maritime causes; and all other matters incidental to the high court of admiralty in England. The officers of the court are, a judge, advocate-general, register, and marshal; who are appointed, either by the lords commissioners executing the office of lord high ad-

[p] In the year 1681, the manner of holding the supreme court was reformed by an act of assembly; and it was constituted, with power to take cognizance of all pleas, civil, criminal, and mixed, as fully and amply as the courts of king's-bench, common-pleas, and exchequer, in England. The court was directed to be duly holden at St. Jago de la Vega, and not elsewhere, once in every three months, and not oftener.

Five other judges associate were appointed to the same court; three of whom were to be of the *quorum*. The several inferior courts of common-pleas, in the different country parishes and precincts, were allowed a jurisdiction in all causes where freehold is not concerned, and the *chief-in-action* amounts in value to 20*l*. with costs, and no more. And, in consequence of this jurisdiction given to the inferior courts, the supreme court was prohibited from receiving any suit, or issuing any process, for any matter or cause of action under the value of 20*l*.

When the island, about twelve or thirteen years ago, was divided into three distinct counties; circuit or assize courts were appointed for two of these counties; and the supreme court continued as before, but with power (like the court of king's-bench at Westminster) of judging causes removed by *certiorari* from the inferior jurisdictions. These courts are held four times a year in each county; so that a court sits in one or other of the counties every month in the year; and all of them have a great deal of business: this happens not so much from a litigious spirit, as the opulence of the island, and the necessity every creditor almost thinks himself under, to put his demands on judgement. The members of the law of course meet with great encouragement here: and among them are many, no doubt, who find their account in setting honest planters together by the ears, and in practising all the detestable arts and mysteries of chicanery, knavery, and pettifoggery. Jamaica has its Old-bailey solicitors, as well as London.

miral,

miral, in virtue of the Stat. 8 Eliz. cap. 5, which empowers the person executing that office to appoint substitutes, vice-admiralty judges, marshals, &c. or by the king's patent under the great seal.

They hold their places during pleasure, and have no salaries: so that, in time of peace, it is a court of no profit, and of very little if any business. In England, the judge and advocate-general have considerable salaries.

During a war, their emoluments depend wholly on the number of prizes brought into the island for adjudication; and the judge's fees on captures from the enemy have usually been regulated by the prize-laws; which allowed,

	£	s.	d.
For condemning every vessel under 100 tons, and not claimed, ———— }	10	0	0
For every unclaimed vessel above that burthen, ————	15	0	0

Some years ago, this business must have been exceedingly lucrative. In 1697, Sir William Beeston, then principal judge or commissioner, established the following table of fees:

	£	s.	d.
On the condemnation or acquittal of every vessel, ———— }	3	10	0
On the first 100 <i>l.</i> value of vessel and goods condemned, whether captured from the enemy, or seized for breach of the acts of trade, ———— }	3	0	0

And for every other 100*l.* value, ———— 1 0 0 *per cent.*

According to this rule, the judges fees on a rich St. Domingo ship, worth 30,000*l.* would amount to near 300*l.* The number of commissioners, who were all to come in for a share of the spoil, necessarily gave birth to this liberal allowance. This court would be much better constituted for the ends of impartial justice, if its officers were provided with certain adequate salaries from government, instead of being left, as they are, to a casual emolument, which may prompt them to make every advantage possible of their several departments. The sole judge, accountable to none for errors of judgement, is exposed to great temptations; and must be

a man

a man of much virtue and integrity, if he maintains his conscience and honour un sullied by corruption, in a seat, to which bribes may approach with secrecy, and be received with impunity, at least in this world.

If such salaries were established, there would remain less probability of this traffic; and government might be easily reimbursed, by a very small tax on the value of the captures. This would not only be far more beneficial for the captors than the present mode, but conduce so much to the purity and independency of the court, as to make us wish that some regulation of this kind may hereafter be enacted by parliament. In respect to the judge, if an honest man, he must prefer a certain and honourable provision to a precarious subsistence, earned in such a way as renders him obnoxious to suspicion and calumny; or, if he should happen to be not overscrupulous in his conscience, he will have the less temptation or inducement to be dishonest.

## C H A P. VIII.

## S E C T. I.

*Public Officers.*

“**W**ITHOUT doubt,” says Davenant, “it must be very prejudicial, both to the Southern and Northern colonies, that many offices and places of trust there should be granted by patent to persons in England, with liberty to execute such employments by deputies. By which means, they are generally farmed out to indigent persons, who grind and fleece the people: so that, although many of the inhabitants are rich, sober, and judicious men; yet they are excluded from offices of trust, except such as are chargeable in the execution; which is inconsistent with all the rules of well-governing a country.” There is, I am sorry to own, too much of prophetic truth in this remark. The natives in our colonies, as if proscribed for some defect of ability or good-morals, cannot, without the utmost difficulty, creep into any lucrative employments. Having little, if any, interest among the distributors of office,

office, they are driven to an humble distance; whence they have the mortification of observing the progress to wealth of those more favoured subjects, who are sent across the ocean to pamper themselves on the fatness of their land. The most lucrative offices in this island (the governor's excepted) are granted by the crown to persons residing in England, and by these patentees are farmed or rented to deputies and sub-deputies acting in Jamaica, who remit annually several thousand pounds to their principals. The rent of these deputations being screwed up to the very highest pitch, some of the officers have made no scruple formerly to exert their utmost industry towards enlarging their fees and perquisites at the expence of the aggrieved inhabitants. Before these places became so profitable as to be objects of sufficient value to the ministry for gratifying their dependents, the assembly made some attempts to restrain the patentees.

In 1699, they passed, "An act to oblige patentees of offices to reside in the island."

1711, "An act to prevent any person from holding two or more offices of profit in the island."

1715, An act with the same title.

The advantage of having so many good places at disposal was not to be yielded up so easily. Of course, the acts were disallowed at home; and these engrossers were suffered to roam at large without controul: for such has been the combination of their power and interest, that they seemed to monopolize the ear of administration, and, like a well-compacted phalanx, defied every attack that could be made upon them by the people in our colony.

A committee of the assembly, appointed in 1765 to inquire into the state of fees demanded and taken in the different public offices, reported, "that the fees exacted by the officers, under pretence of  
"usage and custom, were in many instances four times greater than  
"allowed by law; and, in general, all or most of them were  
"charged much more than the law warranted: that, by such illegal  
"and unjustifiable means, the public had been imposed upon and  
"greatly injured; and large sums had been raised upon them contrary to law: that these impositions were chiefly in consequence  
"of the large annual rents paid by the deputies to their principals  
"residing

“residing in England, who, upon every new deputation or appointment, usually raised the rent of their offices; that the patentees in England set up their deputations at auction or public vendue; and the person who bids most, and offers the best security in England for due payment of rent, constantly obtains the preference: that these exorbitant rents necessarily compelled the deputies to seek an indemnification for themselves, by extorting increased fees from the people of the island; in order that they might not lose by undertaking the deputations, or at least not be unable to pay their rent.” To these charges the deputies replied, that the fees were established by a law passed in the year 1711; since which period, the necessities of life, as well as the wages of their clerks, had considerably risen in their price; for which reason, their additional fees taken by custom were not exorbitant. The assembly, on the other hand, affirmed, that, since the passing of that law, the business in all the offices was so considerably increased, that, if the deputies did not bind themselves to pay such enormous rents, or if the patentees themselves were to reside and execute their respective offices, the fees established by law would afford a very adequate and liberal provision.

This rejoinder on the part of the assembly, it was insisted, is so strictly true and conclusive, that not one of the officers could refute it. It was further alledged, that this island were shamefully abused by the patentees, who sat down with the utmost comfort to the enjoyment of their sinecures, equally regardless of the sufferings and complaints of the country, or of their own dishonour in the extortions which they practised themselves, or countenanced in others, and which are said to be now grown to such an excess, as to demand some speedy and effectual remedy. The people complain, that the rent of one office has, in a few years, been wound up from 700*l.* to 1500*l.* sterling *per annum*, exclusive of a gratuity of 700*l.* by way of fine, upon every renewal of the term. The deputy, who was the best bidder, and became the purchaser of this bargain, knew extremely well, that he could not, consistently with his legal profits, afford to give so high a rent; but he was in such circumstances, that, if 2000*l.* had been asked, he would have consented to give it, rather than forego the prospect of a genteel live-



lihood. The patentee perhaps imagined, that, having raised it so high, it would not fall lower; and that he might hope to mount it still higher by degrees, adding 50*l.* or 100*l.* upon every new lease. In the pamphlet written and published by the *patriotic* Mr. V——n, a Jamaica-man reads, with many a sigh, of the infamous traffic carried on by bargain and sale of these patents and deputations; which, like the arms belonging to the family of some antient Briton, are split and branched out into a multitude of patch-work quarterings. And, as if the rent and fine exacted from the deputies were not sufficiently unreasonable, some of their *Ægyptian* taskmasters have insisted (*ex abundanti*) on an annual supply of turtle, madeira wine, rum, and sweetmeats! That the public may form a clearer judgement on these facts, I shall state the profits yearly arising from some of the principal offices. And, first, the secretary's, which, about the year 1720, was farmed by the patentee at 700*l. per annum*, although raised since to more than double that sum. This officer is a great pluralist: he executes no less than nine different employments; which, having been (as well as some other offices) originally combined in one person, during the infancy of our civil constitution, when the inhabitants were few in number, and the public business very trifling, have never since been severed from his patent; although the separate profits are now, from the increase of people and property, sufficient to give a competency to almost as many different individuals as there are employments. He is secretary of the island, clerk of the enrollments and records, clerk of the council, clerk of the court of errors, clerk of the court of ordinary, clerk of the committee of correspondence, associate-judge on trials *per commission* for piracy, commissary-general of the island, and notary-public, besides some other duties relative to trade, persons leaving the island, &c. which are comprehended under the general office of secretary.

Jamaica currency.

	£	s.	d.
The gross profits of these offices was, <i>communibus annis</i> ,	6500	0	0
Contingent charges, according to the highest estimate,	1400	0	0
Which, deducted, leave the clear profit of ———	5100	0	0

	£	s.	d.
The first deputy's moiety of the gross profit was ———	3250	0	0
Out of which was to be paid to the patentee his annuity of 1500 <i>l.</i> sterling, which is, Jamaica currency, ————	2100	0	0

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1150 0 0

This deputy, finding his quota so much reduced, insisted on the additional sum of 300 <i>l.</i> sterling <i>per annum</i> from the second deputy: Jamaica currency, is ————	420	0	0
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Total of the first deputy's share, ———— 1570 0 0

The acting or second deputy's gross moiety was ———	3250	0	0
Out of which he was to pay the first deputy, as before-mentioned, ————	420	0	0

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2830 0 0

And all the charges of clerks, paper, &c. incident to the execution of the office, supposed to amount to about ————	1400	0	0
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Total of the second deputy's share, ———— 1430 0 0

The several proportions of the net proceeds were, therefore, divided as follows:

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To the patentee, residing in England, ————	2100	0	0	is sterling	1500	0	0
First deputy, ditto, ————	1570	0	0	ditto	1121	8	6½
Second deputy, residing in Jamaica, ————	1430	0	0	ditto	1021	8	6½

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5100 0 0

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3642 17 1½

On a supposition, that the fees of this office (as at present taken) are only *double* what the law allows (although many of them are affirmed to be much more), I shall imagine the patentee to be re-

sident in the island, and satisfied with only the legal fees as a compensation for his trouble in the execution. The account would then stand thus :

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Gross profits of the office,	3250	0	0			
By the charges of execution (which, in a great measure, would depend upon himself), as he might save the wages and perquisites of an head-clerk, by his own attendance at the office (which would lessen the annual expence at least 400 <i>l.</i> ), I allow —————	1400	0	0			

Remains, for the patentee's support, ———— } 1850 0 0 or sterling 1321. 8 6½

Surely, here is a very sufficient annual provision, not only to maintain the officer as a gentleman, but (with moderate economy) to afford a surplus for being laid up and improved into a capital fortune. Admitting, that some particular fees may be rated, by the law, rather too inadequate to the duty performed; yet, upon the whole annual business taken collectively, the profits of the office seem adequate, and even such as may support the patentee in a style of living superior to a planter of the island possessing an estate of one hundred hogheads of sugar *per annum*. A governor may alledge, that the emoluments of his post are insufficient for the support of his dignity, because his chancery fees amount only to 50*l.* a year. In both cases, the aggregate fees, arising from every branch of the business, are to be considered as forming *all together* a very ample recompence and provision.

I must beg leave in this place to offer a hint, that, if ever a new fee law should be framed, these following points ought not to escape notice. All fees, which might bear hard upon new settlers, and

and the poorer inhabitants, ought to be made extremely moderate. Such are, the fees on patents, plats, and dockets of land; on marriage licences, naturalizations, wills, inventories, and the like. The restrictions on masters of certain foreign vessels, "to give bond," "enter and clear," "to purchase let-passes and permits," ought to be utterly abolished, and amends made to the respective public officers, by enlarging the fees on other articles that might best admit of it. To return: I have stated the acting deputy's income (according to the fees now taken) at 1430*l.* *per annum*; and I am persuaded that it is rated too low, because the contingencies of the office do not (I have good reason to believe) exceed 1000*l.*; and, if this is the fact, his income, to be nearer the truth, should be estimated at 1830*l.* Jamaica currency. It is evident, that when a future patentee shall raise his rent to 2000*l.* sterling, or 500*l.* more than it now is, this will cause a reduction in the deputy's gains from 1830*l.* to 1130*l.* Unable, therefore, to maintain himself in the same style as before, the deputy will necessarily be driven to expedients for bringing his income to the former standard, and naturally fall upon the very same means pursued so successfully by his predecessors in office, viz. new exactions, and increased charges, levied on the purses of the people: in which procedure, he may not only be supported by his principals at home, who will be so much interested in his behalf for their own sakes, but will think it worth while to contribute largely towards defending himself against all the force of colony laws and public clamour in the proper place. A late deputy in one of these offices paid a yearly rent charge of 100*l.* sterling, for his proportion only of expence in defending the common cause of the patentees against the public complaints. Well, therefore, might the assembly with concern observe, "that the money, wrested from the people by these officers, had been most fatally and successfully employed in defence of their exactions; and that, combined together by a sense of their common danger in such cases, enriched with public spoil, and thoroughly sheltered by the irresistible intervention of *noli prosequi*, they will in the end subdue all opposition, and continue to give the law to their fellow subjects."

On

On an examination into the clerk of the court's office, *anno* 1763, Mr. Bontein, the late clerk, honestly declared, that

Jamaica currency.

£. s. d.

The gross profits of the office, according to the fees established by a special act of assembly passed in his favour, were <i>per annum</i> about	9500	0	0
That the whole expences of the office (patentee and every thing else excluded) were about	1500	0	0
The deputy's clear income was, therefore,	8000	0	0
He further declared, that the fees, exceeding those allowed by the law of 1711, amounted to about 3000/. This sum being therefore deducted,	3000	0	0
We find what the clear profit would have been to the deputy, according to the fees established by this last mentioned law, viz.	5000	0	0

And we may infer [q], the assembly were persuaded, in compliment to Mr. Bontein, to pass an act in his favour; since his provision, under the law of 1711, was already so exceeding ample; it being equal to 3571*l*. 8*s*. 6*d*. sterling. Mr. Gordon, who had officiated as a clerk in this office since Mr. Bontein's deputation expired, said,

£. s. d.

That the gross profits of it <i>per</i> court were about 1800/.; and, as there are four general courts in the year, this amounts to	7200	0	0
To which may be added for the affize courts,	1000	0	0
	8200	0	0

The contingent charges he reckoned thus; viz.

	£.	s.	d.	
To wages of clerks, &c.	612	0	0	
To the patentee, for rent,	420	0	0	
To the same, in presents, rum, turtle, sweetmeats, &c.	168	0	0	1200 0 0
Remains clear for the deputy,	7000	0	0	

[q] See this explained in the note [r], p. 90.

According

According to a state of the profits under the law of 1711, as drawn by Mr. Evans when he was clerk of the court, and therefore very likely not exaggerated,

	Jamaica currency.		
	£	s.	d.
The gross profits <i>per annum</i> were rated at about	5250	0	0
Out of which deducting the contingent charges of			
clerks, &c. and patentee, agreeable to Mr.	1200	0	0
Gordon's estimate, viz. ——— ——— ——— ———			

Remains for the deputy, ——— ——— ——— 4050 0 0

This latter account falls somewhat short of Mr. Bontein's estimate. But, as Mr. Evans drew his sketch at the time when he was in the exercise of the office, and to serve a particular purpose, his account is not so much to be relied on as that of Mr. Bontein, who was entirely disinterested on the question, and seemed desirous to conceal nothing from the public inquiry. But, even admitting the income according to Mr. Evans's computation, surely it will be thought, that 4050*l.* (near 3000*l.* sterling) is a very adequate provision for the deputy, and for transacting the business of this office. It is in fact too much; and for this reason it has happened, that four or five different pensioners are quartered upon the patent.

I have thus proved, I think, that the fair and legal income of these offices, was it not dissipated among such a number of claimants, would be ample, liberal, and fully sufficient for the subsistence of officers actually executing them. And this must strongly militate against the plea of "increased price of necessaries." What the parties themselves may have thought sufficient is not the question: but it must be left to dispassionate and disinterested persons to adjudge, whether the officers could have any just cause for complaint, that they were not, according to the fee law of 1711, remunerated to the full value of their labour. I know there were various opinions upon this subject; and, I must own, I thought with the officers, till I had re-considered it with more attention.

## S E C T. II.

THE public welfare of this island has, in general, been most infamously neglected by some of those who formerly executed these offices. Few, if any, of them, except the provost-marshal, secretary, and receiver-general, give any security to the public upon their entering into office; nor is the security given by the former of the three above-mentioned in any degree proportionate to the importance of his trust. Thus, in some of them, judgements, decrees, and proceedings, for duly recording of which the respective deputies had been fully paid all their fees and demands, legal or illegal, were suffered to remain unrecorded, promiscuously tumbled in loose heaps, in the utmost confusion, and many in this state utterly destroyed by vermin. In four years (from 1749 to 1753) the assembly granted no less than 2850*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* to deputy-registers of the court of chancery, for recording loose papers: and, notwithstanding this, it appeared, from an account taken in 1759 (only six years afterwards), that the recording of the proceedings, at that time lying loose in the office, would cost 1600*l.* Here then is a clear proof, that, by the iniquity of former registers, the suitors of that court had been defrauded of 4450*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* which they had actually paid in fees for recording their papers, and which these officers had perverted to their own use. Some of the alarming consequences, likely to ensue from such breaches of trust, are well set forth by almost the only honest deputy that ever was employed in this office[r]. His petition to the assembly in 1763 states, “that, upon  
 “ taking possession of the office of register, and examining into the  
 “ condition thereof, he found all the proceedings of the said court,  
 “ for many years past, had been promiscuously heaped together, and  
 “ continued unrecorded: that the members of the house were the  
 “ best judges of what consequence it might be to the security of  
 “ possessions, and of many estates in this island, to have the proceed-  
 “ ings and decrees of the court preserved; for, if left to remain

[r] This gentleman, I have since heard, took the pains to get an act passed for regulating the office, and requiring a security from the acting officer; a circumstance highly to his honour.

“ in

“ in the confusion in which they then were, they must of necessity  
 “ be in a very short time destroyed by vermin: that the petitioner  
 “ laboured under a great grievance, in as much as, from the con-  
 “ fused state of those unrecorded papers, sometimes himself and a  
 “ clerk have been employed *four hours*, or more, in a search which  
 “ he was obliged to make on the request of any one, and for which  
 “ he was allowed by law only *fifteen-pence*; which he should have  
 “ thought a very adequate reward, had the papers been regularly  
 “ recorded; but their present condition was not only attended with  
 “ much hardship in this respect to him, but with great impedi-  
 “ ment very often to the public business of his office: that, he  
 “ apprehended, it would require the labour of many clerks under  
 “ his direction, for the space of two years, to record the said papers  
 “ and proceedings, and perform the other business before stated, &c.”

What a scene of iniquity is here laid open to view! A load of  
 papers, the whole of which affected property, and under many of  
 which a number of estates derived their titles to the occupiers,  
 were, by the wilful negligence of the preceding officers of this  
 court, so enormously accumulated, as to require two years constant  
 and diligent attendance of the register, and the labour of several  
 clerks, to properly record them. Their breach of duty appears the  
 more criminal, as it was accompanied with downright robbery;  
 for they had been paid their full recording fees by the parties inter-  
 ested in these papers, and yet left the business unperformed for which  
 the money was paid. By these means were the parties shamefully  
 defrauded; and many of them driven to very great difficulty in dis-  
 covering their titles. Some of the decrees were wholly lost, and all  
 the rest in hourly danger of becoming an heap of rubbish; whilst  
 the successor to these delinquents was put to very great hardship  
 and expence of time in searches, and the discharge of his duty a-  
 greeable to law. I can find no terms sufficiently expressive of such  
 complicated treachery and wickedness. Much, indeed, of the  
 odium of these transgressions should properly fall to the share of such  
 governors, whose personal example of rapacity, and inattention to  
 the public welfare of the island, invited every inferior officer to  
 these mercenary practices; whilst it secured the register from all  
 apprehension of discovery and disgraceful removal, which the in-



tegrity of an upright and active chancellor would certainly have effected. The frequent arbitrary dissolutions and interruptions, purposely thrown in the way to perplex assemblies, hindered these inquisitors from making timely and strict search into such abuses at their first progress; and thus left the offenders at free liberty to persevere in their crimes without any effectual restraint. When a governor, like the main spring of a watch, is faulty, every subordinate movement in the political machine becomes proportionably disordered and irregular. An honest and discerning governor, by the energy of his example, and the stern terror of his virtues and penetration, may render many a penal law useless, by preventing the commission of offences; but an iniquitous and rapacious one labours all he can to make them useless, by defeating their ends, and obstructing their execution.

In the clerk of the court's office the like grievance has been often a subject-matter of the public complaint. It was found, upon an inquiry made not many years ago, that upwards of eighteen thousand judgements remained unrecorded in that office [1], exclusive of a very great number which had at different times been lost or mislaid by negligence of the officers. In the secretary's office there seems to have been less fraud, and more attention, than in any other. The books and papers have in general been kept with due care, and the deeds, &c. regularly recorded. The cause of which perhaps has been, that, seeing this office was justly regarded as of the utmost importance to public and to private property; so the laws of assembly have subjected the officer to a multitude of heavy penalties, and to large securities, in order to force him to be sedulous and faithful in the discharge of his numerous duties. The provost marshal's office is the capital or imperial grievance. The assembly, upon enquiry in the year 1763 into the manner of executing this office, found the books kept in so obscure and unintelligible a method, that it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the suitors to trace out what sums of money had been levied and received upon their writs. According to the system upon which

[1] It was on this account, as I am lately informed, that the assembly passed the act before-mentioned in Mr. Bontein's favour; which raised the income of the office in his time to 3000*l* per annum extraordinary. This was meant as a gratification to him for recording these loose judgements.

it had been for some time conducted, it was actually become a public nuisance; the debtor gained no reduction of debt by the levies made on his property; and the creditor gained no payment by issuing his writs; the whole was, by the *bocus pocus* of office, ingulphed into the pockets of the marshal and his deputies; every art, every subterfuge, was practised, to puzzle the creditor in his search, and conceal these sums from his discovery, that they might the longer continue in the hands of the officers, and be employed for their profit. The assembly found, that, by these dexterities, the principal deputy had detained, and not accounted for to the suitors, near 30,000*l.* in the space of three years only! It was observed, that, unless some expedient could be fallen upon by legislature, to restrain, if not remove, the notorious abuses committed in this office, the same would in a very short time become a public calamity to the island; and that, as well from the hardship thrown upon many unhappy debtors, and the misapplication of their payments, as the embarrassment and difficulty every day increasing upon the creditors in the prosecution and recovery of their right, lawsuits would become more dilatory, expensive, and vexatious; and thereby, both the planting and commercial interests necessarily suffer and decline. They passed a bill, to remedy in some measure the evils complained of, and regulate the method of keeping the public books in that office. But this provision was unfortunately defeated, by the prevailing influence of the then deputy over the minds of some gentlemen; and the bill was rejected by the council. Another bill was some time afterwards framed by the assembly for the like good purpose, and passed into a law; but this met with no better fate: it was disallowed at home upon some trivial pretence, and (as report said) through the assiduities of the patentee, who in a letter (which was shewn about) appeared to have taken great merit to himself for his successful opposition.

The deputy-marshal gives 4000*l.* security to the public, for the faithful discharge of his office: but he employs several deputies under him; from each of whom he requires a security of 8000*l.* It was found, that he divided the ordinary fees with those deputies, settled accounts with them every three months, and charged them with compound interest on all such sums of public money as they

had received by sale of levies, and had not paid into his office. Many of these deputies had, at times, been 3 or 4000*l.* in arrear; so that his profit, arising from the interest alone of the suitors money, must have been very considerable. They bought up great part of the levies they made for one half their real value, by means of collusive sales, to the great injury of the debtor. The goods they seized, or the bribes they accepted, if they consisted of exportable commodities, were generally shipped to Great-Britain for sale; a cargo was imported in return: upon which, they continued to trade; and, in the course of two or three years, if they met with no losses, found means to treble their capital, which was still advancing so long as they could maintain their footing in the office: and, in all this time, the creditor was excluded from his money, by fictitious returns, and pretended transfers to prior judgements. The chief deputy, having, by his quarterly settlements, so large a revenue of compound interest flowing in from their several arrearages, was contented to wink at their corruption and traffic, by which he became a reciprocal gainer. They acquired, besides, a very large profit in gratuities, given by angry creditors to persecute their debtors; and by debtors, on the other hand, to make a frivolous levy, or a *tardè* return to the writ, and so to delay from court to court. In this ambidexterous dealing the chief deputy shewed an activity perfectly equal to that of his subalterns. The chief deputy, as high sheriff of the island, is necessarily invested with very great power, either to do much good, or much mischief. It would not be inconsistent with the duty of his office, should he interpose that power, on particular emergencies, to shield a poor and industrious settler from the unfeeling tyranny of a ravenous creditor. It would be even laudable in him, to suspend, or at least mitigate, the rigour of his authority, in all cases where the severe execution of it might sacrifice the entire liberty and property of an honest man, to gratify some inhuman *Shylock* with the diabolical pleasure of feasting over the distress and misery of his fellow creature. But, when the officer cannot be prevailed upon to do this gratuitously, he loses all the merit which ought to accompany the action. It is certainly beneficent and humane, if not absolutely incumbent on him, to oblige his several deputies to execute their writs in the manner least

distressing

distressing to the planter, instead of leaving them at full liberty to ravage and plunder all around them, like the savage Cossacks of a Russian army. The welfare of the colony requires his utmost attention to this point; that, whilst he is endeavouring to procure satisfaction for the creditor agreeably to justice, he may not harass and impoverish industrious men beyond the limits of justice *in mercy*. Our laws, which give the creditor a remedy for recovering his just demands, are all mild and favourable to the debtor, from the very first institution of the suit against him. He is to have due notice of the action by summons, that he may not suffer by judgements surreptitiously obtained, and that he may have time to prepare for his defence. All those chattels, which from their nature are most essential to the support of his estate, are directed not to be taken in execution, when other effects of inferior kind and less importance are offered. The goods, when attached in execution, are suffered to remain in the defendant's possession for a space of near three months, that he may make his contracts, and sell them to the best advantage. If the marshal makes a levy upon writ of *venditioni exponas* (which succeeds the writ of execution), he is to sell it publicly; and the plaintiff is entitled to payment on his levy within ten days next after the sale. One would conclude, that every provision which humanity or justice can require is implied in these laws: they would surely be answerable to the utmost desire of either party, if they were duly enforced, according to their spirit and intention. But the writ of execution (for some time esteemed a mere writ of grace) has issued only for form's sake: the marshal has made a fictitious return to it; and, when the *venditioni* issued, he has levied arbitrarily on whatever he could find. Negroes, which ought to be the last, have usually been his first object. There is, unfortunately for this colony, another law, the source of most of the evil practices committed in this office; which, having gained strength by time, is now so firmly rooted, that a repeal of it, although clearly for the public advantage, would be attended with great inconveniences. This law establishes a preference of payment upon levies in favour of the creditor who obtains the earliest judgement against his debtor. All levies being subject, in the first place, to discharge of prior judgements, the money, arising by sale of the debtor's property,

perty, falls of course into the marshal's hands, and is returned into his office, in order that he may apply it (upon examining his books) towards satisfaction of the prior judgement creditor. The later or junior creditor gains nothing, therefore, by issuing his writs from court to court, until the levies made thereon amount to more than satisfies all the judgements preceding his own. Some marshals, taking the advantage held out to them by this hateful law, have detained all such levied payments in their hands, under various pretences of applying them according to priority in their books; which books being scarcely intelligible to any one except the officer and his clerks, not one of the creditors could probably reap any benefit from the debtor's distress for many months, and even years. Much explanation is not required to shew how pernicious this law has been, and must still be, as well with regard to debtor and creditor, as to the general credit of the island. Every creditor is obliged (in deference to his own interest and security) to sue his debtor, and obtain judgement, as soon as he possibly can; and, after judgement is obtained, he must likewise proceed to issue his writ of distress, without ceasing, that he may force payment of all the prior judgements, raise himself higher on the list, and have a chance of being paid in his turn within a reasonable course of years. These actions are, without doubt, very chargeable and harrassing to the debtor. In order to gain time, and damp the ardour of his opponent, he must throw every advantage he can in the way of the first judgement-creditor, with a view to keep him quiet; and procure his orders to the marshal to accept a composition for levies pretended to be made, and apply it to the prior writ, that the junior creditor may be tired out, and induced to wait with patience. He must also purchase the good graces of the officer, that he too may be persuaded to favour the plan. A creditor, involved in such difficulties, generally pays from 15 to 20 *per cent.* on all his judgement debts, annually, in fees and douceurs. With such an interest, the sum is continually increasing its bulk; and in five years time doubles the original debt. Many a planter, who has played the game, and endeavoured to gain delay by a system of expedients, has found himself deceived in the end by vain illusions; and his debt so swollen by imperceptible degrees, as to compel him to give up

up all his property in discharge of it. Too late he has perceived, that it would have been better for him to have resigned it under the original incumbrance, than have toiled through a series of uneasy hours, and disingenuous pretences ; since every contrivance to baffle his creditors has but aggravated the load, and never could lessen it. A merchant in England is placed by this law in a very unequal and unfair situation ; for, in general, he cannot obtain his judgement, until all or most of the creditors on the spot have gained the start of him ; nor can he be so early acquainted with his debtor's circumstances. Creditors are, under this law, very much in the condition of certain tradesmen, who, as the story goes, had for a long time supplied the wants of a young spendthrift. Wearied at length with their importunity, he appointed a particular day and hour, for each of them to call upon him ; and, in the mean while, he prepared an alphabetical muster-roll of their names. As they came one by one, he exhibited his list, and assured them of payment in their several turns, according to the order of their names. Among the rest was his taylor, whose name began with a Y. In vain did the poor taylor expostulate with him, and represent the injustice of putting him off to the very last, who was not only one of the earliest, but the most considerable of the creditors. Indeed, my good friend Y, (replied the other) I am truly concerned for the hardship of your case ; but you may thank the initial of your name for it. I could wish, with all my heart, that it had fallen to your lot to be a Mr. A, or Mr. B, or even Mr. P. ; but, as the matter stands, you must be sensible, there is no remedy for you but Christian patience.

I remarked, that a repeal of this law might be productive of many public inconveniencies : this I meant in a retrospective view. But, if it should be repealed in such a way as to have no retrospect to preceding contracts, and to be restricted to future ones alone ; no inconvenience would, I think, arise, more especially if the repealing act should not take effect until a reasonable time after its date. The creditor under subsisting contracts might, with this proviso, be able to put his demands on judgement ; and, in respect to the debtor, no greater hardships than what occur at present would ensue. With regard to future creditors, and future debtors, only,

the case would be altered, and greatly for the better in every circumstance. The means of delay and subterfuge being once removed, men would become more cautious of contracting debts; creditors would have a sure and speedy mode of recovery, agreeable to justice; they would, therefore, be able to vend their merchandize cheaper, and the planter become a gainer in every view; but in no particular more, than retrieving a fair character and solid credit, with an increasing ability to preserve his fortune, without having recourse to mean evasions and expensive bribes. The whole system of iniquity must then very soon depart from the provost-marshal's office, because no pretext would remain for his detaining the creditor's money an instant longer in his hands than the time prescribed by law; the deputy must rest contented with the honest, legal emoluments of his office; the patentee with a diminished rent, and no room be left for a third pensioner [1]. So important are the advantages which such a repeal

[1] The French government considers a planter, in their islands, as a Frenchman venturing his life, enduring a species of banishment, and undergoing great hardships, for the benefit of his country. For which reason, he has great indulgences shewn him. Whenever, by hurricanes, earthquakes, or bad seasons, the planters suffer, a stop is put to the rigour of exacting creditors; the few taxes which are levied are remitted; and even money is advanced, to repair their losses, and set them forward. To those who are poor, but shew a disposition to industry, necessaries and small sums are lent, to make a beginning; and this money is taken in gradually, and by very small payments. On the other hand, as it can be of no advantage to the planter to run fraudulently in debt, but is of the greatest prejudice to the French merchants; all debts, though contracted by the planters in France, are levied with great ease. The process, properly authenticated, is transmitted to America, and admitted as proved there; and levied on the planter's estate, of whatsoever kind it may be. However, "care is taken, that, whilst compulsory methods are used to make the planters do justice, the state shall not lose the industry of an useful member of the community." The debt is always levied according to the substance of the debtor, and by instalments; so that (what ought, indeed, to be the case in every well-regulated government) "one of the parties is not sacrificed to the other." Both subsist: the creditor is satisfied; the debtor is not ruined: and the credit of the colonies is kept in health and vigour at home, by the sure methods which are in use for recovering all demands in the plantations.

In the French islands, the rapidity of their settlement, their astonishing increase, and the good order by which they are sustained and conducted; the whole is the work of a wise policy, and a right turn their government has taken.

In the English colonies, where no systematic order prevails, where almost every thing, in respect to their policy, their taxation, the administration of government and justice, their population, and their trade, is wrong, or left to chance; for whom the mother state contrives no plans, executes no regulations, except to draw a present tribute from them; we do not observe the like flourishing progression: and they would very soon decline into their original wilderness, if it were not for that persevering spirit of industry, so peculiar to the English, and which is the result of their liberty. I should not have drawn comparisons between our colony government and that of the French,

but

repeal may procure to the island, that every true patriot in it ought to concur in applying, without delay, the proper remedy to those stupendous evils, introduced, continued, and supported, by the priority act. I have been led into this digression by a desire of pointing out the various obstacles which seem to have prevented this colony from attaining to that established credit and flourishing condition to which it might speedily arrive by a few spirited regulations. I shall hereafter take the liberty of noticing other grievances incidentally; for I seek rather to merit the character of a faithful, zealous advocate for the injured, than that of an entertaining Historian.

In regard to the present subject, I have chiefly leveled at the patentees; for I do not think the deputies nearly so culpable. They accept a lease upon terms, which they hope will leave them some little profit for their support. When a man has engaged in one of these, it becomes what is commonly called his bread; and he knows that he must toil through some years before he can expect to save and lay up sufficient for an independency. Upon the death of his patentee (which may happen possibly in the first year, or even month, of his lease), and on the appointment of another, and so upon the expiration of every term, he is glad to renew his lease, even at an increased rent and fine, rather than lose the office, and with it all his settled plans and prospects of life. It is natural for him, then, to embrace the only method left of indemnifying himself, by making small additions, from time to time, to the fees on such articles as will least give birth to popular clamour. But where is the line to be drawn with the patentees? They live at their ease in England, go on augmenting their terms every two or three years, as if the offices were nothing more than their copyholds of inheritance; endeavouring to make the most of their time, and to improve their annuity, regardless of the means, or the consequences. Are they never to be stopped in their career? The assembly of Jamaica may be assured, they never will stop, until compelled. Whenever the next reversion takes place, the secretary's office will

but with a design to shew the propriety of this conclusion; "if, under all the disadvantages of  
 "arbitrary rule, the French, by the pure force of a sound policy, have conducted their plantations so successfully; what degree of vigour and opulence might not our English colonies arrive  
 "at, by uniting the fittest maxims of that policy to our characteristic genius for industry, supported  
 "by the spirit of national freedom!"



probably be farmed at no less than 2000*l.* sterling *per annum*; and the fees will be redoubled upon the people of the island. Every thing considered, I cannot propose a better means to prevent the increase of this evil, than by passing a new act, establishing the fees of all the offices at a reasonable, yet liberal rate, above those of the law of 1711; taking especial care in the framing, that the transgressors of it shall not escape with impunity by the privy door of *noli prosequi*. But, if this be not approved of, perhaps the yearly application of 1000*l.* to indemnify the injured subjects in prosecuting *qui tam* actions on the law of 1711, against the violators of that law, might, in the course of seven years, tire out these antagonists, and bring them to a reasonable composition. It would be no bad bargain for the public, if they could gain it at the expence of seven, fourteen, or even 21,000*l.* This will appear in a stronger light, on considering, that, if the custom of doubling the legal fees began only thirty years back, the public of Jamaica has in this time paid 90,000*l.* more to one officer alone than was actually lawful for that officer to demand or receive. Let this awaken them to a sense of their condition, and be an instruction to make them provide against this growing calamity. If they have paid so much in their own wrong to one office, how would the balance swell, if the rest should be taken into account! It will be understood, that I mean not the persons executing these offices should be abridged of any just or reasonable emolument. I mean only to inculcate, that the evil complained of has originated from the patentees; who, not knowing when to stop, or perhaps imagining the honest profits of the several offices to be much greater than what they really are, have conducted themselves, upon the grant of every new lease, just in the same manner as if the offices were so many common English farms, to be held under an improving rent. Agreeable to this fallacious notion, they have refused to make any other than very short leases, and upon every renewal reserved a considerable fine; or else put up the premises at vendue, and knocked them off to the highest bidder; in this respect, indeed, they have done what they would naturally have thought highly improper in the case of an English farm. If a person in England had applied to one of these gentlemen, and offered to take a farm of him at a

rent

rent which it was well known exceeded the whole profits, and assured him, that, in order to pay this excessive rent, and at the same time be able to subsist his family, he must be forced to rob all his neighbours hen-roosts, and steal their sheep; would the gentleman (knowing this as the necessary consequence) be apt to strike the bargain with such a tenant? if he possessed a spark of honesty, I think he would not; because he could not but know, that, by closing with the offer, he must be stigmatized as an accomplice, if not a principal, in the subsequent thefts to be committed by his tenant.

Some of the patentees (I do not say the present) have been conscious, that the case of the Jamaica officers is exceedingly parallel to this example; but so little ashamed were they of giving encouragement where money was the object, that they only thought how they might best secure themselves against their tenant's insolvency; and accepted the dishonourable proposal made to them, upon condition that good security should be given in England for regular payment of the rent.

It is a matter of astonishment to me, that any man should possess such a pliant kind of honesty, as, without scruple, to abet a system of knavery committed in Jamaica, which he would be thoroughly ashamed of countenancing if it was to be committed near his country seat in England; or that it should be thought less criminal, to purloin from ten thousand persons in Jamaica, than to purloin from one in England. Surely, to demand and take from any one double the sum that I have a right to demand and take, is not consistent with the principles of honesty, as they are commonly understood; nor is it more so, to share in the fruits of such exaction; but still less, to insist on such unreasonable terms with a deputy, as compel him, whether he will or not, to act the part of a sharper in the execution of his duty, or otherwise be unable either to pay his rent, or subsist his family. It would be impossible for the deputies to carry on business under a load of popular odium, if the inhabitants did not charitably discriminate in their favour; knowing the hard bargain imposed upon them. The edge of public resentment is turned against those who are considered the chief instigators to exaction, and who are removed beyond their reach. I

would fain persuade myself to believe, that the patentees have never examined this subject with the seriousness it deserves; or that they have been never well informed of the true state of their offices; for, otherwise, they would have traced the clamour of the island to its genuine source, and, by setting an example of moderation in their own practice, have enabled their deputies to keep within bounds, or have left them without excuse.

Their reputations are really staked upon the issue of this matter; and, unless they mean to exasperate the inhabitants beyond all forbearance, it is high time they should enter into some measure of accomodation. As the friend of both parties, I venture to propose the following. Let the law of 1711 be revised. A great authority has told us, it is grown obsolete, because it was passed about sixty years ago. The bill of rights, I think, is somewhat older; the *habeas corpus*, and *magna charta*, older still: are these also grown obsolete? But I shall admit (for argument sake), that necessities of all kinds are doubled in this series of time; that paper, pens, and ink, are twice as dear as they were in 1711; and that, if the officers should be restricted to the fees of that law, the secretary could not exist on 2000*l. per annum*: which would then be about the clear income of his office. Let this be granted, and their fees be established at the rates now taken, unless too glaringly exorbitant. Let exorbitancies of this nature be retrenched, and the matter settled upon the most fair and generous allowances. But then let them, in future, be circumscribed by clauses so strict, that the patentee may be effectually precluded from further exactions, by the utter inability of his deputy to comply with them, without breach of the law, and becoming amenable to the very rigorous penalties and punishment, which it should not only denounce, but be fully armed to execute.

### S E C T. III.

HAVING occasionally mentioned the act of 1711, I shall beg leave to introduce here some account of that act; which will lead me

me to further remarks upon the conduct of these offices, and to lay such other facts before the reader as will serve to corroborate the preceding detail.

To gratify private rancour by censuring others, is a most ignoble and wicked act. I profess to have no other view, in the recital of public or private misdemeanors, but that very laudable one of rescuing some thousands of my fellow-subjects from the severest impositions: which, as they seem to gather strength from the great power and the misrepresentations of their adversaries; so they justify the zeal of every honest and well-meaning colonist, who endeavours to expose them in their true colours, and to undeceive those who may have been hitherto seduced or misled by their fallacies.

On the 18th of April, 1711, a message was sent from the house of assembly to the then governor, to inquire, whether he had received any accounts relative to an act lately passed "for regulating fees." On the next day, the governor laid before the house a letter from the lords of trade to him, and another from Mr. Solicitor-general Eyre to the lords of trade, in part approving, and in part finding fault with, the act. Their lordships letter recommended the passing a new act, not liable to Mr. Solicitor's objections. Upon which, the house proceeded to frame a new bill; which, in May 1711, was passed into a law, by the governor, council, and assembly; and, on the 30th of April, 1715, was confirmed by his majesty in council. On the 21st of June, 1765, (fifty years after the act was confirmed as just mentioned) a representation to the king in council having been made, by several of the patentees holding offices in Jamaica, on behalf of themselves and their deputies; an order was passed at the council-board, setting forth, "that the house of representatives of Jamaica having thought proper to arraign the conduct and justice of the petitioners, to condemn the practice of taking fees, established by custom and long usage, and to declare, that, if the public officers should continue to take the same, they ought to be displaced and prosecuted with the utmost severity of the law; which declaration, the petitioners alledged, had excited several vexatious suits against some of their deputies, grounded upon a proclamation lately issued in the said island, which has no reference

“reference to the matter in question, and upon an obsolete act [u],  
 “passed in that island in the year 1711; and that the petitioners  
 “prayed his majesty to establish, by his order in council, such  
 “customary fees as have been of long usage taken in their respec-  
 “tive offices; or to direct the governor of Jamaica, with the advice  
 “of his council, to establish a table of such additional fees to those  
 “regulated in the act of 1711, as should appear adequate and com-  
 “petent to the said offices in their present state; and, in the mean  
 “time, to support the petitioners in their just rights and accustomed  
 “fees, and stay all proceedings and suits grounded on the said law  
 “of 1711.” His majesty, by advice of his privy-council and lords  
 of trade, orders the governor to exert the powers legally invested in  
 him, for protecting the petitioners, or their deputies, against any suits  
 or actions that may be brought against them upon account of their  
 having taken such fees as have, by long usage, been taken by them,  
 or their predecessors in office, although the same should have ex-  
 ceeded the rates settled by the act of 1711; and declares, that he  
 will concur with the legislature of the island in any proposition for  
 a revival of that law, and establishing and fixing such fees for public  
 officers as shall be adequate to the present state of their business, and  
 the circumstances of the times. There are several particulars in the  
 foregoing representation so extraordinary, as to deserve a critical  
 attention. The act of 1711, confirmed by the crown in 1715, must  
 have regulated the fees on a most equitable rate for the patentees;  
 otherwise, it is scarcely probable that it would have been confirmed.  
 The act, as originally framed, had met with objections from Mr. So-  
 licitor-general. These the assembly removed, by modeling their  
 last act, agreeable to his own corrections; on which, we may safely

[u] What is usually, and perhaps improperly, called an obsolete act, is that which loses its effects consequentially, by the annihilation of the subject itself on which alone its power could operate. Of this kind are all the acts concerning feudal tenures, they being rendered obsolete by 12 Charles II. which abolishes the tenures themselves. Where the subject is destroyed, the adjunct drops of course. No law in our constitution can be properly termed obsolete.—Preface to Ruffhead's Statutes at large.

It is proper to observe, that our Jamaica act of 1711 was not, either directly or virtually, repealed or superseded by any subsequent act; and therefore continued to be as much in force as when it first took effect. The evil complained of was not the fixing and demanding gratuities for articles of business unprovided for by this law, but the making excessive additions to fees expressed in, and appointed by, the law.

venture

venture a conjecture, that the patentees had not been unconsulted. The deputies conformed to this act for some time. Upon the affidavits of these officers it appears, that they could not fix the custom and usage of taking additional fees further back than 1743. In 1764 we find the assembly making heavy complaints of their exactions upon the public. From 1743 to 1764 is a space of no more than twenty-one years; and this is called custom and long usage. An usage, or custom, in the sense by which the law of England has explained it, must have a continuance, without interruption, *ultra memoriam hominis*: and a long usage is still further extended beyond this line. It was therefore determined, that an usage of twenty-one years in Jamaica was exactly the same as a time immemorial in England, and justified the officers in establishing fees of their own creation; that an act, passed only fifty years before, was superannuated, and therefore fit to be buried in oblivion. His majesty and council are desired, not merely to dispense with a law, but to declare it void; and to enact fees by the sole and arbitrary authority of the crown: which implies, that his majesty in council had as well a right of framing laws to bind the colony, as of rescinding or suspending a known law, which had been solemnly confirmed, and never repealed by any subsequent act of legislature. His majesty is called upon, in the alternative, to delegate this right, and to order his governor of Jamaica, and the council there, to enact such additional fees. A legislative authority of this nature must be supposed to reside in his majesty and council; or a petition for the exercise of it must appear absurd and unmeaning: for, if the king's power in this respect was not supposed equal to the authority of the law in question, nay, transcendently superior to it; the requesting his majesty to exert a power, or right, which he had not in him, would be not only impertinent, but totally unavailing. Many difficulties would have occurred, either in recovering fees appointed under such a sanction as was required, or in defending actions brought against the deputies, in any court of law, for presuming to demand and receive such fees. His majesty's order in council, instead of enacting (as was petitioned) a table of fees, offers to concur with the Jamaica legislature in any new law, to be framed upon equitable principles. However much, therefore, the order may seem too indulgent to the

patentees,

patentees, in directing the governor to exert the prerogative in their support, against a positive law of the colony, and against the sense of the house of representatives, and to stop, by *noli prosequi*, all suits instituted under that law against delinquent officers; it certainly held the prerogative, (strictly speaking) within legal bounds. I have heard, that, when this petition and order came before the house of assembly, the majority were well inclined to have embraced this proposition from the crown, and so have terminated the dispute, if many among them, and even those who at first were well inclined to favour the officers, had not conceived a disgust at the tenour of this petition to the crown; which they thought too dictatorial, and indicant of a disposition to place the supreme legislative power in the hands of the governor and council alone; and either to force the house into compliance, or make an order of council, for imposing additional fees, of superior validity to an act of the whole legislature. It was considered as a direct attack upon the rights of the assembly, and treated accordingly. The argument of the officers, "that all the necessaries of life, and contingent charges, had greatly risen in their price since 1711, which rendered it impossible for them to subsist by the fees as established in that year," was plausible; and probably induced his majesty in council to assure his ready concurrence in any new law for regulating and appointing such fees as should be "adequate to the present state of their business, and the circumstances of the times." I have already, in part, demonstrated, that this argument was fallacious in its grounds; and to my former I shall add some further reasons. Although the necessaries of life had, it is true, increased in their price from 1715 to 1764, yet this advance of price was a most incontestable proof, that the *quantum* of their business had increased at least *pari passu*. The price of necessaries must ever rise with a multiplication of consumers. That this was the case in Jamaica, I shall presently make appear; and, from the evidence I shall bring, I trust that the advanced price, of necessaries will not be found to have been the original motive for raising their fees to such an enormous pitch; but other causes, namely, "an increasing rent, imposed by the patentees," "a disinclination of their deputies to remain satisfied with moderate gains, and an

"eager

“eager ambition of acquiring easy fortunes in a short time.” According to a law of the island, passed in 1693, the prices of sundry kinds of meat were fixed and regulated. In the year 1764, when the officers adopted this argument, meats were increased in price, since 1693, as follows:

Mutton and lamb, ——— about one half more;

Beef, ——— ——— about one third;

Veal, ——— ——— about one fifth: whilst all other but-

chers meat, turtle, and fish, continued nearly at the same price.

House-rent, and all the necessaries of life, except those imported from Great-Britain, were advanced somewhat more than one third.

But the progressive settlement and opulence of the island had kept even pace at least; and, therefore, must be deemed to have influenced the price of necessaries, as I have before supposed. In 1670

were in this island only seventy sugar-works. In 1739, viz. sixty-nine years, they were increased to four hundred and twenty-nine, or

six times the number. In 1768, viz. twenty-nine years, they were increased to six hundred and fifty-one; or above one half more than

in 1739, and above nine times more than in 1670: and the stock of Negroes, about one third in the twenty-nine years; and to above

sixteen times the number computed in 1670. This great progressive augmentation of property and wealth had, doubtless, a cor-

respondent effect upon the trade and commerce of the island, internal and external; and consequently enlarged, to a prodigious de-

gree, all the business of every public office, whether for matters of transfer, sale, debt, law, records, or trade and navigation. From

1728 to 1764 (thirty-six years), the export of sugar was increased three-fourths; and the shipping proportionably. Thus we may

reasonably, and upon the most moderate average, say, that property in the island has augmented, since 1711, in the ratio of at

least three to one; and that provisions of the island growth have not, on an average, advanced so much as one half their price since

1693. In other words, the business of the public offices has increased, with our augmentation of trade and property, to three

times more, and the necessaries of life have not risen to more than one half, what they were when the fee-law passed. The plea, there-

fore, of the officers must, from this fair state of the matter, appear



to have been frivolous and untenable. It will seem not less so, if we apply these calculations to the year 1743: at which period, the deputies, according to their own testimony, began first to deviate from the law confirmed by the crown only twenty-eight years before. But, granting their plea to be in part admissible, that the rates of all necessaries had greatly increased, and their business not grown more enlarged, and for this reason become less profitable, (which, I think, would be a solecism in political arithmetic); still this diminution of profit could give them a just pretence for only exalting their fees in a proportionable measure, or about one third more. We shall now examine, how scrupulously they have adhered even to this proportion. By the act of 1711,

	£	s.	d.
The collector's fee, for entering and clearing vessels trading beyond the tropic of Cancer, is fixed at	0	5	0
The collector therefore, in 1764, should not have exceeded three times that sum, or ————	0	15	0
But, by the examinations taken in 1764 by the house of assembly, it appeared, that, in the last-mentioned year, the collector had demanded and taken, for entry and clearance of a North-American vessel (very near twenty times as much as the legal fee); no less than ————	4	17	6
That, in 1737, and for several years preceding, and to the year 1743, the naval officer demanded and received for his fee, on entering and clearing a vessel from Great-Britain, ————	1	16	3
This was an excess beyond the legal fee; but, in 1764, it was found to have been increased to —	5	1	3

The rent of this office about 1737, and for several subsequent years, paid to the patentee, was 200*l.* sterling *per annum*. The fee, therefore, having been raised, from 1743 to 1764 (twenty-one years), to near thrice the first rate, induces a presumption, that the patentee had gradually raised his rent in the like proportion; and that his exaction on his deputies from time to time, and additions made upon every new appointment, urged the deputy (for the time being) to enlarge his fees. In 1737 no fee was paid at the comptroller's office.

This

This officer, having none allowed by law, received an annual salary of 200*l.* in lieu thereof. The first sum taken at this office was five shillings, demanded by one of the clerks, by way of a perquisite to himself: this was afterwards raised to 6*s.* 3*d.* then to 11*s.* 10½*d.*; and lastly converted into an established fee of 1*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* All or most of the other officers had committed the like excesses as I have already related. Their general plan of operation was uniform; and the origin of their exactions nearly similar. His majesty's proclamation, which was issued in Jamaica on the 29th of September, 1764, is in these words:

“ Forasmuch as we have received frequent complaints, that several public officers, in our colonies and plantations in America, have taken and received, by colour of their several offices, sundry exorbitant fees for business transacted therein; and whereas, from representations lately made to us, there is reason to apprehend, that such unwarrantable demands and exactions still continue in some of our colonies, particularly on the survey and passing of patents for land; we have the justest indignation at such shameful and illegal practices, which do not only dishonour our service, but also operate to the prejudice of the public interest, by obstructing the speedy settlement of our colonies: in order, therefore, to testify our utmost displeasure towards such unwarrantable and dishonourable practices, and, as far as in us lies, to prevent the continuance thereof, and the evil consequences arising therefrom; we have thought fit to issue this our royal proclamation, utterly prohibiting and forbidding all such practices for the future. And we do hereby order, command, and strictly enjoin and require, all public officers whatsoever, in this our island of Jamaica, that they, nor any of them, do not presume to demand, or receive, from any of our loving subjects, or any other person whatsoever, any other fees for public business transacted in their respective offices, than what have been established by proper authority, on pain of our highest displeasure. And it is our royal will and pleasure, that every officer, who shall demand, or receive, any other than the fees hereby allowed, shall be forthwith removed from his said office, and shall be prosecuted by our at-

“torney general of this our island, for such his action, with the utmost severity of the law.”

We have seen, that the patentees, in their petition to the king, affirmed to his majesty, “that this proclamation had no reference to the matter in question,” *i.e.* their fees; though it appears, in the plainest and most express terms, to be pointed at them; and, with respect to Jamaica, could have no probable reference to any other. It is true, the proclamation notices particularly the exactions on “surveys and patents for lands;” but it clearly applies also to every other exaction, for it includes “all public officers, whatsoever,” and “all public business transacted at their respective offices.” It upbraids their practices in the strongest terms of censure, calling them “unwarrantable, shameful, illegal, dishonourable;” and threatens them with his majesty’s “highest displeasure,” “removal from office,” and “prosecution with the utmost rigor of the law,” if they should presume to demand or receive “any other fees” than what have been established by “proper authority.” Surely, we ought to suppose, that the proclamation extends its meaning, not only to one set of public officers, but to all in general, without exception. To draw a different conclusion, is to charge his majesty with being partial; as severely punishing some few officers, and conniving at all the rest, although guilty of the same offences, in equal, or, may be, in a greater excess; which would be an act of injustice highly disgraceful to majesty, and, indeed, repugnant to every principle of common equity. It cannot be wondered, if the parties in Jamaica, who had been recently aggrieved by such oppressions, and sought redress by law, understood the proclamation to be of a general nature, and to allude to every transgressing officer. It was so construed by the governor, by the house of representatives, the attorney general, and the judges [w], until the patentees had, by the power of their

[w] The proclamation was issued by the governor the 29th of September, 1764. In October, or November, the attorney-general received orders from his excellency to commence prosecutions against the collector, naval officer, and deputy-secretary, “for exactions contrary to law,” and filed informations against them in court accordingly on the 30th of November. On the 28th of November, the assembly had passed an address of thanks to his excellency, “for the steps he had already taken towards carrying into execution his majesty’s gracious proclamation;” and expressed their confidence, “that the same would effectually be put in execution, by forthwith re-  
“moving

their interest, succeeded so well, as to obtain the order of his majesty in council before-mentioned; in consequence of which, several actions, that had been instituted, were stopped by *noli prosequi*; and the complainants obliged to sit down unredressed; but with this further aggravation of hardship, that they had been entrapped, by the terms of the proclamation, to expend from two to three hundred pounds each, in the vain hope of bringing the offenders to justice. The proclamation had restricted the delinquents to such fees alone, "as had been established on proper authority." But they had no authority whatever, except their own will and pleasure, for establishing their exorbitancies; these were even founded neither on usage nor prescription; for I have shewn, that they had not existed above twenty-one years. They had originally arisen by trifling deviations from the act of 1711; so small at first, perhaps, as not to deserve opposition; or so modestly demanded, as not to provoke it: at length, they grew to surpass all limits, and were neither required, nor paid, without frequent altercation and dispute. Had this then any colour in it of legal usage? The only proper authority, on which their just fees could be established, was some known law: the law of 1711, which regulated and declared their fees, was this proper authority; there existed no other law for the purpose. With respect then to Jamaica, it follows, that, by the very terms of the proclamation, they were tied down to demand and take no other fees than what that law allowed them. Is it not strange, therefore, that, in less than a twelvemonth following this positive injunction, the opinion and judgement of things should, upon an interested misrepresentation, be so totally changed and perverted, as to suspend the effects of the proclamation; to concur with the parties in deeming the law obsolete; and, further, even to ratify such exactions, intemperate as they were beyond all bounds:

"moving from their offices, and directing the attorney-general to prosecute, all such officers, or their deputies, as should take or receive other than their legal fees." In July, 1765, his excellency informed the attorney-general, "that he must not proceed to trial of the informations against the public officers, as a copy of the report of the lords of trade and plantations, to the lords committee of the privy-council, was come to his hands; and that he daily expected, in consequence thereof, an order from the king in council to himself, to put a stop to the prosecutions." Not long after this, the attorney-general received an official letter from his excellency, commanding him "to enter *noli prosequi* on all the informations; his majesty's order in council for that purpose being then arrived."

of

of moderation, and grown intolerably grievous and detrimental both to the planting and trading interest? It is no less astonishing than true, that they found means to bring all this to pass; and we cannot but lament, that some among them seem to have extended the mischief still further, and to have beguiled even the parliament into their alliance.

In 1765, the same year in which the king's order in council was obtained, we find an act of parliament passed, declaring, "the collectors, and other officers of his majesty's colonies or plantations in America, entitled to demand and receive such fees as they and their predecessors were entitled to demand and receive on or before the 29th of September, 1764: provided the fees so taken are not contrary to the express direction of any act of parliament made in Great-Britain. And, if no fees have been received by any comptroller of his majesty's customs; or if the comptroller's fees, received before the said 29th of September, have not been equal to one third part of the fees received by the collector; it shall be lawful for the comptroller to demand and receive, for his fees, a sum equal to one third part of the fees received as aforesaid, by such collector, for the like business. And every such officer shall be entitled to the same remedy, for recovery of such fees as heretofore allowed to any collector, comptroller, or other officer; any law, bye-law, or other act of assembly, made in the said plantations, to the contrary notwithstanding." The penalty inflicted for exacting greater fees is, for the first offence, "fifty pounds," and, for the second offence, "removal from office." Here are the strongest marks possible to convince us, that this clause was conceived and nourished, in its embryo state, by some of the Jamaica patentees, and at length ushered forth into light and life by their senatorial *accoucheurs*. I before observed, that no fees had been provided by law for the comptroller; and I gave a short narrative of the means from which his perquisites originated. I likewise informed the reader, that his majesty's proclamation issued on the 29th of September, 1764. Is it not evident, then, that this clause was meant to give a provision to the comptroller, which he had not before by any secure title? and to confirm that officer, and his brethren of the custom-house, in safe and perfect future enjoyment of their

their respective fees, at the very rates to which they had raised them by exaction before the 29th of September, when the proclamation issued? and that this proclamation was to be understood as the line of boundary, or a notice to them, not to exact any further for the present, but remain satisfied (as they might well be), for some time, with the then enormous advance of them; and this too with a *non obstante* to any colony law, or act of assembly; which salvo seemed purposely intended as a home thrust to the Jamaica act of 1711? Our plantation merchants may well inveigh against, and deplore, the exorbitancy of that influence, which has obtained a confirmation (I fear in perpetuity) of these exactions, and thus fastened a most ponderous and oppressive clog upon trade and shipping, which, in all probability, may never be taken off again.

The same prevailing faction found means, in 1770, to get the foregoing strengthened with another clause. The naval officer, it seems, had not been expressly included in the former. It was highly fitting, that this gentleman too should be gratified. It is, therefore, enacted, (by cl. ii. cap. 37. 10 Geo. III.) that “whereas as disputes had arisen, in some of the ports of America, whether the naval officers were entitled to demand and receive such fees as were usually taken by them and their predecessors before the 29th of September, 1764, every collector, comptroller, and other officer of his majesty’s customs, and every naval officer in the said British colonies, after the 1st day of August, 1770, shall be deemed to be entitled to, and shall and may lawfully demand and receive, such fees as they and their predecessors respectively were and had been generally and usually accustomed to demand, take, and receive, before the said 29th of September, 1764; any law, bye-law, or other act of assembly, made in the said plantations, to the contrary notwithstanding.” These clauses make a specious offer of justice, by denouncing a penalty of 50*l.* on officers exceeding their usual fees. But it is, indeed, a mere offer, and nothing more; since neither they declare, nor does any person except the officers themselves know, what sums have been usually taken; it having been usual for every new deputy to establish new fees; which, consequently, must be often fluctuating, by means of the quick and numerous succession of officers.

From:

From the year 1725 to 1765, the office of comptroller in Jamaica was executed successively by no less than ten different deputies. How, then, will any injured man be encouraged to prosecute a deputy for exaction, since he must bring positive evidence (or be nonsuit), that the fee, alledged to be taken, is greater than was usually taken before the 29th of September, 1764? Or how is a court of justice to decide the certain usage, in a matter which has been so variable, unsettled, and uncertain? The remedy, I confess, appears to me very similar, in its operation, to those quack medicines, which prove more noxious to the patient than the disease itself. Of all the different exactions I have pointed out, there are not any which admit of less palliation than those practised by the officers of the customs; for they very materially affect the trade and navigation of Great-Britain. It is remarked by some political writers, and upon the most rational grounds, that the advantages gained over us by the French in point of trade, and by which they have been principally enabled to worn us out of some very capital branches, are chiefly to be ascribed to their comparatively low port charges: and it is a complaint, and a very serious one, among the British merchants trading to Jamaica, that, by reason of the high port charges of that island, they are every year great losers in their concern with shipping; insomuch that, if it was not for the necessity they are under of employing bottoms to bring home that produce which is to pay their loans and balances, they would be discouraged from sending any vessel to the island, on mere speculation, for freight. It is with concern, therefore, we find the parliament, without pursuing any inquiry or examination (as far as appears) by which they might come to the knowledge of facts; thus precipitately consenting to grant a loose and general ratification of those extortions in particular, which are distinguished from the rest by the superior mischief of their effects. Perhaps, nay I am well assured that, if they had taken pains to be duly informed of the truth, they would have opposed this manœuvre with the utmost indignation. How far our public officers in general may have outstretched their fraternity in the other colonies, I know not; but I have reason to believe, that, in the offices of the customs, they exceed the others beyond all comparison. That I may not seem to

alledge this from prejudice, or sinister motives, I shall put it more beyond doubt by the following authentic examples.

		Jamaica currency.		
		£.	s.	d.
Dec. 1762,—Port charges at Philadelphia, on the Polly, Christopher Winn master, inward from London, with bale goods; outward, for Jamaica, with provisions, &c.		6	18	1
Jan. 1763, Port charges at Kingston, in Jamaica, on the above vessel, inward from Philadelphia, outward for Europe,		37	13	1½
1765, Port charges at Kingston, in Jamaica, on the brig Favourite, William Shaftoe master, inward from Dublin, outward for Pensacola, —		31	4	9
1766, Port charges at Barbadoes, on the snow Happy, Jonathan Harrison master, inward from Africa, outward for Great Britain, —		16	0	8

I would ask any dispassionate man, if it be possible for trade to flourish under such unconscionable burthens. The amazing difference between the port charges of this and of the neighbouring colonies must appear unjustifiable, notwithstanding any pretension of usage; for no other cause can, I believe, be assigned, why the charges at Jamaica ought to be so immoderately higher than those of other plantations in the West-Indies, or North-America; as little reason can be given, why the merchant owners and traders, connected with that island, should be grievously burthened and taxed, to raise a tribute for the patentees and their deputies. We remain uninformed of any particular merit, or any eminent services effected to the nation, for which these gentlemen have been honoured with such distinguishing tokens of parliamentary favour. It is much to be desired, that parliament would re-consider this important matter, and proceed, not upon the suggestions of a few interested men, but on the great and patriotic maxims of the commercial interest of the kingdom and colonies; and, after a due and fair enquiry, establish fees for the port officers upon an equal, reasonable plan, throughout all these remote parts of the British empire. It may with truth be affirmed, that nothing can tend more to



bring the supreme wisdom of parliament into contempt among the people of our colonies, and to create a spirit of disaffection, and even hatred, than an appearance of neglect and inattention on the part of government to their essential interests; whilst, at the same time, there is manifested a degree of zeal in rewarding all those who petition for it, with a power of committing tyranny, ravage, and insult, over their persons and properties. Their pensioners and oppressors have never wanted able advocates and representatives. A government, blind to their sufferings, and deaf to their complaints, may excite them to despise, resent, or oppose its injustice; but never can conciliate their reverence and esteem.

## C H A P. IX.

### *Agent.*

**T**HE keeping a person in Great Britain under the title of "agent for the island," is an indication of the little knowledge which either ministers or parliament formerly had of the colony affairs and interests; otherwise there could have been no necessity that the colonies should maintain an agent, at a yearly expence, for the purpose of soliciting the passage of bills, explaining their expediency, obviating the imposition of ruinous duties on their articles of produce, pointing out the means of extending and improving those articles, and for praying removal of grievances. The colonies found, by experience, that, in order to be successful on these occasions, it was proper to make friends at court; or at least appoint a resident, or plenipo, in London, to negotiate for them; their distance from the mother country being so remote, that their voice became unnoticed, for want of some instrumental medium, which, like a speaking trumpet, might render it articulate to ministerial ears. The North-Americans and West-Indians may well laugh at Mr. Grenville's ludicrous idea of a virtual representation in the house of commons; while they see themselves compelled, like the conquered provincials of ancient Rome, to employ deputies,

ties, and hire orators, for explaining their grievances, soliciting and pleading their cause with Cæsar and the senate. The British constitution has admitted one class only of representatives; who are personally deputed and appointed by their constituents, by a formal instrument in writing, to act and vote for them: the ingredients, necessary to make the appointment legal, are similar to those which vest a due and general power of attorney. Our colony agents are a sort of representatives, but (in some respects) of a less perfect appointment. In Jamaica they are constituted by an act, the title of which usually has been, "for soliciting the passing of laws and other the public affairs of the island; and empowering certain members of the council and assembly, during the intervals of assembly, from time to time, as occasion shall be, to give instructions for his management." But this delegation, to a person who is no member of the British legislature, does by no means correspond in use or efficacy to a representative duly chosen, and empowered to sit and vote in the house of commons: he can approach no nearer than to their bar, and there humbly prefer the suit of his constituents, like any other supplicant: he enjoys not the right or power of deliberating, or debating. In Cromwell's parliament, the colonies had somewhat of a virtual representative; a select and standing committee being appointed for the special purposes of reporting their condition, and propounding means for their better improvement and security. A committee of this sort, permanently established in the house of commons, would doubtless prove of very great public utility, both to Great Britain and to her colonies; more particularly as it would in course bring that house acquainted with a variety of plantation affairs, of which, upon every question relative to these distant parts of the empire, they seem to have been but little informed. I may be permitted to say, that, as we have adopted the navigation act, so we might, on the same principle of national good, embrace any other branch of that usurper's system which is recommended by the goodness and fitness of its policy. Before a regular agent was appointed for the people of Jamaica, some gentlemen of rank and fortune in England voluntarily became their patrons and advocates on one or two occasions of importance, and rendered them eminent services; for which they

received most grateful acknowledgements from the island. The inhabitants afterwards obtained leave, from the crown, to appoint one or more agents, for soliciting their public affairs with his majesty's ministers at the proper boards. The crown, by an instruction to the governor, signified its assent; but limited the agent's salary, or allowance, in the whole, to 300*l.* sterling *per annum*; which limitation still subsists. Several inconveniences have arisen from this mode of appointment, which being by an act of assembly, the council (as a branch of the colony legislature) considered themselves to be parties concerned; since, having the power of rejection, they might put their negative on a bill of the assembly appointing any person disagreeable to them. The supposed right of exercising this power *ad libitum* naturally led them to claim the further right of a joint nomination with the house of representatives; and it has been arrogated on one side, and denied on the other, with equal obstinacy. It has happened more than once, that the house have proposed, and contended for, one person; the council, for another; and, unable to compromise the dispute, at length appointed no one to the agency. At other times, the council have appointed one agent; the house, another: and, not unfrequently, an agent has received two sets of instructions from these bodies, of contradictory purport and tendency; so that, in complying with the one, he must necessarily have acted inconsistent with the other, or else have maintained an inactive neutrality (disobliging to both parties), and attended to the orders of neither. Thus, in the contest about removing the seat of government from St. Jago de la Vega to Kingston, the agent was required by one party to solicit the removal, and by the other to oppose it. In another dispute, relative to the presenting a petition to his majesty, which was signed only by the commissioners of the house, and by none of the council; the agent declined to solicit it, alledging very truly that it was incompetent, and had not come to him from that authority which by the agency law he was directed to obey. Upon these occasions, the council laboured under the difficulty of not being able to furnish a salary for a separate agent, without an illegal misapplication of the revenue money: but, on the other hand, they possessed some controul over the house, by the power of rejection, which enabled them

them to frustrate an appointment of the house by law; and the king's instruction gives authority to appoint a public agent in that way, and no other. The house have, nevertheless, the right of granting, by a vote of credit, a salary to an agent, or *charge des affaires*; and therefore retain, in those cases where the concurrence of the board cannot be obtained upon eligible terms, a means of still adhering to their own choice of a person to solicit for them; but, if the choice should be very exceptionable, such an agent (it is probable) would not easily find access to the ministerial officers at home; although in every other respect he might be free to negotiate. In extremity, the house possess a more powerful resource, in their right of tacking their appointment of an agent to a principal money-bill; a measure, which in truth is irregular, and for this reason ought not to be applied, except in great emergencies; and when every other just and proper method shall have failed of success, and of answering the good ends proposed. The council and assembly (as I already remarked) have had various dissensions upon this subject. These were aggravated by a clause in the agency law, which made it absolutely necessary for one of the council to be present, and join with the rest of the commissioners of correspondence in framing orders and instructions for the agent, from time to time, during the intervals of assembly. It was unforeseen, that, in matters upon which the two bodies might not be unanimous, the commissioners appointed by the council would always have it in their power to absent themselves on the day fixed for a meeting, and by this secession prevent the commissioners of the house from framing or transmitting any effectual letter of instructions; and that, if they should frame and send any, the agent must find himself so embarrassed as not to know how to act; for, appointed as he was by a positive law, requiring him to obey the instructions of certain persons by name, or a quorum of any five of them, whereof a member of the council was always to be one, he could not consistently follow instructions transmitted to him by a quorum constituted or composed in a manner different from that which the law prescribed. In order to provide a remedy for these inconveniences, they agreed, in 1767, that the commissioners named by the council should be seven in number; and the quorum

of all the commissioners, deputed from assembly and council, should be five; but that, in case of a difference of opinion between the two bodies, wherein each of them should happen to adhere unanimously to their respective opinions, the commissioners from each body should be empowered to act separately. This accommodation rectified the matter in some degree; but still it is evident, that, whenever such a diversity of sentiment shall arise as cannot be settled or reconciled by the parties themselves, it is not to be expected that the agent will perform an impossibility; that is, obey two contrary sets of instructions at the same time; unless we suppose him to copy the example of a barrister, in one of our infant colonies, who, in the scarcity of long robes, was obliged to argue on both sides of the question: "Now, gentlemen of the jury, I am counsel for the plaintiff;" "Now, gentlemen, I am counsel for defendant." In such a crisis, an honest agent would do well to exert all that might lie in his power towards healing the rupture; or, finding that impracticable, he should state the question on either side before the superior tribunal with the utmost candor and impartiality, carefully avoiding to throw his own opinion into the scale; or, if he should not be able to observe a strict neutrality, he ought to pursue those measures, and adopt that judgement on the subject, which appear most agreeable to the general sense, and promise to be most conducive to the interest and peace of the whole island. By a conduct of this nature, he would deserve the thanks of the major part of the inhabitants. A distinction should be taken, in the disputes happening between the two bodies, as to those which have no relation to the rest of the inhabitants, which may properly be called idle-wrangling; and those important questions which materially concern the public liberty, property, and happiness. A faithful agent should never lose sight of this distinction; nor forget, that the representatives of the people can rarely pursue a contest with the council so far as to bring it before his majesty, or the parliament, for a final discussion, except it comprehends matters of the utmost consequence to the country; whereas the council, whose political existence is differently founded, and whose imaginations have too often been inflated with a fond desire of alienating themselves, both in honours and interest, from the rest of their countrymen, may be  
more

more liable to persevere in error. For some men there are, of so abject, so puerile a spirit, that, to gain a painted feather, they would readily hazard the deprivation of all those things which the wise and virtuous value higher than life itself. In the choice of agents, the people of Jamaica have not always been the most fortunate. The observations I have read, respecting another colony, are in part applicable to them. "No prudent man can think, that  
 "a person who is not bred up in the business, and has no interest  
 "in the island, can be fit for the office of agent; nor even is a  
 "merchant, who has many commissions, to be entrusted with it.  
 "For there is no kind of affairs, that makes a man so busy, and  
 "keeps him in such continual hurry, as factorage. It is, doubt-  
 "less, proper the agent should have full leisure to carry on his  
 "agency, be a man of sense and honour, and one who needs not  
 "a borrowed pen to set forth grievances, and petition for redress.  
 "How is it possible any man should be able to serve the island as he  
 "ought to do, who is not fully apprized of her concerns, who does  
 "not perfectly understand her true interest, and has other avocations  
 "of more importance (to him at least) than his agency?" This  
 opinion, however, must be understood with some reserve: for al-  
 though there may be several persons in trade, whose attention is so  
 entirely and necessarily devoted to their mercantile business, that  
 they can spare no time for occupations of a different nature; yet  
 there are others, who stand at the head of capital houses, and  
 have sufficient leisure. In fact, a merchant of good experience is  
 the better qualified by his mercantile knowledge for the business of  
 agency: no one can quicker discern the bad effects which any bill  
 depending before parliament may have upon the interests of the co-  
 lony he represents; or can with more propriety and weight appear  
 to explain those effects, and point out any other oppression to  
 which the produce or commerce of the colony may become sub-  
 jected by an inconsiderate measure of the legislature, or of the mi-  
 nister. The admission of twelve principal merchants into the  
 French council of commerce has always been regarded as a master-  
 stroke of policy; and the surprizing increase of French trade, ship-  
 ping, and colonies, has very justly been dated from the first erection  
 of that council. The interest of a colony depends so materially

on its products and commerce, that no man who is ignorant of them can be a proper agent. He who best understands them will be most capable of serving his constituents; and they are most likely to be well acquainted with these points, whose profession naturally leads to the knowledge of them. The qualifications in general, which seem necessary to make an accomplished agent, are such as do not fall to every man's share. He ought to be a man of respectable character, of polite and engaging address; the duties of his office frequently obliging him to attend the levees of the great, and at the council board: he ought to possess a facility of speaking, as well as writing in a correct and nervous style: he should enjoy a retentive memory, in order to recollect and methodize the complicated matters entrusted to his negotiation; and, joined to these, such presence of mind, and confidence of deportment, as might enable him to be ready in reply to sudden objections or interrogations, and not liable to be discomposed, confounded, or awed into a dastardly silence. With all these requisites, he should, moreover, possess a competent knowledge of the state of the colony he represents; of the laws and customs by which it is governed; its judicatures civil and military; its revenue and taxes; produce and manufactures; articles of import and export: its population, and quantity of waste and cultivated lands; the nature of its trade and navigation; their relation to the emoluments of the mother country, and the means by which they may be extended and improved; the general system of its policy internal and external; the state of its circulating coin, and credit; and any other circumstances which may lead to discover wherein it is oppressed and aggrieved, or that have a tendency to support its dependence upon Great Britain, to relieve or encourage its planting and commercial interests, to render it opulent and flourishing, and the people industrious and happy. Few, perhaps, will take pains to acquire this comprehensive stock of knowledge; but it is demonstrably true, that an agent will be vigilant, active, and really serviceable, in proportion only to the degree he has attained of such knowledge. It is certainly in the power of a man, blest with tolerable genius, to procure material information in most of these particulars, by reading, inquiry, and observation. As the agent may correspond with the commander

mander in chief, and the most intelligent gentlemen resident in the colony, he can obtain from them, as well as from others who may from time to time come to reside in Great Britain, a very extensive and satisfactory account of most things relative to it. In matters of home trade, as well as the island imports, he has to consult the whole body of merchants concerned therein, and the custom-house books. Information on several political points may be drawn from the journals of council, the minutes of assembly, and their printed and manuscript laws. It is, doubtless, of considerable advantage to an agent, if he has been upon the spot, holds a property there, and has drawn a series of knowledge from facts and matters within his own observation and personal experience. In the choice, therefore, of an agent, some have thought it would be most adviseable to confide the solicitation of public affairs to a gentleman of the colony, of independent fortune, and good ability, who, holding a stake in the country jointly with themselves, is not likely to betray, neglect, or overlook, their true interest. But men in this class are, for the most part, either too indolent, or too much absorbed in other pursuits and avocations, to undertake a duty which would demand so constant and laborious a sacrifice of their time. Some of the northern colonies adopted this rule; and have the comfort to find their affairs best managed in the hands of their countrymen, who are more numerous, and less opulent, than the West-India planters. Not only the reason I before gave of their holding a common interest together is one principal ground of argument in favour of a countryman (mankind in general being supposed to have a partiality towards the place where their interest is staked); but it is further to be considered, that such a person, having the intimate friendship and confidence of many in the colony, with whom he corresponds, and who freely communicate their secret thoughts on public affairs, may be more justly and extensively apprized on all material occasions; his character too stands pledged, to his friends and country; a circumstance of so much power over the minds of men of integrity and honour, as to stimulate them perpetually to merit, by an assiduous and prudent conduct, the public esteem and applause. Next to such a person, is a merchant of character and ability, who, by a long intercourse with the people of



the colony, has acquired a thorough knowledge of their affairs. In examining the behaviour of our former agents, we shall perceive, that some have been scandalously supple and quality-struck; others, mean and rapacious, and fond of soliciting by the mouths of hired advocates; others, over-cautious of giving "his Lordship" the smallest offence; of such timid souls, as to be afraid to utter truth, thinking it possibly more disgusting to ministers than treason or blasphemy: by consequence, averse to support petitions or remonstrances against evil government; easily awed by a frown, or duped by a smile; bunglingly performing the less significant parts of their duty, leaving those of weight and importance unaccomplished; and never striking out any thing new, from a well-timed result of their own devotion to the good of their constituents. It is true, the present agent is a gentleman very respectable for his good sense, and affection for the island. In the latter (proved by many important services), he far transcends his predecessors in office; for none of them have ever shewn so disinterested a conduct, such vigilance to the welfare of the colony represented, or so intelligent and perfect a comprehension of its essential interests: no one, in short, can have a juster claim to the thanks and confidence of the people in Jamaica, or has laboured more to deserve them. But the people of this island are not sure of having always so indefatigable and useful a representative; and it is therefore to be wished that, in the election of his successors, they may throw aside all partial and private considerations, and suffer their judgement to move under that first and great principle, the public good.

This should be no less the motive for bestowing, than accepting the office; for whenever it shall be granted as a sinecure or pension, remissness, negligence, and utter inattention to their concerns, will most certainly follow; and the ill execution of the office must correspond with so improvident a choice.

## C H A P. X.

*Militia.*

## S E C T. I.

**I** COME next in order, conformably to the plan I have laid down, to speak of our militia. This body is composed of horse and foot, and comprehends all persons from fifteen to sixty years of age. A penalty of forty shillings for each offence is imposed on those who continue six weeks in the island unenlisted; none are exempted from serving as privates, except the members of the council and chief-justice for the time being, or such as have at any time acted in those stations, or such as bear or have borne military command. The militia of this island were formerly not inferior to regular troops. The repulse they gave to the French invaders under Monsieur du Caffé, in 1694, was a sufficient proof of their bravery. The severity of the militia law of 1681, and the articles of war which were frequently put in use, contributed much to their training and good discipline. It has been observed, that our modern militia are very dissimilar from their predecessors. This, if truly the case, may be ascribed, first, to the introduction of regular troops upon our establishment; which may be supposed to have relaxed the militia discipline, in consequence of our depending almost solely upon the protection of these regiments: secondly, to the absence of many gentlemen of fortune, who choose to reside in Great Britain, and whose personal influence might tend much to revive and support a martial spirit among the inhabitants: thirdly, to the want of better institutions, and a more general habitude in arms: and lastly, to the indiscreet commissioning of unqualified and mean persons to be officers; which I have before remarked as a very detrimental abuse of the prerogative. The smaller islands are in general most open to attack, and most easily reducible by a foreign power which has become master of the sea coast.

Yet there are some examples of islands, which have contained such a multitude of inlets, and whose internal districts were so well covered with mountainous fastnesses, and other unaffailable bulwarks of nature, that the inhabitants, after being driven from the borders, have found opportunities of supplying themselves with plenty of ammunition, and of maintaining the heart of the country for a long time, even perhaps until the invaders, wearied out with ambuscades and surprises, have been glad to retreat from a place which they failed of bringing under total subjection. The island of Corsica furnishes an instance of this kind; where the amazing efforts of an handful of brave men, cooped up within a rocky, mountainous district, have shewn how much is in the power of a bold and hardy militia to effect, in such advantageous posts, against the ablest officers and best-disciplined soldiers. The ancient Caledonians, and the Welsh, secured their liberty by the like means. Our island of Jamaica possesses similar advantages of situation in an eminent degree. It would be impracticable perhaps for a fleet of ships so to blockade it, as to prevent supplies of arms and ammunition from being secretly conveyed into it, in small vessels, by some one or other of its numerous inlets. The midland parts are wonderfully fertile, and capable of supplying immense quantities of provision; and, at the same time, so defensible, by acclivities, woods, and difficult passes, that an army of the best regular troops would not find it an easy task to dislodge a very small band of well-provided and intrepid opponents. We have some proof of this, from the tedious and expensive war, carried on for many years, with a contemptible gang of Negroes, called "the wild Negroes;" who kept possession of these recesses, and held out against forty times their number, though unsupported during the time with any fresh supply of arms or ammunition, except what were sold to them by the Jews; and at length were able to put an end to the struggle by a treaty of peace, the more honourable to them, as it confirmed the full enjoyment of that freedom for which they had so long and obstinately contended. Our island being thus strongly fortified by the hands of nature, we should reflect, how important it is to us to avail ourselves of this advantageous situation, and exert such precautions, in the discipline and good order of the militia, that if, at any future

future time, the regular troops should be withdrawn from us upon other indispensable service, or our coast be unprotected by a sufficient squadron, the inhabitants might, notwithstanding a foreign invasion, find means to keep their ground in the central districts of the island for a long time, until either the enemy should retire through a despair of conquest, or a superior armament be dispatched from Great Britain to their relief. Neither property can be eligible, nor credit permanently fixed, in a country, which, by its open and defenceless state, may fall an easy prey to every petty invader. But they will always be respectable in an island, whose natural muniments are almost impregnable; whose productions for subsistence may with moderate care become inexhaustible, and whose defenders are practised in arms, brave, and active. So various are our resources in Jamaica, that I persuade myself easily to think, that, with proper management in the application of them, not all the united force of France and Spain in these seas can ever reduce this island to their dominion.

But, towards preparing ourselves for an effective opposition; the first step necessary is, to put our militia under very different regulations from what now prevail. It is difficult to ascertain the number of fighting men in our island; because many procure themselves to be superseded, and, being afterwards not obliged to accept a rank inferior to what they before held, they become exempted from service, and are what are called *reformadoes*. They are a numerous tribe; and may justly be reputed the drones of our hive. Others there are, who obtain some merely nominal office, as a pretext for evading military duty. I may join to these the gunners and matrosses of Port Royal, who resign their pay to the commander of the fort, that they may remain excused from service. It must be said, to the honour of Kingston, that the merchants of that town have always set an example of alacrity and discipline to the rest of our islands: in the uniformity of dress, goodness of accoutrements, expertness of manœuvres and evolutions, they excel all the other of our provincial troops that I have seen. At the breaking out of the war before last, upwards of twelve hundred able men appeared on the parade in that town, under arms and well accoutred, in less than an hour's time, only from the accidental firing of a beacon, which

was

was designed as a signal upon the approach of an enemy: and, during the last war, they were able to muster several hundreds more. In general, throughout the island, the horse or troopers make the best appearance; and might be of great use in harrassing an enemy at landing, or in making forced marches when dispatch is necessary, and an attack made at any considerable distance from the head-quarters: but so little regard is paid to the training of their horses, that very few are broke to stand fire; so that, when a public review is exhibited, it is not unusual to see a whole squadron, at the very first volley, thrown into disorder, the ranks broken, some galloping off the field, others laid prostrate; and hats, perriwigs, and arms, scattered through the air. But even this spectacle is not so laughable as the appearance of the foot in some parts of the island. They are seen accoutred with fire-arms of unequal size, some being of four and others two feet length in the barrel; musquets, musquetoons, and fowling-pieces, many of which are half eaten with rust; the men unequally matched and ranged, men of four feet height and of six being jumbled together, clad in different-coloured cloaths, some in jackets and trowsers, some in night-caps, others with tye-wigs; and altogether forming so truly ridiculous a group, as to excite the mirth of even Negroe spectators. For this reason, it seems rather impolitic to draw them into view on the king's birth-day, or other rejoicing-day, at which time a close compact volley, or *feu de joye*, is to be made. Their firing upon these occasions resembles much more the bouncing and popping of squibs and crackers, than the regular and full discharge of trained bands. Of fifty pieces, not more perhaps than twenty are found to go off. This may serve to raise a laugh in the field; but, when it is considered that, in a time of real danger, such men are not to be relied on, that their efforts could produce no solid resistance, and a want of good discipline has rendered them diffident of their powers, and liable to panics, and therefore that little, if any, dependence can be placed on them in the day of battle; it seems deserving a serious attention, that they should be brought into better order, and put on a respectable footing. To this end, I shall humbly beg leave to recommend some few hints, leaving their propriety to the unprejudiced judgement of many gentlemen in the island, who may possibly understand military

tary affairs much better than my little experience has enabled me to do.

Our elder brothers of the Windward islands have ever been famous for the excellence of their militia. I will venture my opinion, that this is more to be ascribed to good laws implicitly obeyed, than to any other cause. The militia law of Antigua has this preamble ; “ Since we are obliged, by all the reasons of honour and interest, to “ put ourselves in the best posture of defence of which we are capable ; and since nothing (next under the good providence of God) “ can so effectually contribute to our preservation, as a severe, regular, and constant discipline, from which no person, of any “ rank or estate soever, ought to be exempted ; it being contrary to “ the principles of natural equity, and therefore as unreasonable to “ exact, as absurd to hope, that men of low fortunes shall cheer- “ fully submit to fatigues and hazards, while those who are more “ deeply interested in the public welfare refuse to undergo the “ same,” &c. A law, founded upon principles so just and honourable, needs no encomium. What can be more unreasonable, than to expect fortitude and activity from men, who are but little interested in the event of affairs ! or where is our prudence, in resting the protection of our lives and properties with those who have no property of their own to defend, but have a life to lose ! Where they can gain nothing, but where their all, their life, may be lost, we are not to expect they will freely hazard the loss of it, if by any means the risque can be avoided. Nor should we hope that these men will fight our battles, whilst we, like Homer’s deities, are lolling at our ease, the listless spectators of their conflict. Self-preservation operates as powerfully upon them as upon us, except some other principle is touched, which, by its superior activity, may suspend, or by its nature or effects be convertible into a motive so similar in appearance as to be mistaken for it. The love of gain will often outweigh the love of life ; and nothing is more common than to see men voluntarily setting a price upon their lives, and exposing their persons to utmost danger, for a very trifling pittance. I am induced, therefore, to consider it as a great defect in our politics, that we have never put our militia forces, actually employed on service during martial law, on the same pay as is given to

to the regular troops. I speak only with regard to the private men in each company or regiment; for I can by no means think it fitting that our officers, who are, or ought to be, men of property, should serve like mercenary Swifs. We are certainly not entitled to hope for an anxious defence of our persons and goods, from the lowest orders of white inhabitants, through the impulse of public spirit, or of gratitude to the country: these are not often very conspicuous in more exalted stations. The more probable inducement to lead these men into the field, and engage them to hazard their bodies chearfully, is an actual and valuable recompence attending their service. We all know, that most of our inferior class of people are citizens of the world, men of desperate fortunes, and not of very moral principles. They are invited by the hopes of profit: the same hopes engage them to remain with us; and the same motive alone will probably ever attach them so strongly to our interests, as to make them risque their lives freely in defence of the island. If pay was allowed to them, they would become really and truly soldiers. This would bind them in the firmest manner, by changing what is now a matter of favour into an actual duty; and the punishment following the breach of it would be equitably and legally inflicted. The acceptance of pay renders them subject to all the just rules of discipline; and establishes a rational compact of service on the one hand, and reward on the other. The British legislature, perhaps, for this reason (among others), enacted, in their late militia law, that the troops, when embodied and during actual service, shall receive pay as the regulars. I have argued for the utility of this measure; I shall next consider the equity of it. The annual wages of our meaner white servants are in general moderate; and the payment of them not strictly punctual even in a time of tranquillity, much less so during intestine commotions; one certain effect of which must ever be, that more or less confusion will prevail in every plantation. The troopers and foot are then usually quartered for guard at taverns, where even common subsistence is retailed at a very extravagant price. In times particularly turbulent (such as we experienced during the insurrection in 1761), advantage is taken of the public calamity; and the harpies at these places scruple not to aggravate distress, by exacting, without mercy,

mercy, from their customers. The private men at present bear the expences of these tavern campaigns, unless their officer is a person of so much generosity and fortune, as to treat his company: but this happens not often to be the case; nor is it just, that, because a few officers have been willing and able to defray such charges, we should therefore expect the officers in general to take upon themselves so heavy a burthen. I am suspicious, that, when gentlemen of spirit indulge a generosity of this sort, it is much abused by the men who feast at their expence, as well as by the tavern-keeper who profits by it; and that they contribute jointly to swell a most exorbitant bill of fare: whereas, if a certain sum was established by the legislature as sufficient for their subsistence, and that sum regularly issued, agreeable to the usage of the army, during martial law, the men would make the most of their allowance, and the tavern-keeper be careful not to trust for more than he knew their pay would admit. I have heard frequent complaints from the private men of horse and foot, that their necessary expences out of pocket, during the time they were on duty, exceeded in one week the amount of two months wages. And I have known some few planters so atrociously base, that, on the commencement of law martial, they have discharged most of their white servants, to avoid the burthen of paying wages during their absence on the public service: by which means, these poor men have been compelled by law to appear and serve in arms, but without any other subsistence than what they could procure, either by exhausting their own little stock of money, or by the charitable disposition of their officer. If pay was allowed, they would have something to earn, something whereon to subsist; and an encouragement to behave themselves courageously. If any thing more remains to induce the lower order to undergo fatigue and danger with cheerfulness, it must be the example of their leaders, who it is to be wished were all men of real property in our island; whose fortunes being at stake, there is no doubt but this consideration would of itself be weighty enough to inspire them with an heroic ardour for their defence. They are not to believe that, whilst they devote themselves to repose and inactivity, their distillers and overseers will fight the public battles, or behave with the same gallantry as when



animated by the presence, counsel, and applause, of their employers. Men of substance, especially such as possess landed estates, are by most writers supposed to be the best soldiers, because with a love of their fortunes is joined a love of their country; which will readily prevail on them to distinguish themselves by a better than ordinary behaviour. But, to him who has nothing to lose, all parts of the broad world are alike; so that, upon being driven from one place, it is no trouble to him to take up his abode in another; and whether the public interest stand or fall is to him a matter of perfect indifference. In most countries there are some men who are indulged with immunity from service; but it must be understood, that such immunity continues no longer in force than whilst there are a sufficient number of other subjects, or of hired forces, in readiness to guard the commonweal: in all cases of extremity, they who have enjoyed this immunity must arm as well as others in the common defence. And, therefore, at Rome all exceptions from military service, allowed to the aged, and to priests, ceased immediately on the expectation of a Gaulish invasion. There is no doubt but the clergy ought, in cases of extreme necessity, for the protection of liberty and life, to take up arms, and by their example stimulate others to hazard all that is dear to them for the public good: in such circumstances, they do not go out to fight as soldiers, but as men bound by the law of nature to repel force by force, and by the law of reason to defend their own and their wives and childrens lives. By the Roman law, their slaves were debarred from carrying arms, and chiefly through an apprehension of their becoming false to the trust reposed in them: but even this only took place while no urgent necessity subsisted to dispense with it; for it would clearly be the very height of madness, when there is such a scarcity of freeborn subjects that the enemy is likely to prevail, for a people to choose rather to become slaves themselves, than arm in their defence such persons as are already so. But, in this emergency, before slaves are entrusted with arms, they should either receive their freedom, or a conditional promise of it, as the reward of their good behaviour; that so the memory of that valuable prize, liberty, united with love to the country which now they can call theirs, may inspire them with

with courage and fidelity. I do not know by what means immunities from martial service have been allowed by our Jamaica law, or countenanced by the public; but I suspect them to be the offspring of an unmanly pride, laziness, or cowardice. By the Antigua act, the ordinary meeting to exercise is once in every month; and whoever appears not on the parade by eight o'clock in the morning is deemed absent. The law expressly declares, "To the end that such meetings may not be useless, through the laziness, ignorance, or indulgence of any officer whatever, the following method shall always be punctually observed: the commanding officer in the field is first to exercise all the inferior officers present at the head of the men; and then to name two of them, of whom (once over in his turn) each is to exercise the companies on the parade, through the manual, facing, and evolutions. The other officers are not to stand in the rear; but must go through the ranks, to direct such as are ignorant or awkward, and to see that every motion be performed with grace and exactness; by which means, every officer will be obliged to qualify himself for his employ; and the soldiers pay a more ready obedience to such as they are satisfied know how to command them. The companies are then to be divided into platoons, and practise the several sorts of firings; after which, every officer and soldier is to fire with ball at a target; and, to conclude the whole, the commanding officer to wheel the companies by divisions: and, having formed and reduced them so often as he shall find necessary, he is to dismiss them by twelve o'clock at farthest." Once in every year, there is a general rendezvous of all their forces at a place appointed for that purpose, that the officers and soldiers may be instructed in such parts of military duty as cannot well be performed by a few companies. Six silver-hilted swords, with belts of 6*l.* value, are annually provided, at the public charge, for such as shall make the best six shots at a target at the general rendezvous; and the fines for absence, and all other defaults, are then doubled. The fines for absence, or appearing without a firelock, are thus rated by the law:

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Colonel, — — —	3	0	0	Ensign, — — —	0	15	0
Lieutenant-colonel, — — —	2	10	0	Serjeant, — — —	0	7	6
Major, — — —	2	0	0	Drummer, — — —	0	10	0
Captain, — — —	1	10	0	Private, — — —	0	6	0
Lieutenant, — — —	1	0	0	Each Carbineer, — — —	0	12	6

These fines are disposed in shares, for the encouragement of such subalterns and privates as the major thinks most deserving. A certificate is signed, by the commanding officer in the field, of the several defaults; by virtue of which, the adjutant is to demand the fine of the delinquent; and, if he refuses to pay the same on sight of such certificate, a warrant is signed by the colonel of the regiment, or commanding officer of the horse where the default was committed, directed to the adjutant, for double the fine; which the adjutant is by this law authorized to levy on the goods and chattels of the offender. A colonel's fine is levied by warrant from the governor of the island. If private soldiers are unable to pay the fine, they are to ride the wooden horse, be picquetted, or tied neck and heels, for one hour. And, because in volunteer service men are generally unwilling to be serjeants, corporals, or drummers, they are to be named by any field-officer, and the captain of the company for which they are required; and are obliged to serve two years in their turn. Their forces consist entirely of carbineers, who serve both on foot and horseback, and of infantry; and, that none may serve among the carbineers but such as are entirely to be depended on, they are ordered to be named by the commander in chief, by advice and consent of his council. The cloathing and accoutrements of the officers and privates are appointed, once in two years, by the commander in chief, with advice of a council of war, consisting of the field-officers; and the uniform is expressly directed, by the law, to be plain and serviceable. Every officer of the carbineers must be attended with two able and trusty Negroe men, armed with a good firelock and a sharp bill; every private gentleman of the same corps, one Negroe man, equally armed; and accoutred with red jackets and black leathern caps. The articles of war, which form an appendix to the act, are concise and comprehensive, and may serve as a model

to

to every other British colony in the West-Indies. Other acts make provision for all such soldiers and Negroes as may happen to be maimed in fight. The owners of all slaves who are slain are reimbursed, at a fair valuation, out of the public treasury. If a soldier is wounded, the whole charge of his maintenance and cure is defrayed by the public; and an annuity for life is granted to such as have been disabled in the service. The widows and children of such as are slain are provided for and maintained at the public expence. For the encouragement of white indented servants, all such as shall be signally courageous in defence of the island, upon certificate under the hands of two of their officers, or other good proof of their behaviour, are to be freed from servitude; and the master or mistress of such servants is to receive, for the remaining term of their service, a *quantum meruit*, to be adjudged by the council and assembly. Thus has the legislature of a small island provided suitable remedies against pride, ignorance, sloth, and cowardice. The officers being compelled to learn the practic parts of military duty, and share fatigue in common with the private men, the latter become alert and animated in discipline, and readily confide in leaders, of whose skill they have received frequent testimony. The *minutia* of dress, parade, and accoutrements, are sufficiently attended to; the punishment of defaulters is equal and reasonable; the rewards and encouragements, politic, just, and benevolent. It is not surprizing, that, under such regulations, their island has been well guarded, not only against invasions, but insurrections; both which will always be enterprised with the best hopes, of success against people who are unprepared, irresolute, and unpractised in the arts of making a vigorous resistance.

The policy of the Romans in arming their slaves, and which was likewise used by the Spartans and some other states, is, we may observe, in a limited degree, adopted by the Antigua law; and it suggests to us a means of preventing the French or Spaniards from making conquest of our island. Whenever an expedition of this nature is to be attempted against us, we may be assured, the enemy will soon begin to tamper with our slaves, and endeavour, by private emissaries, or public declaration, to seduce them from us to their interest, by the most plausible and alluring promises of freedom and

and other douceurs. The French practised this stratagem in the year 1705, when they invaded Nevis. The inhabitants, overpowered by numbers, betook themselves to the mountain. The enemy, fearing they should never be able to master the island unless they could reduce the blacks, tempted them by fair promises to lay down their arms; assuring them, they should live as well as their masters; and not a little flattering them with the hopes of liberty, or at least a very pleasant, easy servitude. Upon this, great part of the slaves submitted; and, the French marching to attack the English in the mountain, the latter beat a parley, and a capitulation was concluded; by which they were to be prisoners of war, but to remain in the island, on procuring a like number of French prisoners to be released, by way of cartel, either in Europe or America: in the mean time, they were to be civilly used, and their houses and sugar-works preserved. But the enemy violated several articles of the capitulation, contrary to the law of nations, and usage of arms; treating the people most barbarously, and burning their houses and sugar-works. By threats and barbarity, they forced several of them to sign a second agreement, promising the enemy, in six months time, to send to Martinico a certain number of Negroes, or money in lieu of them. After which, they left the island, carrying away about four thousand Negroes, whom they made believe were to pass to the French settlements, to live at ease. But, when they had got them safe on board, they shut them down in the hold, and talked of carrying them to the Spanish West-Indies, and selling them to the mines; which they intended, and really did. One, however, of these Negroes found means to escape back to the shore; and, having informed the remaining blacks how perfidiously the French had treated their brethren, they took arms, massacred all the French in the island, and thus in part revenged their masters' sufferings. To obviate any machination of this sort, which, if it was to take effect, would not only strengthen the enemy's forces, but exceedingly weaken our defence, by the services and intelligence to be gained from such a body of deserters, well acquainted with the country and the condition of their masters; a certain number of them might be set free, and properly armed; and an assurance given, under sanction of the public faith, that, in the

the event of their gallant and honest behaviour, they should receive a further reward. The pressing necessity of the occasion justifies the measure; which, it is morally probable, would be the means of preventing a dangerous revolt, as well as of preserving the property of the island to its natural owners. The whole number of fencible Negroe-men slaves in our island may be computed at about fifty-five thousand. Of these, ten thousand might be selected, of the more sensible, able, and trusty; consisting principally of tradesmen, drivers, and other head men, who would otherwise be most likely to listen to the insidious terms thrown out for bait by an enemy, and to inveigle other partisans into their scheme of defection. These, being properly armed, might be intermixed with the militia in detachments, and rendered extremely serviceable, more particularly in nocturnal surprizes, harrassing skirmishes, and ambuscading. Many of the other slaves, by way of prevention, might be kept employed, either in cultivating provision, &c. under a guard, for the subsistence of the army, or as pioneers in breaking up roads, or in felling trees, making barricadoes, and other necessary works. The former owners of these new freemen might be entitled to receive from the public, on the re-establishment of peace and civil government, a certain value *per* head, for example, 50*l.*: the whole sum would then amount to 50,000*l.* currency, or 35,714*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* sterling; which, I persuade myself to believe, would most chearfully be paid by Great-Britain, if the inhabitants, after the desolation of war, should find themselves disenabled to raise it by taxes.

It appears to me, that the class of Negroes I have proposed could, with less danger and subsequent inconvenience, be freed and armed than any other; because, at the conclusion of the war, they would easily return to their former trades and occupations, and support themselves by their skill and industry, instead of growing burthensome to the public; which latter is a consequence might very probably happen, from enfranchising and arming an equal number of field Negroes; for these would require lands, devote themselves to a life of ease, and soon fall into a course of savage disorder. Our militia, including other free-men and the maroons, might, I think, at a moderate computation, be reckoned about twelve thousand effective. If then I do not err in this opinion, we  
may

may form, upon any emergency such as I have mentioned, an army of twenty-two thousand effective men; who, properly stationed, would be enough to hold this island in despite of any armament likely to be sent against it by the French and Spaniards. The very avenue, which leads from Spanish town to Sixteen mile walk and the North side, is so fortified by nature with steep precipices, and narrow rocky passages, that a very few dispositions would make it either impassable to regular troops, or so capable of flanking and ambuscading any troops attempting a march that way, that not one of ten thousand could hope to reach the end of it alive. Almost every other passage into the mountains is likewise capable of being obstructed, and fortified, with little trouble or loss to the attacked, but with imminent peril to their assailants.

## S E C T. II.

**FROM** general observations in regard to the imperfection of our present militia, the superior propriety of regulations in other colonies, the expediency of a reform in our island, and the facility with which we can strengthen and secure ourselves against all attacks foreign and domestic, I proceed now to speak more precisely of the means which occur to me as most proper for rendering our militia more perfect in discipline, and consequently better adapted to answer the important benefits for which they were originally embodied.

It is not a red coat that imparts valour to regular soldiers; they have not principles nor passions different from the rest of mankind. Courage is, in general, acquired by habit; it is hardly to be called natural, or born with us; for the impulse of self-preservation, which is peculiar to our nature, and reason which seconds that impulse, both tend to inspire us with timidity, and urge us rather to flee from danger, than stand still to oppose, or advance to meet it. Hobbes argues according to this opinion, "that no man is, by any  
" covenant that he shall make, obliged to resist another, offering  
" mortal violence, or any bodily mischief; for that natural necessity,  
" from apprehension of a threatened evil, will make him certainly

“flee from and avoid it.” But this consideration is not to be drawn so far, as to prejudice the force of military discipline; as, if a soldier, under imminent danger, should desert his post, on pretence “that a man cannot be obliged by any compact to undergo death;” for to suffer death without reluctance is by no means a thing beyond human strength and fortitude. By the usage and practice of all nations, he that enlists himself in the number of armed men does by that act lay aside all claim to the excuse of natural fearfulness, and becomes bound, not only to enter the field, but also not to leave it without the order of his leader. It is therefore reputed ignominious to suffer by the hands of the executioner; but highly honourable to fall by the hand of the enemy. By the same custom, every member of society is tacitly bound to fight in its defence; and (it is expected) with more ardour and contempt of death, than hired and mercenary bands, as the service of the former is very justly esteemed more honourable. To render a militia equal in power to hired or regular troops, we must strive to impress them with equal confidence. This must take its rise and being from an habitual use of those instruments of war which are unserviceable in the hands of the untutored; but the expert management of which constitutes the chief merit of a soldier. What is it enables men to excel in any handicraft, but frequent practice, and much experience, in their peculiar work or art? The carpenter is brought by habit and use to the skillful application of the saw and plane. So in all other professions, even where nature has been liberal in the gift of genius, a degree of application and practice is requisite, to conduct them with ease and success. It is the same in the military trade as in all others. Can there be a more striking difference than appears between the raw, awkward ploughman but just enlisted, and the same man after a few months of training and instruction from the drill corporal? Where this necessary practice and experience is wanting, there must ever be a large portion of diffidence; and this will excite fear. The idea of superior skill in arms possessed by an opponent must intimidate men from exerting their full ability. When, by a series of tuition, our militia have acquired a competent knowledge of the use of fire-arms, are adroit in quick loading, and in all other



manœuvres are tolerably skillful, they will begin to entertain a better opinion of their own strength and power; a confidence will take place in their bosoms, and never forsake them so long as care is taken to prevent them from relapsing by disuse into their former unskillfulness. Men of bold spirit may, for want of this expertness, give themselves up in time of action to the impetuous career of their temper, and make their life (though highly valuable) a too easy sacrifice to an enemy of inferior strength and prowess, but possessed of superior skill in arms. Our militia, in general, have betrayed no want of resolution. In time of service they have marched with alacrity, and endured fatigue with patience. If they are defective in discipline, I must be of opinion, that the blame should fall on their officers, or rather on the imperfection of our law, which does not, like the Antigua act, oblige the officers to understand military duty before they are suffered to exact it from others: if they are ignorant of discipline and exercise, they can neither instruct their men, nor correct their mistakes. This unhappy defect was too glaring in the rebellion of some of our slaves in 1761. A party of militia, hastily collected to check these insurgents, found, when they were drawn up, only one round of powder and ball among the whole company. When another party went, with a detachment of regulars, to attack the breastwork that was formed by the Westmoreland rebels, the militia were in so much confusion, that, before they got sight of the enemy, they began to discharge their pieces at random, and in such disorder, that their leader was incessantly forced to cry out, "For God's sake, gentlemen, do not shoot one another." These examples I should be sorry to produce, if I did not think they would cooperate with other arguments to prove the necessity of some new and beneficial regulations, which may put our forces above the rank of Falstaff's tatterdemallions. Men, who are led to battle with arms in their hands, which they were never taught how to use, are literally and truly "mere food for powder."

The expediency of a well-regulated militia in our island is, in short, too obvious to men of sense and reflection, to require more arguments in recommendation of it. To such men only I address myself on this occasion; those whom Providence has blest with capacity

pacity and opulence; who are the proper guardians of our community, and ought to lead the rest of the people into measures which tend to their happiness and preservation. There is a certain portion of every man's time, labour, and property, which is due to the public, and ought to be no less honestly and regularly paid than any other just and lawful debt. As no man is (impartially speaking) exempted from this obligation; so it is consonant to equity and justice, that each should fulfil it. The hardship of complying with it can only subsist, when any particular set of men are excused from this duty, the burthen of which ought to press equally upon all, without distinction. Men become more or less interested in public measures, comparatively, with their extent of property, or degree of affluence; and, indeed, the obligation for this duty to their country seems naturally to fall more upon them than on the lower class of people: they have more power to become the instruments of good; consequently, more is expected from them. A well-regulated militia is founded upon the public spirit of men of property and interest, whose right it is to fill the first posts, and under whom only the inferior orders of people will submit to that subordination and discipline necessary in the institution. As soon as rank and preferment are prostituted to unworthy and mean objects; chagrin, insolence, inattention, disorder, and every species of irregularity that tends to subvert the institution, will take place. Men, especially such who, living in a free country, imbibe a spirit of liberty, and regard for justice, grow uneasy and impatient under such officers. Nothing therefore is more material towards establishing a well-ordered militia in Jamaica, than that our field officers and captains should be men of some account, either for merit, property, or extensive commerce. I divide the militia of this island into two classes. The first consists of such men as voluntarily enroll themselves, or (which is the same) are enrolled in consequence of a law consented to by their representatives; who either receive pay in time of public calamity, or, being rich enough to support themselves without having recourse to the public stock, turn out, on such occasion, from that motive of universal prevalency, self-love; their taking up arms at those times, in conjunction with their neighbours, being the only means of preserving their own

lives and properties. The second class consists of free blacks and Mulattos; from which body are to be chosen, by lot, every three years, a certain number of soldiers, who are to be clothed, armed, and paid, by the public, and who, during their term of service, are to be upon constant duty: these are to be stationed by companies, or divisions, within certain boundaries in the midland or inland parts of the country; their constant duty will be, to traverse the most remote and unfrequented parts of the island in search of fugitive slaves; to suppress all cabals or assemblies of Negroes, and by this means quash in embryo the seeds of sedition and rebellion, which in all probability first sprout in those remote and almost inaccessible lurking places of the island, where also may be secreted arms and ammunition. Besides, as the captains commanding those rangers are to send weekly reports to the adjutant general at Spanish town of every occurrence, a communication of intelligence will be opened with the wildest, and hitherto almost unknown, recesses. All which regulations promise to establish tranquillity, and security to the inhabitants.

Observations in regard to the establishment of the first class.

1. That every man, between the age of fifteen and sixty-five years, be enrolled in the militia, pursuant to a law; and none to be exempted from serving, upon any account whatsoever, except actual disability: no other plea can excuse a man from the obligation of that duty which he owes to his country.

2. That the legislature should order certain regulations to take place, respecting the establishment of the companies, their cloathing, arms, accoutrements, exercise, and duty; to the end that uniformity may be preserved throughout the whole body of militia, which will be productive of the best effects: and that there be one uniform dress and facing for all the foot; and the like order in regard to all the horse; for, as many hired servants are constantly shifting their place of abode, and removing from one parish to another, they will by this means properly fall into the ranks in any company or division throughout the island.

3. The regulations should be comprized in a small portable volume, and sold at such a price as that every militia-man may be able to purchase it.

4. That

4. That an intelligent military officer be appointed to the post of adjutant-general; whose business it should be to superintend the exercise and duty of the whole, and to see that the regulations are observed and followed agreeable to the intent of the legislature. The exercise proposed for the militia is to be so short and easy, that not more than two or three days may be requisite to instruct an officer in the whole, so as to enable him to train his company without farther assistance.

5. A man may be sent from each company to Spanish town, to be drilled under the eye of the adjutant-general; or a drill corporal from the regulars, being instructed in the exercise, may be sent to each company of the militia, due provision being made by legislature for his subsistence while on this duty.

6. The duty of the adjutant-general is to transmit all orders relating to the militia, and receive monthly returns from each corps, setting forth,

Their present, fit for duty,

Sick, — — —

On command, — — —

Strength of their company,

Left the island, — — —

Died, — — —

Enrolled, — — —

} since the last return.

A return of much the same form will be transmitted, weekly, from the captains who command the embodied militias on duty, with all casualties and occurrences; by which the governor will not only be constantly informed of the number of effective men ready to turn out upon any emergency; but be acquainted with all material affairs that happen, relative to the service, in every corner of the island.

7. That the companies be drawn out, once a week, betimes in the morning, and exercised by their respective officers agreeable to the regulations proposed.

8. That the legislature should make the whole militia subject to martial law on those days when they are embodied for exercise, in consequence of the regulations contained in the act; I mean, rather, for the time that they are under arms, until they are dismissed

missed by their officers: this will tend to establish order and discipline among them. The legislature are the best judges how far these military provisions and articles should extend. Sunday mornings, previous to the hour of divine service, appear the most convenient times for the exercise proposed; for it will not then interfere with the business and commerce of the island; nor need it intrude upon the duty of religious worship. The early part of the morning will be sufficient for the duty of the field. Sunday is a day of liberty and pleasure for the Negroes; and, on this account also, it may not be improper to have our militia under arms, to suppress riots and disorders.

9. That all militia men, not having some lawful impediment to alledge for having absented themselves on days of exercise, be fined agreeable to the regulations in the act; the money thus arising to be paid monthly into the hands of the receiver general, and be applied towards defraying the expences of cloathing, arms, &c.

10. That the legislature should enact, that no officer above the rank of lieutenant be dismissed from his post, or commission, except by sentence of a general court-martial. This will preserve amongst the men of property the first posts; upon which depends very much the perpetuating of a well-regulated militia.

11. There should be a general disposition formed of the whole militia, that, upon alarms, they might readily assemble at such posts and passes as should be judged most expedient; and that the officers and men of every company might know their respective places of rendezvous, and join without confusion. At these stations they would wait for further intelligence, or orders. The utility of this regulation is obvious. The commander in chief, knowing the disposition of every detachment, will be able to direct their further operations with ease, dispatch, and the happiest effect. The officers and men, knowing where they are to meet each other, will soon join, and form in readiness to march on their particular destination. Or a large body, composed of many companies, might be quickly assembled by this means together, to act where their combined strength might be necessary.

12. As, in some extensive parishes, the assembling of the militia is a day's work, on account of the great distance they have to travel;

travel; I would propose, in this case, that they should, on the days appointed for weekly exercise, assemble at four different parades, or places of rendezvous, which should be ordered as convenient and central as possible in each beat or division; by which arrangement the difficulty would in a great measure be removed.

13. That every company should consist of no more than twenty-five privates, well-officered. This will be found an useful regulation in a country where small detachments have always been employed on actual service, and found to be most proper, on account of the less baggage, provision, and other incumbrances, required; and the greater facility of relieving them frequently; together with the expediency, in the time of insurrections, to have detachments ready, in every quarter, to repress the flame, on its earliest breaking out in different parts, and before it gets to a head. Such disorders are to be attended to like the plague or other contagion; which, by carefully checking its progress at first, may be hindered from extending the venom of infection over the whole mass.

14. The officers should give public testimony of their knowledge of the exercise, by drawing up in a line, at the head of their regiment or company, on review or field days, and going through the manœuvres in sight of their men, who should not be exercised till afterwards. Frequent public exercise will not only rub off the rust from the weapons, but from the persons also of both officers and men. Our militia, by this means, will always have their arms clean and in good order, and insensibly acquire a spirit and hardiness conducive to their health and utility.

15. Once in the year might be a general muster in the three counties or divisions of the island. A fusée, sword, horse, saddle, or the like, should be bought at the public expence, and given as a prize to the best shot. The butt should be placed at different elevations, that the shooters might become expert at hitting the mark, high or low.

16. Every officer and serjeant should be armed in the same manner as the privates. The spontoon and halbert may be very properly disused in our island, as very ill calculated for the service. Rank may be distinguished by some variety in their dress, much better

better than in their weapons. A considerable addition would thus be made to the shot of each company.

17. The arms and dress should be adapted, by their lightness, to service in this climate. Short-barreled fire-arms are best-suited to engagement in the woods, and will therefore be found most proper and serviceable here.

18. The adjutant-general should, twice in every year, visit the militia in their several districts, to examine in what manner they carry on the exercise and duty, and to make a true and faithful report thereof to the governor.

These observations are what occur to me as necessary towards the establishment of the first class of the militia. Perfect models have often sprung from rude sketches. I submit my outlines to the superior judgement of the legislature, in hope that they may raise a more polished structure from these mis-shapen materials. In the same light, I mean to introduce the following plan, or analysis, of discipline and dress. First for the infantry. They might be rendered tolerably expert at,

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
|                             | { On full march.  |
| 1st, Loading expeditiously, | { In various positions; standing, kneeling,<br>and recumbent. |
|                             | { Advancing.  |
|                             | { Retreating.   |
| 2d, Firing                  | { In platoon.   |
|                             | { Advancing.  |
|                             | { Retreating.   |
|                             | { Oblique.  |
|                             | { Single ball at a target.                                    |
| 3d, Charging with bayonet.  |   |
|                             | { Quick.  |
|                             | { Slow.   |
| 4th, Marching               | { In ranks.   |
|                             | { By divisions.   |
|                             | { <i>En défilé</i> .  |
| 5th, Wheeling.              |   |
| 6th, Exercise of the sword, | { Offensive.  |
|                             | { Defensive.  |

To

To these may be added the manner of

Dispersing,  
Rallying,  
Ambuscading,

Attack, and } of a { Breast-work,  
Defence,       }       { Hedge,  
                  }       { Narrow pass, and  
                  }       { House.

Mounting guard, and relieving.

The exercise of the cavalry should comprehend the particulars mentioned, as well as some others peculiar to their service on horseback. It will chiefly consist in breaking their horses to stand fire, keep rank, rein back, and wheel. The men should learn to load their pieces on horseback, and fire to the right and left when in motion, or even on full speed, resting their carbines on the arm on proper elevation.

Dress proposed for the Infantry.

Short, light coats; Russia drab, or other fit linen waistcoats and breeches; white Thanet, or small hats, with a black plume, or cockade; half-boots.

For the Cavalry.

The same; with some variation, if thought proper, in the shape of the sleeve, pocket, or epaulet; and leather caps instead of hats, with an ornamented front.

Arms of the Infantry,

A fusée, four feet eight inches in length, from the muzzle to the extremity of the butt; a waterlock bayonet, cut and thrust, of ten inches length in the blade, to screw on the muzzle; which will keep it firmer than the common method. The ball, twenty-two to the pound weight.

A couteau, or sabre-sword, with half-basket handle, two feet and half long; a sling belt; thirty round of cartridge to each man.

Arms of the Cavalry.

A light carbine of four feet six inches from muzzle to the end of the butt.—Pistols of the same bore. Ball twenty-two to the pound



weight.—A sabre sword, basket hilt, three feet length in the blade ; sling belt.

Remarks in regard to the second class.

1. A return may be made, by the custos of each parish, of the number of free blacks and Mulattos between the age of fifteen and forty-five, sound and fit for service.

2. It is proposed, that these should be divided into hundreds ; and a book kept in each parish respectively ; and one general book by the governor's secretary ; in which should be inserted, in proper columns, an exact detail, or register, of their names, ages, persons, occupations, and places of residence.

3. That a levy of five hundred men should be made from this body, by lot, or rotation, every three years, taking one from every hundred successively till the whole is compleated.

4. That these five hundred men be divided into ten companies, called rangers, appointed with white officers ; and their non-commissioned officers be taken from amongst their own body. Could active and well-behaved serjeants be obtained from the regular troops, to serve as lieutenants, they would prove a great means of establishing this body on the most effectual footing.

5. That they should be cloathed, armed, and accoutred, uniformly, somewhat according to the regulations proposed for the militia.

6. That each company consist of fifty men, exclusive of their commissioned officers ; and these fifty be divided into four platoons or divisions ; ten or twelve men, with an officer, being a sufficient party on the duty in which they will be employed.

7. That each company be commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, two serjeants, two corporals, and a drummer and fifer ; with a French horn, trumpet, or shell ; for each division, or platoon. The use of the drum is only for the duty in their little garrisons. When a party is detached into the woods, they must carry with them a trumpet, French-horn, or shell ; as no other instrument could be so conveniently taken through such a route.

8. That the ten companies be stationed in ten districts judiciously chosen, and appointed by the legislature (or by the governor, with the advice of a council of war), so as that they may have a communication one with the other.

9. That

9. That they should have good habitations, provision ground, and a certain pay allotted them by the public.

10. That their habitations, or barracks, should be built compact, in order to admit of their being enclosed within a stockade fort, in form of a square, with bastions, or other proper figure. This, with a little instruction, they will be able to compleat themselves; and it will secure them at night from surprizes. Besides, it is necessary that their commanding officer should have it in his power to lock them up at nights, to prevent disorders and irregularity.

11. That they should be exercised according to the regulations proposed for the militia, and chiefly should be perfected as marksmen, by being taught to fire at various elevations, as well as at point blank distance from heights and up hill. They should also be instructed in the nature of bush-fighting, and in the proper manner of cleaning and taking care of their arms.

12. That certain regulations and orders for their conduct and duty should be settled and printed; copies whereof should be furnished to the adjutant general and officers. These regulations must be adapted entirely to the service on which they are to be employed.

13. That weekly returns should be sent to the adjutant general, from the several captains commanding posts; setting forth all casualties that have happened in the company or division; and giving an exact account of all occurrences relating to the service, such as the names of slaves whom they have taken up, and the names of their proprietors. If they have observed any number of runaways collected in a body, and if any extraordinary intelligence has been received, they must report it, together with any other occurrence of moment which may happen.

14. That, the more to engage their attention to the service, they should be allowed a certain premium for every runaway Negroe they may take up.

I am persuaded, that such regulations might take place, in the two classes of militia, as would make regular troops in great measure unnecessary in this island; by which a considerable saving would be gained to the public, and their militia put on a better footing than any in the West Indies. The inhabitants rely too much

upon the protection of the king's troops; so much, as to neglect the means they have of defending themselves independent of those regiments, of which, accident, caprice, or the exigencies of war, may deprive them. It would be wise therefore to provide against such an event.

I propose the following establishment for the rangers:

Subsistence (Jamaica currency),		per week.	per month.	per annum.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1 Captain,	_____	5 5 0	21 0 0	273 0 0
1 Lieutenant,	} 2	2 12 6	10 10 0	136 17 6
1 more ditto,		2 12 6	10 10 0	136 17 6
		10 10 0	42 0 0	546 15 0
1 Serjeant,	} 2	0 10 0	2 0 0	26 0 0
1 more ditto,		0 10 0	2 0 0	26 0 0
1 Corporal,	} 2	0 7 6	1 10 0	19 10 0
1 more ditto,		0 7 6	1 10 0	19 10 0
1 Drummer,	_____	0 7 6	1 10 0	19 10 0
1 Fifer,	_____	0 7 6	1 10 0	19 10 0
1 Private,	} 44	0 7 6	1 10 0	19 10 0
43 more ditto,		16 2 6	64 10 0	838 10 0
1 Company,		29 10 0	118 0 0	1,534 15 0
10 Companies,		295 0 0	1180 0 0	13,347 10 0
Add 5 surgeons, one to every 2 companies, at 136l. 17s. 6d. each per annum, to provide their own medicines and instruments, _____		13 2 6	52 10 0	684 7 6
Adjutant, _____		2 12 6	10 10 0	136 17 6
Totals.				
Captains,	10	} 535	} 310 15 0	} 14,168 15 0
Lieutenants,	20			
Surgeons,	5			
Sergeants,	20			
Corporals,	20			
Drummers,	10			
Fifers,	10			
Privates,	440			

CLOATHING;

CLOATHING.

One half-coat, of scarlet serge, lined with brown holland, green cape and cuffs.

One pair of Russia-drab breeches, coarsest fabric.

One, Russia-drab waistcoat, ditto.

One shirt.

One pair of half-boots.

One pair of strong shoes.

One pair of Osnaburg trowsers.

One black stock.

One Thanet hat, green dyed; yellow or white worsted binding; and a black feather, or cockade.

Sixteen pair of thread stockings for corporals and serjeants, at two pair to each.

Four half-fishes, to be worn by the serjeants.

The whole expence of the first nine articles, computed at (sterling)	£	s.	d.
	2	0	0

The expence of fifty such,	100	0	0
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Add, for the two last articles,	1	10	0
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101	10	0
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101 l. 10 s. sterling, at 40 per cent. exchange, is,	142	2	0
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Jamaica currency,

x

10

For ten companies,	1,421	0	0
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Charges of package, entry, fees, shipping, freight, insurance, commission, and carriage to quarters; estimated all together at 15 l. per cent. on the prime-cost;	213	2	6
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Total of one year's cloathing,	1,634	2	6
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Total of one year's subsistence,	14,168	15	0
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Exclusive of arms and accoutrements unspecified,—	15,802	17	6
To,			

To the foregoing scheme I foresee may be reasonably objected, the hardship of forcing free-men into this service. Many of the free blacks and Mulattos are proprietors of land; and others follow some trade or calling, by which they are able to gain much more for the maintenance of their families than is here allowed for their pay. I confess, it is a measure to be now taken up with deliberation, and a due regard to the principles of liberty and equity, as well as the policy and convenience of the country. It may seem, therefore, a more equitable mode, to raise this corps by fair enlisting of volunteers, rather than compulsion. There are supposed, of free blacks, Mulattos, and Indians, not less than fifteen hundred fencibles. It is probable, that of this number it might not be difficult to raise five hundred volunteers triennially, who have neither a vocation nor family to dissuade them from entering; and who might be further tempted by the encouragements hereafter-mentioned; and, being once engaged, it is more likely they would (if humanely used) incline to continue on, than quit a way of life which will give them a provision unattended with much labour. If, upon consideration, this mode should be preferred, they may be enlisted (as in England) in presence of a magistrate, who may grant a certificate of the contract to the enlisting or recruiting officer, to be registered in the secretary's office. A variety of regulations may be found expedient; but I shall only hint a few, which occur to me as indispensably necessary.

#### P A Y.

The commanding officer of each company respectively to receive the pay of his respective company once a month, on his giving in a monthly return of effectives and non effectives; and making oath to the truth of the return before the governor, or magistrate by him appointed for that purpose, who should certify the same, and give order on the receiver general for payment conformable thereto; the receiver general preserving such return and order filed, as his voucher, to be laid before the house of assembly at their meeting.

The return may be somewhat in the following form:

Captain

Captain A's COMPANY.

State of it since the last return; viz.

Dead. Names.	Time when.	Deserted. Names.	Time when.	Discharged. Names.	Time when.	Present Strength of Names.	the Company. Quality.
Affidavit.						N <sup>o</sup>	Pay List. Quality.
Signed by the Officer, }  Governor's Order on the Receiver- general.							£. s. d.
							Captain, — Lieutenants, — Surgeon (half), Serjeants, — Corporals, — Drum, — Fifer, — Privates, —
Total effectives,							Total pay due since the last return, —

It might be most adviseable, that the cloathing-money should be paid once a year to the respective captains; but it is not certain whether they would like this method so well as the military custom of making stoppages out of the men's pay for this purpose. As, however, it may be better for the public, on many accounts, that the annual sum for cloathing should be liquidated, and no stoppages allowed; it may be necessary to state the mode proposed more explicitly, in order to shew it not less advantageous to the officer, and to convince him, that he can suffer no probable loss by undertaking it in this manner. The usual stoppages in the army for cloathing, amount to about 3*l.* 4*s.* 3½*d.* currency, average *per man per annum*. If we suppose the one half of this to be actually expended for the purpose, I believe there are many who will think it sufficient; for it is generally said, that the cloathing is a very great perquisite to the colonel. Taking then one half for the expenditure, this is, currency, 80*l.* 7*s.* 3½*d.* for one company of the Rangers; whereas the

the allowance before stated makes it 142*l.* 2*s.* without taking into account the 15*l.* *per cent*, allowed for charges. The difference then upon the ten companies would be this:

	£.	s.	d.
Army cloathing (currency),	803	12	11
Rangers,	1421	0	0
Higher charge of the rangers cloathing	617 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i>	<i>per annum</i> ,	
which is all in their officer's favour, besides	213 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	allowed	
for charges thereon; or, in the whole,	830 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i>	advantage [x].	

The intention, however, is not more to prevent any loss to the officer, than to provide amply for the men's sufficient regular cloathing, and guard against any defalcations of their pay, which ought not to be left to the officer's pleasure.

The pay should commence from the time on which the companies are formed or embodied, and by a monthly advance.

#### STOPPAGES.

No stoppage to be allowed for cloathing. All other stoppages, fines, or short payments, to be duly accounted for on oath, by the commanding officer of each company, to the governor, to be by him laid before the house of assembly at their annual meeting.

[x] For the better forming a judgement on the allowance proper to be made for any such levies, I here subjoin a scheme of the army pay, and stoppages, on the present establishment; and, for greater perspicuity, have reduced all the sums into the currency of this island.

	Sergeant.	Corporal.	Drum.	Private.
	£ s. d. q.	£ s. d. q.	£ s. d. q.	£ s. d. q.
Stoppages, or deductions, made <i>per annum</i> out of the full subsistence, for the following; viz. _____				
Poundage, _____	2 2 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 5 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 5 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	17 10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Hospital, _____	0 2 1	0 1 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 11
Agency, _____	0 7 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 4 3	0 4 3	2 10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Off-reckonings for cloathing, _____	10 3 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 19 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 19 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 4 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	12 15 6	8 10 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	8 10 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Net subsistence, clear of the stoppages above-mentioned, _____	25 11 0	17 0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	17 0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	12 15 6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Gross subsistence, _____	38 6 6	25 11 0	25 11 0	17 0 8

According to the best information I can get, the men's cloathing, at an average, does not cost above 1*l.* sterling *per* head, including sergeants, corporals, and drums; and, if the regiment is at distant quarters, such as Minorca, America, or the West-Indies, the colonel nevertheless bears the whole expence of freight, insurance, and all other charges of sending out the cloathing.

**ENCOURAGEMENTS** for the non-commissioned Officers and Privates.

The wives and children of non-commissioned officers and privates to be entitled to the same additional country subsistence-money as is now given to his majesty's troops in the island; provided such wives and children are free persons.

Every owner or overseer of slaves to deliver in, at the quarterly meetings of the justices and vestry in each parish or precinct, a list of all such belonging to him, or to the estate under his charge, as are run away; with a description of sex, age, and marks, and time of elopement; and such other particulars as may lead to a discovery of them. A detail may be regularly transmitted by the several clerks of the vestry to the officer of rangers commanding in or nearest to the respective district, or to the adjutant.

For every runaway slave taken up by the rangers, and conducted to their owner or overseer, or to the county or parochial gaol; the party or detachment, so taking and conducting, to receive from the owner, overseer, or gaol-keeper, at the rate of 3*l.* *per* head, if not exceeding two; and for each above that number 10*s.* *per* head for every such runaway, besides six-pence *per* mile for mile money, by computation, reckoning from the place where such runaways have been apprehended.

Such money to be received by the commissioned or non-commissioned officer commanding the party or detachment, and be by him paid over to the captain or commanding officer of the company; who should cause the same to be equally distributed among the non-commissioned and privates, who composed the party or detachment.

No such runaways to be detained above twenty-four hours in custody of the rangers or their officers; sickness, incapacity to travel, or reasonable delay spent in conducting them, only excepted.

The non-commissioned officers and privates to be exempted from payment of all public or parochial taxes during their term of service, quit rent excepted.



Upon being disbanded at the expiration of their *triennium*, to receive a bounty of 1*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* each private; and have leave to carry with them their cloathing, but not accoutrements nor arms.

#### TRIAL and PUNISHMENT.

To be tried for small offences by a regimental court martial, composed of three commissioned officers at the least, and punished according to rules and articles of war, but not extending to life or limb, or exorbitant corporal inflictions.

A general court martial to be held quarterly, or occasionally, at the head quarters, the captain commandant being president, for trying all such other offences of a higher nature, committed by non-commissioned and privates, as are properly cognizable before a general court-martial; whose sentence shall not be put in execution without warrant from the governor or commander in chief of the island; nor punishment by death inflicted in any case, except for cowardice, or actual desertion to, or taking part with, an enemy.

#### OFFICERS.

For distinction sake, and maintaining better order, the senior captain to be captain commandant, and take precedency before the other captains; who, when the whole regiment is assembled in the field, or at general courts martial, should take rank also according to seniority.

The captain commandant might likewise be entitled to hold and exercise the office of adjutant-general to the *cour*; which appointment, added to his other, will increase his annual pay to 413*l.* 15*s.* and make a provision very suitable to his rank.

The head quarters to be established by the governor; and the captain commandant to reside there.

The officers not to employ their men in forming, or working upon, any cattle-pen, or pasture grounds, sugar, indigo, ginger, cocoa, cotton pimento, or coffee plantation, on penalty of being dismissed the service, upon conviction.

To be tried by a general court martial, for these and other breaches of military duty, embezzlement of their men's pay, or reward-money; and all such offences as do not appertain to the jurisdiction of the civil powers. Such court to be composed of  
officers

officers of equal rank in the militia of the island, commissioned by the governor for such purpose, and be punished by dismissal from the service, or according to the rules and articles of war to be established for them by law; the proceedings and sentence being duly laid before the governor, for his affirmance or disaffirmance.

The married officers to be allowed the same additional subsistence for their wives and children (being actually resident in the island), as is now given to his majesty's regular troops stationed there.

No officer's pay or subsistence to continue on longer than whilst he is actually resident in the island.

No non-effectives to be allowed, upon any pretext, exceeding the rate of one to every fifty men.

By a wise disposition of our taxes, lessening all such as tend to discourage trade and settlements, augmenting others which may have a contrary tendency; we might soon be possessed of a surplusage in our funds, sufficient to carry into execution this and several other plans, adapted to the security and population of the island.

Jamaica possesses many advantages, which give it superiority over smaller colonies; yet these advantages will be in a great measure counterpoised, whenever it shall be unprovided with a defence proportioned to its extent. We have, I think, about twenty-six barracks in different parts of the country, exclusive of several others erected during Cudjoe's rebellion, and long since deserted. The barracks now in repair are capable of receiving upwards of twenty-five hundred men, exclusive of officers; and to garrison them we have, at most, not more than nine hundred regulars. The barracks, situate far inland, readily offer themselves as very proper to contain detachments of the rangers; as their service will chiefly engage them in those parts. I shall hereafter take occasion to add some further remarks and propositions upon this head, in treating on subjects which seem to have connexion with it. Perhaps, what I have already discoursed, in regard to the militia, may be deemed too much; though, for my own part, I do not wish to have said less, if any thing I have mentioned may but gain the attention of those gentlemen whose interest and duty should incline them to enforce a plan which has their welfare, security, and honour, for its immediate objects.

## A P P E N D I X.

*On the legislative Constitution of Jamaica.*

## S E C T. I.

WHEN I had considered two branches of the legislature as they are here established, I found them in general as perfect: as the nature of things could at present well allow; though capable of being rendered yet more so, if public virtue should be ever so cultivated and improved in the mother state and in her colony, as to produce a mutual confidence:

In respect to the third branch, or council, I have been led more particularly to an investigation of their office, authority, and use, in this little system of ours, upon reading a certain governor's letters to the board of trade; wherein he acquaints their lordships, "that he could find no foundation for considering their legislative capacity as distinct from the state they are in as privy-counsellors, or a council sworn to perform their duty to him as good and faithful counsellors; that the admitting such a distinction of different capacities in the council might be thought even to free them from all obligations of the oath they take as counsellors; because their duty to the people as legislators might seem to oblige them very frequently to support opinions repugnant to a governor's schemes and instructions, and very different from what might be expected from a sworn privy-counsellor, or governor's man; and that, as far as he could judge from his commission and instructions, they were only a council to advise, &c." These are part of his general observations concerning them; and they ought to be relied on, because he is known to be a gentleman of very great ability, and to have looked very narrowly through the journals of the council, from beginning to end: and this was his private opinion, communicated officially to the ministers, without any expectation that it would be made public: Upon meeting with this account, so derogatory from the supposed privileges, rights, and duties, of the council,

council board, concerning which I had heard many high-flown resolutions; it appeared to me surprising, that a governor (of all persons) should have taken so much pains to "deny the validity of "their pretensions," and strip them of all the trappings which they had long worn with so much confidence. At first I doubted: But, on a nearer scrutiny, I became convinced, that he had settled his judgement upon sure grounds, and drawn his conclusions from proofs contained in their own books of written minutes; tracing facts down from the very first, and thus as it were condemning them out of their own mouths.

It seemed a little singular, that a governor should thus seek to lessen the powers of that body which (whether usurped or not) might seem to lay so much at his disposal; for, let the usurpation be carried to ever so great lengths in their ordinary proceedings, there still remained in his hands that irresistible curb, "the power "of suspending them at his pleasure;" which he could at any time apply to check them effectually, if their principles should incline them to be troublesome, and to thwart his administration. But his letters in some degree explain this. He appears to have thought it the particular duty, and only proper use, of the council, that they should ever be the sworn creatures of the crown, and firm auxiliaries to the governor; so as that, by adding their weight to his, these two branches might always prove an over-match for the third; or house of assembly. This house had come to some undutiful resolutions (as he was pleased to term them) respecting a report of the board of trade to the king on some of their bills sent home; in which report the house conceived themselves illiberally treated: The council, forgetting their dependence, concurred with the house in the same undutiful sentiments; and thus, by joining with the assembly, formed a kind of league against that ministry, the rectitude of whose censures the governor probably thought himself bound to assert. Hence, in his epistle to their lordships, he laments, "that "he had not even the council with him upon that occasion." He seemed to regard them merely as his servants, bound by oath, as well as duty, to associate with him on every point of contest which he might have with the assembly. So glaring a revolt as they had just made alarmed him; and it is not to be wondered, that, after  
sitting;

sisting their constitution, and finding that, from the earliest times, they had been subordinate and devoted to the command of governors, he thought it necessary, that "he should bring them back" to a just sense of their dependent state. Most probably, his intention in these letters, so far as relates to the council, was to obtain a set of instructions from the superior powers, for laying these truant gentlemen under stricter regulations, and intimidating them from such opposition in time to come. However that might be, the idea he had given of their constitution and use excited many others to inquire more minutely into them.

In regard to the following remarks, I am not conscious of misrepresentation. I hope I shall make appear, to every dispassionate well-wisher of the independence of our assemblies, how necessary it is, that this body, freely elected by the people, should consider themselves, and be considered, as the true guarantees of the constitutional rights of the people. Should they suffer the council to exercise certain powers, which are utterly incompatible with a dependent condition, under all the implicit obedience and devotion exacted from that board, and for which alone some governors have seemed to think them first constituted; they cannot but be sensible, on reflection, that the exercise of such powers, by men acting under such restraint, is, and must be, extremely injurious to those rights. It is absurd for men to talk "of their holding large stakes in this community, and therefore that they never can be so much their own enemies as to impair the public freedom." That some should argue in this strain, who have already made a resignation of their will to a governor's power and pleasure, and have voluntarily prostrated themselves at his feet, from vanity, ambition, or other motives, is truly ridiculous. As well might a British subject, who has turned Mahometan at Constantinople, sworn on the Alcoran, and accepted a post from the sultan, pretend, that he has neither apostatized from his former religion, nor made a sacrifice of his former freedom. That men should, in many things, act repugnantly to their own interest, or that of their family and friends, is not in the least extraordinary: every day affords examples of it. That pride, vanity, and headstrong passions, should urge men to the commission of servile and dishonourable actions, is equally common and notorious.

rious. What creature, in short, is more variable and inconsistent than man? His present resolutions, taken up in one minute, are broken in the very next; and he is never less to be trusted, than when he appears most determined: so little controul, in general, has reason over the violent and conflicting affections of the mind, the force of prejudice, and the seductions of pomp, grandeur, and honours. We have but too much ground for suspecting the pernicious effects of that over-ruling influence, beneath which the council have reposed themselves heretofore with so much passive compliance. The past experience of many years should instruct us to what a close connexion it may draw them with the supreme executive power; and how futile the expectation, that they can ever be brought into a sincere and faithful conjunction with the house of representatives, in supporting any measures disagreeable to a governor, however just and necessary, while the terror of suspension hangs, like a drawn scymetar, incessantly over their heads. For these reasons, and as long as they remain in this state of vassalage, it may be prudent for the assembly to regard them, and the commander in chief, as making one incorporate in the strict bonds of union. Before I examine into their origin, I shall describe the constitution of the privy-council in Great-Britain; as the difference, between them and the mutilated resemblance we have of them in our colony, will be rendered more striking by the comparison.

They are styled the *privatum concilium*, or privy council, for matters of state. Sometimes, for distinction's sake, they are called, "The Council." They are an assembly of the king, and such persons as he wills to be of his privy-council, in the king's court or palace. The king's *sic volo* is the sole constituent of a privy-counsellor, and regulates the number of the board. They are made by the king's nomination, without patent or grant; and, on taking the oaths, they become privy counsellors during the life of the king, who chooses them, unless they are intermediately removed; for they are subject to removal at the king's pleasure; and he may, whenever he thinks proper, dismiss any particular member, or the whole board, and appoint another. Any natural-born subject of England is capable of being a member of this council. In commitments  
they

they are said to have the same power as a common justice of the peace. Their names were generally inserted in some or other of the grand commissions of peace for counties or shires; and it is probable, that it was upon this authority alone they have ever legally exercised the power of committing persons to gaol for presumed crimes against the state: but this power is now restrained within due bounds. By what means the council of Jamaica acquired their threefold capacity of privy, juridical, and legislative, is now to be the subject of investigation.

## S E C T. II.

THE island of Jamaica being originally conquered from the Spaniards, settled by natural-born subjects of England, and at the national expence [y], there can be no pretence to question their title to the benefit of all the laws of England then existing, and the rights of Englishmen. These were their true, legitimate, and undoubted inheritance, at the time of the conquest. I know that some antient reporters of law-cases have laid it down for sound doctrine, “that the West-Indian islands, being originally gotten by conquest, or by some planting themselves there, the king may govern them as he will.” Nothing can more expose the absurdity of such an opinion, literally understood, than the position into which it is resolvable, and which amounts in effect to this, viz. if any English forces shall conquer, or any English adventurers possess themselves, of an island in the West-Indies, and thereby extend the empire, and add to the trade and opulence of England; the Englishmen, so possessing and planting such territory, ought, in consideration of the great service thereby effected to their nation, immediately to be treated as aliens, forfeit all the rights of English subjects, and be left to the mercy of an absolute

[y] The charge to the commonwealth of England for the forces maintained here, according to an account rendered before the house of commons, 26 } £ s. d.  
March, 1659, amounted to ————— 110,228 11 3½

The annual issues afterwards, till the Restoration of Charles II. about ——— 54,000 0 0  
and

and arbitrary form of government; for such is a government founded and dependant upon the sovereign's will. This is no unfair construction of the maxim I have cited; yet it has received countenance from some other Law Reports, which assert, that "The king, having conquered a country possessed by foreigners, gains, by saving their lives" (*i. e.* by not murdering them in cool blood), "a right and property in such people, and may impose on them what law he pleases [x]." The books inform us, that this savage doctrine was founded on a determination of the lords of the privy-council, at a colony appeal; and they most probably deduced it from the civil codes, whose institutes were framed for, and received by, enslaved nations. Wherever their lordships found it, their determination on this or any other constitutional point is not law (I mean the law of the land), and ought not therefore to have admittance amongst those collections of sage authorities which are to form the rule of judgement in our English courts of law. But supposing the maxim applies to the conquered, not to the conquerors; yet, even in this sense, it will not involve Jamaica. The English, who made the seizure or conquest of it, were not loose adventurers; but the forces of the state, employed and detached by it on purpose to conquer. The Spanish inhabitants did not submit to the discretion of the English army; but refused the terms offered to them, and were by dint of arms driven forcibly away from the island. Yet, if they had accepted the conditions proposed, they would not have found themselves reduced to slavery; for, by the fifth article of the capitulation, it was declared, by the English generals, "That all artificers and meaner sort of inhabitants, who shall desire to remain on the island, shall enjoy their freedom and goods (excepting slaves); they submitting and conforming to the laws and government of the English nation." The conquerors could not have made this assurance, had they not been at that time in the absolute possession themselves of those laws and that government. There are some Law Reports, indeed, which admit this inherent right in the English subject. "If there be a new and uninhabited country found out by English subjects; as the law is the birth-right of every such subject; so, wherever

[x] Dyer, 214. Vaughan, 285.



“ they go, they carry their laws with them ; and, therefore, such  
 “ new-found country is to be governed by the laws of England.  
 “ But acts of parliament, made in England after such country is in-  
 “ habited by English, and which name not the foreign plantations,  
 “ will not bind them [a].” This opinion has rational principles  
 for its defence. But for a nation like England, supported by com-  
 merce and plantations, to invite her subjects to conquer and plant,  
 at the hazard of life, in distant climates, under a solemn assurance  
 of disfranchisement and slavery for their reward, is surely a most  
 preposterous kind of encouragement ; it is a prohibition, not an  
 invitation, to colonize. More modern civilians would have in-  
 structed their lordships of the privy-council, that, “ when a nation  
 “ takes possession of a distant country, and settles a colony there,  
 “ that country, though separated from the principal establishment,  
 “ or mother country, naturally becomes a part of the state equally  
 “ with its original possessions [b].” It is the same in effect whether  
 a body of Englishmen seize and acquire a distant country at their  
 own free adventure, or are employed by the nation to do so ; as  
 a part of the larger society, they make the acquisition, not for  
 themselves alone, but for the benefit of the whole society to which  
 they belong. If the conquest of territory is made at the national  
 expence, the nation in general becomes still more strongly in-  
 terested in it ; for the expence of the conquest has been defrayed by  
 taxes or pecuniary aids contributed by the people. It is, therefore,  
 annexed to the sovereignty, and becomes an additional member to  
 the ancient dominion of the realm. If the English conquerors  
 establish themselves as planters of the soil, their rights are unalie-  
 nable, whilst they continue in obedience to the national laws ; they  
 cannot be subjected to laws repugnant to those of England, and are  
 no more liable to be governed by the meer will of the king than if  
 they had remained in England. They may not enact laws or ordi-  
 nances injurious to the national welfare ; and the parliament of Eng-  
 land is reciprocally bound to impose nothing on the colonists in vio-  
 lation of those rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities, which  
 they inherit in common with their fellow-subjects residing in the  
 mother country. These I think are positions which our constitution  
 implies, and which no Englishman will controvert.

[a] 2 P. Will. 75. 2. Salk. 416.

[b] Vattel.

## S E C T. III.

AFTER this island had been subdued by the army and navy employed by the commonwealth of England, and the Spaniards utterly driven out; Cromwell, the supreme magistrate, had it seriously in his thoughts, to release the settlers from law-martial, and give them possession of that civil form of government [c] to which they were entitled. But, as the Spaniards made some attempts to re-possess the island; by which means great part of the settlers were kept almost constantly under arms, and a faction also prevailed, occasioned by several of the leading men, who, either from a spirit of disaffection towards Cromwell, or a passionate desire of returning to Europe, obstructed as much as in them lay the design of planting; little or no progress was made during Oliver's life towards a civil establishment. It was reserved for Charles II. to effectuate this. In settling their civil government, the parliament of England never interfered; but left to the king, as the fountain of justice, by his executive authority, to bring the English laws into exercise among their fellow-subjects here, by erecting judicatories, appointing competent officers for the dispensation of public justice, and summoning a legislature agreeable to the laws and customs of England. As the circumstances of the infant colony required that peculiar laws, adapted to them, should be framed, for the benefit and security of the settlers, and that some provision should also be made, by those settlers, from time to time, towards defraying the public expences, and better supporting the government of the island, in order to relieve the mother state in that charge; they were summoned by the king's writs to assemble representatively, and execute their inherent rights of legislation; in the exercise whereof they could not constitutionally be denied (and were therefore allowed) the full adoption of all the jurisdictions, powers, authorities, and privileges, which the commons of England were, by the English laws and constitution, enfeoffed in; or (at least) of so much, and such portion of them, as they found necessary and convenient

[c]. C. Appendix.

to be exercised, in their share of legislation, within this part of the English dominions, as yet in its minority. But, in the great point of legislation, it was extremely difficult to follow the English model with the like degree of exactness which had been found so easy and practicable with respect to the courts of justice, and some other civil departments: for, although the representative body of the people was a sufficiently perfect copy, on their part, of the commons representatives in England; yet there was wanting an intermediate branch, composed of men ennobled by their titles, dignified by the constitution, rising by hereditary rank superior to the common people, and constituting a regular gradation from them up to the sovereign. In a country where all the inhabitants were commons, it was impossible to find this order of superior beings; and of course our legislature was so far defective in its resemblance to the parliament of England, which consists of three estates. In 1660, D'Oyley, who, by the decease of general Brayne, became general of the island, and so continued till after Cromwell's death, was, by Charles II. appointed governor and commander in chief of the island. With his new commission, he received instructions, to disband the army, and summon by writ a council of twelve men, of whom the secretary of the island for the time being was to be one; and the rest to be indifferently elected by the inhabitants in the nature of representatives [d]. With their advice and consent, he was empowered to regulate the forms of civil government; and to enact laws according to such customs and usages as were exercised in the other English colonies, and not repugnant to the laws of England. We observe here, then, a legislature, as perfect as the circumstances of a colony admitted or required, called together by a lawful writ, and founding the subor-

[d] The island was, about this time, or soon after, divided into twelve districts, answerable to the first-appointed number of representatives; viz.

Port Royal,	St. John,	St. Mary,
St. Catharine,	St. David,	St. Anne,
St. Andrew,	St. Thomas,	St. James,
Clarendon,	St. George,	St. Elizabeth;

being at that time the only inhabited parts. It was afterwards surveyed and divided under Sir Thomas Muddiford's government, in 1664; but no new parishes or districts added by name.

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inate parts of the civil structure by their free and uninfluenced judgement, agreeable to the spirit of the English constitution. D'Oyley, with this little senate, formed a sort of *commune concilium*, of governor and commons; and they enacted several laws, whose duration was only for two years. Whether the secretary acted, on this occasion, only as clerk, to register their proceedings, or had a voice, does not now appear. It is certain he was no representative, as he sat among them *per mandatum regis*, and not by free election. I am, therefore, inclined to think he was only the clerk; as, in some of the colonies, the crown at this day claims and exercises a prerogative to nominate and appoint such an officer to their assemblies. Thus was the legislative constitution of Jamaica framed, without including in it any thing like a third branch; nor was it deemed at all expedient, because the governor and the body of representatives were not only a legislature formed consistently with the principles of the English constitution, but they were fully able to frame and enact laws, and other fit provisions, without the intervention of any third body; nor was the utility of such a third branch, or semblance of the house of lords, at this time, or for many years after, ever thought on. And, as governor D'Oyley had been in the island from the very time of its conquest, and was therefore, and from his ability, as well informed of every matter relative to it as any other of its inhabitants, there was no necessity to assign him a privy-council, to advise him in his proceedings; and consequently none was appointed. But, in the year 1662, upon his earnest desire to return home, lord Windsor, an utter stranger to the colony and its affairs, was appointed to succeed him in the government. By his lordship's commission and instructions, he was empowered to choose his own privy-council; and to summon, by writ, assemblies, to be elected by the people. With advice of his privy-council, he was further empowered to give the royal assent to such laws as should be passed by those assemblies, and not repugnant to the laws of England [e].

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[e] In the 4th article of instruction to Sir Thomas Lynch, 26 Feb. 1670-71, we find these words: "You shall have power, with the advice of the council, to call assemblies, to make laws, and

The succeeding governors and lieutenant-governors were directed to choose their own privy-council, until the appointment of lord Vaughan, 1675, in whose commission the members of the privy-council were expressly named by the king. It is evident, then, that, after the abolition of a council of war, which was also a council of state during Oliver's life-time, and which, with a major-general and a quorum of commissioners constituted for this purpose by the protector and his council of state (according to the mode then prevailing in England), had governed Jamaica by no other than law martial; the first civil establishment took place under D'Oyley's administration. The king rejected at first the use of a council of state; and introduced in its stead a legal proper legislature, consisting, as before mentioned, of his delegate, and a sufficient number of freeholders of the island, elected in England, by the free votes of the people, for their representatives. But, when it was found necessary to aid the governor in many points of administration, lord Windfor was directed to appoint a privy-council for this intention, the choice being left to his own discretion; and their principal business and use seem to have been, to give him advice on all occasions wherein he had either no instructions, or thought fit to apply to them; such as the guarding of the island against hostile invasions, or internal rebellions; the issuing payments out of the revenue granted biennially by assembly; the appointment, or removal, of officers civil and military; the conservation of the rights of prerogative; and the granting or refusing his assent to such bills as the assembly passed. The crown was sensible, that the governors sent from England to this island must need be ignorant of many particulars necessary to be known for their conduct in the government of it. The introduction of slaves for carrying on the plantations, and the very nature of the climate and commercial productions, opened a scene entirely new to them: and, as the laws and provisions useful and expedient for the in-

"and to levy monies for our service, &c."—Here is expressly no other power given to the governor, than that of convening the representatives; and this under proviso, that he should first have the advice of his council, as to the season and expediency of their meetings. No power is herein assigned to the council, except that of simply giving their advice to the governor. No other power, indeed, could legally have been given by the crown in respect to matters of legislation.

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ternal police and furtherance of settlements in the island, were to be understood only by a long residence in the West-Indies, or from the accounts of men perfectly well acquainted with colony matters; it would have been impossible for such governors, without the advice and assistance of some gentlemen of good abilities, and knowledge of the country, to explain the propriety of the assembly's bills, or form a competent judgement on various matters incident peculiarly to their administration. For this reason, among others, every governor is expressly instructed to transmit to his majesty the names of such of the principal inhabitants of good ability as seem best qualified to supply vacancies from time to time in the privy-council. This was a necessary, and therefore prudent, regulation; as, for want of it, the crown could not but foresee, that its governors would be liable to constant embarrassment in discharge of the duties of their office. Such was probably the original motive for appointing a governor's council, not only in this but in the other British colonies [f]. At their first constitution in Jamaica, and for many years afterwards, the governor sat with them, as well during the session, as during the intervals of assembly. They had no deliberative, and not the least independent, power in respect to the bills framed and sent up by the house of assembly. The governor himself used to receive from, and send all messages to the house, concerning legislative business: when conferences were necessary, he appointed such members of his privy-council as he thought proper to be his messengers or agents for managing on his part, and reporting to him.

The governor's constant presence and interposition deprived them effectually of all that uncontrouled freedom of debate and deliberation which is essential to a legislative body. They were merely his passive co-adjutors; and, although he was directed to pass laws with

[f] This opinion is warranted by the tenor of the king's instructions, formerly (and I believe still) given to the governors of this island. So, art. 35. of the instructions to Sir Thomas Lynch, 1679-71, "And, forasmuch as there are many things incident to that government, for which it is not easy for us to prescribe such rules and directions for you as our service and the benefit of that island may require; instead of them, you are, with the advice of the council, to take care therein as fully and effectually as if you were instructed by us; of which extraordinary cases giving us due information, you shall receive further ratifications from us, as our service shall require."

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their consent, which implies that he was to pass none without it; yet there can be no doubt but the discretionary power, with which he was armed, of suspending all or any of them at pleasure, together with the awe and restraint imposed by his presence and authority, must have had suitable effects upon the minds of his associates; so that he could without much difficulty lead or drive them to say and do whatever he judged fitting. That lust of acquiring much power, which generally actuates all public bodies of men, who in their original institution possess very little, seems to have worked very surprizing effects on the privy-council. Impatient of the insignificance to which they saw themselves reduced by the governor's perpetual controul, and the importance of the assembly; it became their favourite object to frame themselves into a separate or third legislative estate, in the nature of an house of lords.

The idea of assimilating themselves, however faintly, to these noble personages, pleased their vanity; whilst the prospect of being clothed with the jurisdiction and privileges appurtenant to peerage, and in the utmost extent practicable, gratified their ambition. It was some time before they effected this so fully, as to sit a legislative council board without the governor's being present. I am not informed of the particular time when the governor and council first separated; but I have heard it was many years ago, and happened upon the administration devolving to a president of the council, who, being one of their body, might possibly think it most suitable to his newly-acquired dignity and elevation, to mix no longer among his brethren below stairs: and thus a constitution of something like three-estates was brought about.

The privy-council, from this period, undertook to exercise the two incompatible functions of a privy board, dependent on the governor, and a legislative board, dependent also on the governor, though acting as it were distinctly without him. The governors here, it is true, have for several years forbore to break in upon them in their legislative proceedings; and, perhaps, the board might call it "breach of privilege," if any governor should hereafter (as a late governor seemed to intend) revive the old custom of being continually present with them, influencing, modeling, and controuling, their legislative operations: but, as far as I am able to judge, there

is no right inherent, or otherwise legally resident, in that body, to prevent a governor from using his pleasure in this point, if he should choose to exert it. If we endeavour to make their institution, for any purposes affecting legislature here, appear consistent with legality and reason; we cannot suppose them ordained to any other rank in this system originally, than what is enjoyed by that committee of the British privy-council, which is called "the board of trade and plantations," whose business, so far as regards legislative matters, consists in revising such laws as are enacted in the plantations, and submitting their opinion and advice to his majesty, as to the expediency of giving or refusing his royal assent to them; so it seems probable, that the office of our privy-council here, as far as it interfered with the great concern of legislation, was with the like view intended to be wholly confined to the revision of bills passed by the assembly, and to their advising his majesty's governor here on the tendency of those bills, and the expediency of his assent or negative to them. I have strong grounds for believing this to have been the chief end of their being permitted, by royal authority, to interpose at all in respect to the acts of assembly; and I have already given some reasons which seem to support this opinion.

## S E C T. IV.

HAVING no act of parliament, nor of assembly, to justify their claim to legislation, whatever powers the privy-council have exercised of that kind must principally have sprung from their own ambition to become a house of lords, and from their appropriating the usages and practice of the lords from time to time as a distinct legislative, after the governors ceased to advise with them concerning the purport and tendency of bills passed by the assembly. In this proceeding, they were further encouraged by the connivance of those governors who strove to promote factions, the better to serve their own purposes; and by the assembly's inability, or neglect, in contesting with them the rights they had assumed. Thus, by an usage tolerated for several years, they have gained



(as some imagine) a sort of prescriptive title to their claims; and should the house of assembly at any time think fit to dispute any point of legislative authority with them, the privy-council would not find it difficult to turn to some precedent in the minutes of the house, to shew that former assemblies had indirectly acknowledged, and conceded the point to their board, "by giving no express denial to it." I shall not dispute that all the laws of Jamaica, at this time in force, are enacted by "Governor, council, and assembly." But there were a multitude of acts passed before the printed code, viz. between the year 1660 and 1681; and great part of these were enacted by the king or his governor, and the assembly only. The change of style took place in consequence of an instruction from the crown. Whether the assembly did or not oppose this alteration is very little to the purpose to inquire: for all opposition on their part must have been attended with fatal consequences to themselves; they were in utmost want of a good body of permanent laws, adapted to their situation, and the safety of their lives and properties. The king, who sent this instruction to his governor, and required obedience to it, had wholly in his power to enforce it, by restraining his governor from giving assent to any bill of assembly that did not run in this manner. Thus all opposition to the measure could be speedily defeated, since the necessities of the people were too urgent not to compel them to pass their bills with this addition of style in the enacting part, however much it might be against their will, or repugnant to their constitution. It is not certain at what period the privy-council first began to sign the bills that were revised at their board with the words, "passed the council;" which practice does certainly declare them exercising a legislative power as a third estate, distinct from governor and assembly. There is no doubt something in the manner of their investiture with this power, similar to that by which a man holds what is called *tortious* possession of an estate, and whose title is justified only by the law-maxim of *melior conditio possidentis*. I call it power in contradistinction to right; for a right in this case could only be derived from the constitution or the laws; but the constitution and laws have imparted none to them: they are therefore defective in that which is the fundamental principle of a true and perfect

perfect legislative body: A legislative, founded on power alone, is meer tyranny and usurpation; it has neither the rights, dignity, nor efficacy, of a legislative arising from, and supported by, a constitutional and legal establishment. Such a defect, combined with other parts of a system which are sufficiently perfect and legal in themselves, must evidently be introductive of confusion and discord; it becomes a dead weight, which, added to either scale, must render too heavy, and destroy the equilibrium necessary to be maintained in so nice a conjuncture.

The privy-council having thus, as they thought, established themselves (though imperfectly) as a distinct branch of legislature, it was their next business to effect a nearer assimilation of their powers to those of the British house of lords. With this view, they entered dissents and protests with all the pomp of lordly language; assumed a negative voice on bills distinct from the governor; framed bills themselves, and sent them down to the lower house; made amendments to bills passed by that house; rejected other bills; appointed their own committees; demanded conferences; examined persons upon oath; received petitions of grievance: in short, they interfered in every business wherein the house of assembly were concerned, not even excepting money-bills; in the amendment of which they asserted equal right with the house. In disputes between governor and assembly, they generally sided with the former, or stood neuter. As to exemption from arrests, they pleaded undoubted right to it during the session, as legislators; and, out of session, or during the intermissions of assembly, as privy-counsellors; and by this kind of logic contrived to make it perpetual; which was a most admirable finesse for maintaining their dignity, undisturbed by the vexatious process of troublesome creditors. To give lustre and pre-eminence to their body, they styled themselves "Honourable." And this recalls to my memory, that, when Sir Francis Watson, president of the privy-council, took the administration upon him, on the decease of the duke of Albemarle; he very seriously proposed to his council, whether he had not a right to assume upon that occasion the addition of "Right Honourable." His council very complaisantly answered, *nem. con.* that he had most undoubted right; and advised him to wear it. With this advice he

readily complied. But the borrowed plume was soon afterwards stripped away by the king's order. So strange has the infatuation been, that one of the board, not long since, moved a governor, as chancellor, on his right to a letter missive, and an office copy *gratis* of a bill filed in the chancery here, agreeable to the practice in England, when a peer of the realm is sued in the high court of chancery there. However, the chancellor, who then presided, though strongly inclined to render this would-be-lord all reasonable service in his power, did not relish this extraordinary motion; and so it was over-ruled. In the early, unsettled times of government here, the privy-council exalted their power so very highly, that a money-bill, which had passed the assembly for a duration of two years, being expired during the intermission of their meeting; a governor issued his order in council for continuing it in force two years longer. The assembly was called before it expired again; who (though very much resenting the behaviour of the privy-council in lending their countenance to this proceeding, yet), in consideration that the bill had taken its rise and being in their house *ab origine*, and therefore virtually their own bill, they let the matter pass. But surely this tameness on the part of the assembly was blameable. When necessary statutes have been for some time discontinued, the king may by proclamation give notice, that such statutes shall be put in due execution in time to come. But the king cannot by proclamation renew an expired law; for that would be tantamount to making new laws by his sole authority, which he cannot do[g]. A law ceases to be a law the instant it expires, and cannot be brought to life again, except by consent of all the legislative bodies united. What then did the governor and his council in this case, but assume an illegal power of legislation, and subjugate the island to a tax of two years duration, by no other authority than their own,

[g] I can find no precedent similar to this in our English history, except that of the 31st of Henry VIII. when his parliament were so infamously complaisant, as to surrender all the ecclesiastical and civil liberties of the kingdom into his hands; and passed an act, ordaining, "that proclamations, made by the king's highness, by the advice of his honourable council, should be of equal force with any statute enacted by parliament." They likewise enjoined obedience, under whatever pains and penalties, he should think proper. And these proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws.

Hume, vol. III. p. 233.

31 Henry VIII. ch. viii. Repealed, 1 Ed. VI. c. xii. order ?

order? This instance may characterize the tyranny so licentiously practised here in these early times. It would be tedious, indeed, to enumerate all the abuses committed by the governors of those days, in conjunction with their faithful adherents the privy-council. One might well wonder, that so much egregious despotism should ever have been suffered, by the inhabitants of any civilized part of the British dominions, to be so wantonly exercised over their persons and estates by such a handful of despicable instruments. Nor is it less astonishing, by what means the colony, oppressed by such misgovernment, escaped a total ruin; unless we suppose, that, like some religious sects, the people thrived under persecution.

Antecedent to the Revolution, the privy-council, with all the furious and implacable zeal of bigotry, harrassed incessantly Protestants, Jews, and every one who did not openly avow the doctrines of Popery. They used to issue their warrants for apprehending and bringing before them the most respectable men in the country upon every frivolous occasion. They interrogated them upon oath, to extort evidence from their reply; and, when it happened that they were charged with having uttered or done any thing whatever that could be construed to censure, in the least degree, either the members of the board, or their measures; such high contempt was punished by exacting a security for their future good behaviour, in the most exorbitant penalties, amounting often to ten times more than the value of their estates. Upon their refusal or inability to comply, they were imprisoned, by order of the board, in the common gaol, during pleasure; and the benefit of *habeas corpus* was positively refused them. A member of the assembly was fined and imprisoned, only for saying, in a debate, *Vox populi vox Dei*.

Such were these star-chamber privy-counsellors, who, assisted with a Popish attorney-general, were ambitious to keep even pace with the tyrant who at that time disgraced the British throne. But their licentiousness was happily restrained in the succeeding reign; which forced the torrent of despotism to subside both here and at home, and confined it within a narrower channel.

## S E C T. V.

AT present, the power of the privy-council here, as distinct from their exercise of a legislative power, is so limited as scarcely to be definable. Commitments of the subject for arbitrary causes, and pretended contempts of their board, which they were suffered to order till very lately, are now entirely at an end. The privy-council of Great-Britain is found to possess no greater latitude of authority in this case, than what is vested in an ordinary justice of the peace; with this further limitation, that the persons they commit cannot properly be apprehended in the first instance by their warrant, except for treasonable practices, or designs against the state, either violently presumed, or actually charged upon oath: but arbitrary commitments are beyond their sphere; for the explication of this, we are indebted to lord Camden in the case of Mr. Wilkes. Yet, notwithstanding his lordship's definitive judgement on the point, our Jamaica privy-council were very unwilling to yield up the delightful occupation they had assumed, of shewing their importance by the exercise of illegal power over their fellow-subjects. But, in the late case of Mr. Douglas (1768), who was imprisoned by their warrant for a supposed contempt, and released by the chief justice on his writ of *habeas corpus*, they were adjudged by the supreme court to have no right of restraining public liberty vested in them by the laws and constitution of their country. Their powers, therefore, as a privy-council, are confined chiefly to their advising the governor's measures, whenever he is pleased to demand their counsel; and to the examining and passing the revenue accounts; it being thought necessary, that no order for public money should be signed and issued by a governor, except by their advice, and in their presence. These and other their functions as a privy-council are regulated, either by the laws of the colony, or by the king's instructions to the governor; which latter are undoubtedly laws to the privy-council, however otherwise they may be received or treated by the rest of his majesty's subjects. It is by virtue of the king's instructions, that they exercise,

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in conjunction with the governor, the judicial power of hearing and determining appeals on cases of error in civil causes from the courts of record, and in cases of fines imposed by the law courts for misdemeanors. Under this order, the crown has given them, jointly with the governor, a form of judicature, in part resembling what is exercised by the house of peers in Britain. But appeals from chancery decrees lie not before them as before the house of peers: for the governor himself, being chancellor, and the privy-council not holding equal or similar rank here, cannot controul the chancellor, nor animadvert on his decrees. Such appeals, therefore, are, by the king's order, avoked before his majesty himself in council, as the supreme dispenser of justice and dernier resort in these cases.

The British privy-council are expressly debarred from holding such pleas before them, on the properties of English subjects, by the statute of 16 Charles I. c. x. § 5, 1640, in these words: "Be it like-  
" wife declared and enacted, that neither his majesty, nor his privy-  
" council, have, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, or autho-  
" rity, by English bill, petition, articles, libel, or any other arbi-  
" trary way whatsoever, to examine, or draw into question, deter-  
" mine, or dispose of, the lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, or  
" chattels, of any the subjects of this kingdom; but that the same  
" ought to be tried and determined in the ordinary courts of justice,  
" and by the ordinary courts of the law." This statute having been made long before the settlement of Jamaica, the colony seems well entitled to the benefit of it, unless the inhabitants can be proved not to be subjects of the kingdom of England. What the reason was which moved the crown to establish such a judicature in the colony, I am not informed, nor can scarcely form a guess. It was thought necessary, perhaps, a jurisdiction should reside somewhere, which might reform the erroneous judgements of the inferior courts of law: but this court of appeal is not competent to such an end, because a further appeal lies from its determinations to the king in council: if, therefore, it did not exist, there would be no failure of justice, as writs of error might travel, without halting by the way, immediately from the court of law to his majesty in council; which has sometimes happened, when, by reason of too small a *quorum* of  
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the council (exclusive of the judges, members of the board, who first tried the cause, and therefore could not sit upon it again in the appeal court), a court of error could not be formed. If the prevention of delays, and giving a quicker dispatch to the courts of justice in the colonies, was the motive, experience convinces us, that the issue has taken quite the contrary turn; for (in Jamaica at least) few causes are brought into this court, except for the mere sake of delay. And, in some cases, where members of the privy-council (that is to say, the judges of this court themselves) were parties to some of the suits depending in it; governors have been more than suspected of carrying their private attachments so far, as to evade holding a court from year to year; during which the causes slept, and the adverse suitors were precluded from regular justice. If this tribunal should not be abolished, as unnecessary, and not answerable to the ends of its institution; it might at least be proper to lay some restrictions upon it; namely, that no privy-counsellor, for the time being, should sue or be sueable in it; but that all appeals, brought by or against them, from a judgement given in the inferior courts, should proceed immediately before the king in council; fit and certain times in the year should likewise be assigned for the session of the court. These reformatations would take away the principal sources of the general complaint, "that it serves only the purpose of a dungeon for the incarceration of justice."

## S E C T. VI.

IN England most of the king's privy-council, who are not peers of the realm, are members of the house of commons. Herein is another very essential difference between his majesty's privy-council in the mother country and the privy-council of Jamaica. A member of the privy-council here cannot be a member of the house of assembly, without resigning all pretensions to legislature at his own board; for this would give him a double negative upon every bill. Upon the like principle, it has been ruled by the house, that a member of the privy-council ought not to vote at elections of members

members to serve in assembly ; for, if this was permitted, so long as the privy-council are allowed to exercise legislature, it must frequently happen, that the member they voted for would be so much under their influence, as to carry an unfree voice into the house ; and thus, by an improper bias, the member's voice there would be the same in effect, as if the privy-counsellors themselves, who controuled him, were to be personally present, and give it. Besides, whilst they exercise the power of putting a negative on the assembly's proceedings, they enjoy a share in the legislation of the colony far superior to that of the people. A writer, alluding to a late dispute in the island of St. Kitt's, makes the following remarks.

“ The legislature of Great Britain, says he, is composed of three  
 “ parts, distinct from, and independent of, each other. That of  
 “ the colony consists of four ; for the king (not being bound by  
 “ his representative, whose assent is absolutely necessary in passing  
 “ all acts) forms a distinct, separate branch, and can, by dissenting  
 “ from it, totally disannull every act passed by the governor, council,  
 “ and assembly. The governor and council are appointed by  
 “ the king, but can be removed at pleasure. The lords enjoy certain  
 “ honours and privileges, which descend to their posterity, and  
 “ can but in a very few instances be forfeited. They form the  
 “ highest court of judicature known to the law ; from whose determination  
 “ no appeal lies. In all civil process, their persons are  
 “ sacred ; and in criminal they are tried by the house of peers.  
 “ The council of St. Kitt's hold their seats during the king's pleasure ;  
 “ nay, may be deprived of them by the governor, who himself holds his  
 “ commission only by the royal favour. They form  
 “ a court of error ; but from them an appeal lies before the king  
 “ in council : their persons are not protected, but may be taken  
 “ in execution in civil process ; and in criminal they would be tried  
 “ by a jury of twelve men, not by the council. Nor is the analogy  
 “ between the commons and assembly stronger ; only they are both  
 “ elective, and the representatives of a certain class of people in both  
 “ places. For the assembly cannot protect the persons of their  
 “ members, but during their actual sitting in the house. They cannot  
 “ adjourn themselves even *de die in diem*. They cannot appoint  
 “ their own clerk, nor any one servant attending the house ; who



“all hold their places, and are appointed by commission from the commander in chief.”

In regard to the political disability, which a member of the council there is supposed to be under, to vote at elections of persons to serve in assembly, the author says, “Suppose a freeholder, merely for being a member of the council, is rendered incapable of voting for representatives, and that he should be deprived of his seat at that board on the day after the assembly are elected; by whom, or in what manner, would such a freeholder be represented during the continuance of that assembly?”

The writer's description of the limited powers of the council is undoubtedly just. If we should conceive, that, in the original frame of colony government, the idea of constituting three distinct branches, upon the principles and form of government in the mother country, ever occurred to the founders of it; yet we find it has fallen far short of this model in effect. Had the council been appointed for life, the similitude would have been much stronger, and their powers more agreeable to the principles of the British constitution: but, as they sit only *durante bene placito*, they can never exercise a free and independent voice, nor pass a negative in contradiction to the crown, without risque of forfeiting their seats and office. So that, as the writer I have quoted very properly states the subject, here is only one affirmative voice of the people in their assembly of representatives, borne down by three negatives; the first in the crown; the second in the governor; the third in the king. It seems, therefore, an absurdity to have originally formed any council for legislative purposes, since the single negative of the governor would be sufficient, without theirs, to put an end to any offensive bill presented by the assembly; unless we are to suppose the privy-council were only designed to act occasionally as packhorses between governor and people, to take the odium of rejection from the governor's shoulders by anticipation, before it came to his casting voice. But as governors have seldom been nice or timid upon these occasions, and have generally endeavoured to deserve a full share of reproach, by joining with their privy-council heartily and avowedly in unpopular acts; so we may infer, that a legislative power was not originally intended for the privy-council; that,

that, in a legislative capacity, they are unnecessary to the crown, because the governor's negative is equivalent without them; and that they are unnecessary to the people, as at present constituted, there can be no doubt, because they are neither free nor independent.

The analogy between the colony assembly and the house of commons is certainly much stronger: for although it is granted, that the assembly of St. Kitt's differ widely from that house, in their not adjourning themselves from day to day, and not being able to appoint their own officers; yet they agree perfectly well in the more essential points; which are, freedom of election and debate; the rights of framing, amending, and repealing of bills; the judging of elections; controul of their own body; &c.

The Jamaica assembly vary but little from the pattern in the mother country. They adjourn themselves *de die in diem*; appoint all their own officers, and remove them at pleasure; expel, or take in custody, all contumacious members; and enforce the business of the house, by taking in custody, or ordering before their bar, other persons who are not members. That a privy-counsellor is under a disability, while he is such, to vote at elections, is perfectly clear to my apprehension, notwithstanding the case supposed by the writer. My opinion is founded on similar reasons which operate in the case of a peer of the realm. Whilst the privy-council are indulged with the exercise of a legislative power, the reasons, which produce a disability in the peer as to this right of voting, are equally applicable to a member of the privy-council; for he would then have two voices in the legislature; one by his deputy, or representative, in assembly; the other personally in council; a plurality of voice, inconsistent with the equal rights of the body of freeholders, irreconcilable with the constitution and public good. His right of voting at elections is in abeyance only, whilst he continues member of the board; and justly so, because there he exercises a much more transcendent power or pretension, that of controuling, by his single voice, the united voices of the whole representative body. When he quits his seat at the board, or is suspended, he becomes reinstated in his right of voting in common with other freeholders, to be exercised when an election again happens: the nature of the case makes it impossible to be otherwise. A peer may be a freeholder,

but cannot vote at elections, though his freehold (simply considered) confers the qualification of voting. The accepting an office of profit or honour under the crown may, in many cases, debar a man from the opportunity of voting; an officer in the navy or army, or customs, an ambassador, consul, governor, and' a hundred others. Suppose an officer to be ordered on service just on the eve of a general election, and so precluded the opportunity of giving his vote; and that, soon after the new house of commons is assembled, he should happen to be cashiered or discharged: we may just as properly ask the same question as the writer; "In what manner would such a freeholder be represented during the continuance of that house of commons?" The honour of serving the crown is of itself esteemed no mean distinction and benefit. The subject, in these cases, is obliged to supersede for a while his right of voting, that he may enjoy the honour and felicity of serving the crown: in other words, he exchanges one benefit for another. What, then, does the suspended counsellor mean? Does he desire, because he did not vote for the members returned for the precinct where his property lies, that, notwithstanding those members were chosen, have sitten and voted as legal representatives for that precinct, they shall, upon his suspension or quitting his seat, be suspended also from their seats in assembly, and sent back to the precinct and to a new election, for no other reason but that he may have opportunity to give his single suffrage for or against them? The notion is absurd in every view. A peer, though he does not vote, finds means to influence those who do vote; and it is well known, that too many of them put in members for borough-towns. A gentleman of a colony council is generally a person of large fortune and interest; and he is, chiefly, for these very considerations appointed, because they enable him more effectually to support the governor's administration. None of them will be hardy enough to assert, that they do never interfere with elections, or that their influence has no weight in returning particular candidates, whose cause they espouse: the contrary is notorious. It is true, this practice is not incidental to their character of privy-counsellors; but, if the facts are so (which cannot be denied), they prove the gift of my argument; and shew, that the suspension of their elective vote is more than

than counter-balanced by their negative voice at the board, and by their power and influence in the absolute disposal of other men's voices at elections, and in assembly. Instead therefore of losing, they very unjustifiably gain much more than ought in sound policy to be allowed.

## S E C T. VII.

THE disparity between the privy-council in Britain, and ours in Jamaica, is inconsistent with the doctrine of assimilation, for the reasons already given, and as they deviate entirely in the point of legislation. If the king had constituted the privy-council of Jamaica as a board of reference, to revise all bills passed by the house of assembly, and give their advice concerning them to the governor; the analogy between them would have been plain and obvious. But, as they are invested by their privy seals with no other office or function than that of simple privy-counsellors, it is difficult to trace a proper ground for the superaddition of a legislative controuling power, which the like body in the mother country are incapable of exercising in respect to acts of parliament, and do only exercise in respect to plantation laws, as a board of reference from his majesty, to advise him of the tenor and tendency of those laws. For, to prevent any law being in force prejudicial to the rights of the crown, the king has reserved his casting voice, to save his prerogative entire. It is not fit that the crown should be bound conclusively by the consent of a governor in a matter of such moment, where (without this reservation) it might possibly become an irreparable loser, through the negligence, ignorance, or venality, of its minister. This is the true reason why the king maintains a double negative on laws enacted in the plantations, and causes them to be revised by his privy-council in Great Britain, not choosing to be irremediably bound by the act of his delegate in matters of legislation. The crown may inhibit its minister, or governor, to reject or not reject a bill of assembly, unless he has previously taken the opinion and advice of the persons appointed to advise him. The crown may also think proper to regulate the  
conduct

conduct and proceedings of these advisers by instructions. But no power, which these advisers may claim or exercise by virtue of any such instructions, is or can be legal, except so far as they are expressly grounded upon, and in unison with, the known established laws of the kingdom and colony. All beyond this line is usurpation and tyranny.

In regard to any privileges of our privy-council, I may say, in the words of a lieutenant governor, "I know of none they have distinct from the rest of his majesty's subjects." "To unlawfully strike, wound, or to endeavour or compass the death of a privy-counsellor of Great Britain, whilst in the execution of his office," was, it is true, made felony by a statute of queen Anne, in consequence of Guiscard's attempt on Mr. Harley. But this statute relates solely to the privy-council of Great Britain; and his majesty is debarred by law from having any more than one such privy-council. Some have pretended, that, "as privy-counsellors of the colony, their persons and effects are secured from all civil process." I question if there is any member of his majesty's privy-council in Great-Britain, who is not protected, either by his being a peer, or a member of the house of commons; but, if there is any one among them who has not such protection, I presume that his office of privy-counsellor (except while in the actual execution of it) will not secure his person from arrest, nor his goods from attachment, for satisfaction of his just debts. Others alledge, "that the privy-council of Jamaica are entitled to personal protection at least, as being servants of his majesty;" for that "his majesty's servants in Great-Britain are, by being such, under this degree of privilege." True it is that his majesty's domestic menial servants, residing within the verge of the royal palace, have this protection; but it extends not to any servant of the crown, that I know of, nor to any further limit than the verge. The personal dignity and immunity of the sovereign emanate in this case to his servants of the household; for these are proper and necessary for his personal accommodation. The extension of this privilege to others residing within the verge, who are not of the household, is an abuse which grew out of this ancient prerogative. If the members of our privy-council resided within the king's house at

St. Iago de la Vega, or were servants in the governor's family, they doubtless might lay claim to correspondent privilege, upon the ground of assimilation, within the boundaries or verge of the king's house; but this pretext must appear as frivolous as the former one.

It has likewise been contended for, "that they are entitled to "privilege of person and goods, as a branch of legislature." This would be readily allowed, if their legislative rights could be made out clear and unexceptionable; for then the privilege would stand incontestably founded on the *lex et consuetudo parliamenti*, a part of the English law, and the birth-right of English subjects; without which, neither the commons in Great-Britain nor in the colonies would have lawful authority to legislate by their representatives. The origin of this privilege shews it never was intended for a privy-council. It was a provision, that the deputies, elected by the commons, might not be diverted from the public business by private litigations, nor be oppressed by the power of the crown. But this their privilege has been indulged by the laws only to a certain latitude. Therefore, on the dissolution of the assembly, the privy-council (even if supposed a competent legislative) could enjoy the privilege against arrest of body no longer than for a reasonable time *redeundo*; nor a revival of it until the next meeting of assembly. Hence then it appears that, even as legislators, they could not hold a claim to uninterrupted or perpetual privilege. This inviolability of person is peculiar alone to the peers of Great-Britain. Yet the privy-council of Jamaica have not only claimed these privileges in the same extent as the house of lords enjoy them; but insisted on other matters as their undoubted right, without declaring by what means they became justly entitled to them. Mere assertion cannot demonstrate a right. The existence of it should be proved, and made indubitably clear, by a true deduction from the fountain head; and its legality fairly and fully ascertained. If this cannot be done, all pretended claim of such right is, *vox, et præterea nihil*. Among other assertions of theirs are the following:

"That their board has a right, not only to reject, but amend, "money bills; and to apply public money [*b*]."

[*b*] In 1728, during Mr. Hunter's government.

"That

“That, in their legislative capacity, they are equally entitled, “with the representatives of the people, to the exercise of freedom “and independence in all their deliberations [i].”

“That no person whatsoever” (in this word both king and governor are included) “hath, or ought to have, any right to admonish them for their proceedings in such their legislative capacity [i].”

“That their body have at least an equal power and right of legislation with the house of representatives, which they will “never suffer to be abridged or infringed [i].”

“That the right of legislation in the council appears, from the “principles of the constitution of this island, to be as antient and “undoubted as that of the representatives of the people [k].”

“That his majesty, by an article of his royal instructions, “hath expressly directed, that his council shall have a right to “frame, alter, or amend, money bills; and that the governor, or “commander in chief, do support them in this particular [k].”

These positions appear very extraordinary, because they are incapable of proof: for this reason, they are of a mischievous tendency, and the source of eternal wrangling; since a subject, which admits not of proof, may yet admit of endless controversy. They are directly repugnant to the usage of parliament. In respect, for example, to bills which contain any clauses levying money on the subject, either by way of tax or penalty, the commons will not suffer the lords to amend such clauses. In fair argument, the ground or reason of any position is the first thing demanded; but, if the propounder, either not knowing, or being unwilling to produce, the ground or reason, still continues to insist with vehemence on the truth of his problem; it is plain the dispute can never be terminated, at least any other way than by his opponent’s demonstrating it to be false, and forcing him to yield it up. This cannot readily be done when the controversy happens between either religious or political associations of men; because, the lust of power being oftentimes the only fundamental principle on which the claim or usurpation rests, every concession in argument must tend to weaken or destroy that power. The party therefore in possession of it en-

[i] 31 Dec. 1767.

[k] 22 Feb. 1770.

deavour, by every means they can, to involve the origin of their pretensions in darkness and mystery; and thus, like the scuttlefish, elude their enemy's grasp. With all proper deference, however, to the privy-council, I will take the liberty of examining more minutely the foundation of their structure. If, by pointing out its defects, I should happen to overthrow their present tottering house, it will be some recompence afterwards to lay before them a plan for building up another more convenient and durable.

## S E C T. VIII.

IN a legislature compounded of several orders in the state, it is essentially necessary to their office, character, and use, as legislators, that they should be wholly independent of each other [l]. Such is the legislature of Great-Britain, consisting of king, lords, and commons; whose distinct rights and operations in legislature are sufficiently known and marked out, to prevent them from encroaching upon and overwhelming each other. "The two houses naturally drawing in  
"two directions, and the prerogative in another still opposite to them  
"both, they mutually keep each other from exceeding their proper limits; while the whole is prevented from separation, and  
"artificially connected together by the mixed nature of the crown,  
"which is a part of the legislative, and the sole executive magistrature."—"If the king had avowedly a right to animadvert  
"on either of the two houses of parliament, that branch of the legislature, so subject to animadversion, would instantly cease to  
"be part of the supreme power; the balance of the constitution  
"would be overturned; and that branch in which this jurisdiction  
"resided would be completely sovereign [m]." Our constitution,

[l] A man, independent of every one else, has no other rule to pursue but the counsels of his own reason; and, in consequence of this independence, he is freed from all subjection to another's will. In short, he is absolute master of himself and his actions. But the case is not the same with a man who is supposed to be dependent on another, as on his superior and master. The sense of this dependence ought naturally to engage the inferior to take the will of him on whom he depends for the rule of his conduct. This has more or less extent and effect, in proportion as the superiority of the one, and the dependence of the other, is greater or less.—Burlamaqui.

[m] Blackstone.

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therefore,



therefore, in this colony is far from being agreeable to the spirit of the English constitution; it is not so perfect as our first legislature, consisting only of a governor and a council of representatives of the people, which were each independent of the other in their legislative functions. When the privy-council (which seem to have been associated with the governor originally, as I have before remarked, as advisers to him in the exercise of his executive and legislative powers) became afterwards, by their own authority, converted into a third branch; there was necessarily an end put to the existence of a true and constitutional legislature. The privy-council, an unstable, dependent body, put in or turned out of their office at pleasure of the supreme executive powers, presumed to be under the constant influence of that power, by hopes, fears, reward, or coercions, cannot be deemed to form a constitutional check on the aspiring disposition or actual encroachments of a governor, or other minister, on the rights and immunities of the people; and, when attached by friendship, fear, servility, a sense of their dependent state, or other motive, to a governor's measures, they destroy that due equipoise which ought to be maintained between the crown and the subject; they likewise diminish in no small degree the legislative independency of the people's representatives. I have before shewn, that the king's will is the sole constituent of a privy-counsellor. But, although the king's will is sufficient for this particular end, it follows not, that, by willing them to be privy-counsellors, he at the same time wills them to be a legislative body. It is true, that, on becoming counsellors by the king's will, they exercise a legislative power; but they must either found this power on the king's will, or their own. In either case it is demonstrable, that such a power cannot be constitutionally maintained nor exercised upon such a foundation.

As the sovereign holds his legislative power originally of the will of each member of society; it is evident no man can confer upon another a right which he has not in himself; and consequently the legislative power of the crown is not to be extended beyond this limit. No derived power, (as the assembly observed, in their address to the king, in lord Carlisle's time,) is greater than the primitive. To the same effect says the judicious Locke: "the will of the  
"people

" people alone can appoint the form of the commonwealth ; which  
 " is, by constituting the legislative, and appointing in whose hands  
 " that shall be. And, when the people have said, ' We will submit  
 " to rules, and be governed by laws, made by such men, and in  
 " such forms ; ' no body else can say, ' Other men shall make laws  
 " for them ; ' nor can the people be bound by any laws but such as  
 " are enacted by those whom they have chosen and authorized to  
 " make laws for them. The power of the legislative, being de-  
 " rived from the people by a positive voluntary grant and institu-  
 " tion, can be no other than what that positive grant conveyed ;  
 " which being only to make laws, and not to make legislators, the  
 " legislative can have no right to transfer their authority of making  
 " laws, and place it in other hands ; the legislative neither must nor  
 " can transfer the power of making laws to any body else, nor place  
 " it any where, but where the people have." It is not constitu-  
 " tionally, then, in the power of the crown to elect a legislature of  
 " its own, to give laws to the people : nor does this impeach the  
 " king's right of delegating his negative voice to the governor here on  
 " bills passed by the assembly ; for it is well known, that the king does  
 " delegate a like authority (as it were by proxy) to execute, by com-  
 " mission, the royal will and power, in the proroguing, adjourning, or  
 " dissolving, the parliament, as well as in declaring the royal assent or  
 " negative to parliamentary bills, which have passed the two houses.  
 " His delegation, therefore, is of a like authority, by commission under  
 " the great seal, to his governor here, and is legal, and consistent with the  
 " foregoing principles. But, as the second legislative branch, or house  
 " of lords, could not subsist here as in England, because we have not  
 " that class of subjects among us, there was no room left for any but  
 " the two other constitutional branches, consisting of king and com-  
 " mons ; the parliament of Great-Britain, and people of the colony,  
 " having not interposed, nor empowered the crown by any positive act  
 " to confer legislative authority on a third branch.

The assemblies of this island have always been summoned by writ  
 directed to the provost-marshal-general, who stands for high-  
 sheriff in this system : but the privy-council are called together by  
 no writ, nor any other way than by notice or letter from their clerk,  
 like the privy-council in Great-Britain ; for, as they could not by

mere *dictum* of the crown be made a legislative body, and were not originally and legally endued with the rights and powers incidental to a British legislature, they cannot legally make themselves what the sovereign himself is unable to make them. Parliamentary writs of summons are issued to both houses *ex debito justitiæ*; and this is the constitutional mode of their assembling for legislative purposes, and to which they are entitled as of right, in the same manner as they are to any other constitutional right: so, if they were voluntarily to assemble without these writs, their meeting would not be called a parliament, but a convention; which was the case when James II. abdicated. The parliament was afterwards necessitated to enact a law for making the acts of that convention legal. But to these writs, or any summons resembling them, our privy-council, being no constitutional part of the legislature, are not entitled, and cannot be called together in this manner for legislative purposes. Their meeting is in the nature of a convention; and their acts of legislation would have no stamp of legality, if the laws, passed in the course of every session, did not in some degree confer it *pro tempore* in the enacting part, by the words, "Be it enacted by the governor, council, and assembly." In these acts, the assembly pray or petition; which indicates their sole right of framing: and the governor, council, and assembly, enact or ratify. But, whatever toleration in this respect the people of the island may appear to have expressed by their representatives, it did not arise from their positive voluntary grant, and has not therefore been obtained in so effectual a manner, as to testify a full and absolutely perfect consent on their part; which, indeed, could only be manifested by their instructing their representatives to pass a bill for establishing the privy-council for the time being into a distinct branch of the legislature. I shall add further, on the preceding head, that the proclamation, issued in his majesty's name for calling the assembly to meet after a prorogation, extends to the assembly, or house of representatives only. This, in some colonies, is called the "general assembly;" and, in others, "the commons house of assembly." But, in Great-Britain, his majesty's proclamation in the like case runs to the "parliament" generally; which word comprehends the upper and lower houses. The journals (as they are called) of the privy-council,

cil, respecting their legislative business, are at this day entered up in the same manner as the minutes of the privy-council, the governor's name excepted. They begin with the names of the members present, the president or senior counsellor being the first-named. In the like manner were their journals or minutes kept in former time, when the governors sat with them; only with this difference, that the governor's name was also inserted as present among them; in which they followed the method of the privy-council in Great-Britain, whose minutes begin thus, "present the king's most excellent majesty." Then follows the lord president's name; and after him the other members, according to seniority. The governor's name was not omitted, till our privy-council took occasion to vote themselves into a distinct legislative body; when they likewise made a distinction between their minutes and journals, assigning the former to their proceedings as a privy-council, and the latter (in imitation of the house of lords), as a receptacle for their legislative business. This expedient shews clearly the embarrassment they were under, and the utter impossibility they found, in attempting the unnatural incorporation of a privy and a legislative council. In short, could we suppose a while the house of lords to be wholly extinct by the natural death of all the peers of Great-Britain and their male line, and that the king thought fit to create no new ones; but, in order to have a third estate in the realm, should take upon him to let the members of his privy-council exercise the same powers and rights, and fill this gap in the British legislature with that body of subjects; who is there would not say this mode of creating such a branch is illegal, and inconsistent with the British frame and constitution of government, from whence alone the legislative orders of the kingdom are to derive their formation and essence, and which have given the sovereign no power to substitute any other form, or to supply such a defect, if such should ever happen, by any other means than what that constitution has prescribed, namely, by his majesty's ennobling his privy-council, or a number of any other of the common people, and so creating a new body of peers in the room of the former one? This high prerogative was doubtless allowed the sovereign, that he might from time to time replenish the house of peers with new members; and,

by

thus infusing (as it were) fresh blood and vigor into that body, preserve it from falling to utter decay; and support in perpetuity so useful a counter-balance in the scale of legislature. But although the sovereign, in virtue of this prerogative, seems to be the creator of this legislative branch; yet let not an argument be drawn from hence, to shew the legality or right of his constituting a distinct legislative branch in the colonies. The barons and commons of the realm were the original creators of the house of peers, and the founders of this prerogative, to ensure to their posterity an effectual check on despotism in the sovereign, on oppression and ambition in the barons or powerful landholders, and on the leveling spirit of the common people. The sovereign is obliged to exercise this prerogative at the request of the nation; and though, by the exercise of it, peers are created, and in virtue of the royal patent enjoy the powers and rights hereditarily appurtenant to nobility, and, among the rest, those of legislation and jurisdiction over all the inferior courts; yet they are entirely independent of their creator, the sovereign. Admitting, therefore, that the king is bound to give his British subjects in the colonies a British constitution of government in all practicable forms, and that he may create a third legislative body there, in as strict conformity as possible to the house of peers; it is undeniable, that this conformity and due similitude is not, cannot be, maintained, unless the body so created be left entirely independent of the crown.

This reasoning, applied to the constitution of our colony as at present modeled, seems to prove it extremely incongruous with the spirit and frame of that of Great-Britain: and, if it may not receive amendment in this respect, I should esteem it the interest of our privy-council, composed of gentlemen who hold a large share of property in the island, and who must stand or fall with it, to handle the business of their legislative with the utmost delicacy and moderation; in such a way as is becoming and necessary in all cases where the right of using certain powers, which affect the well-being of a whole society, is in the least questionable; for, when exercised otherwise, it must tend to disturb the public peace with the tumult of faction, and obstruct, by vain controversy, the public justice, business, and happiness. It is fruitless to expect, that the

people of Jamaica will ever be brought to acknowledge, that the members of their privy-council are, *ex officio*, dukes and earls.

### S E C T. IX.

I DO not know how our constitution could be amended in this respect, unless by act of assembly promoted by instruction from the elective body of people in the island, and confirmed by the crown, or by an act of parliament. For example's sake only, I shall here delineate a plan which perhaps might effectually answer the purpose.

Let us suppose, then, the privy-council to be divested of every function, except what is peculiar and proper to them as a privy-council; and to consist, as now, of twelve members appointed by his majesty's privy-seal, who, by way of distinction above the ordinary class of subjects, might be knighted.

In order to form a third, distinct, and independent legislative estate, twelve men of good ability, and clear fortune in the island to a specific amount, might be returned by the assembly out of their own body. These twelve gentlemen, assisted by the chief-justice and attorney-general (to advise, but not to vote), would form a third estate. They should be summoned regularly at every meeting of assembly by writ, and hold their legislative and judicial offices *quoadvis se bene gesserint*. Their judicature should lie in matters of error and fine. For offences against the duties of their office, the members individually should be subject to impeachments from the house of representatives; and, if found guilty upon a fair trial, at which the chief-justice might preside as high steward, they should be excluded *pro tempore* from their legislative and judicial functions by the governor; and, in case the sentence should be afterwards confirmed by the crown, the delinquents should be disqualified from exercising again in their former capacity, and an equal number called up to serve in their place.

Upon an equal division of votes on such occasions, the final determination might rest with his majesty, on consideration of the whole evidence on both sides the question.

All

All vacancies, happening from time to time by death or disqualification, should be supplied with fit persons, chosen by the crown or governor, out of the principal freeholders, having the legal qualification of landed income; and summoned to serve by a writ, or patent, under the great seal of Great Britain, or the island.

Members, absent from the island for the time of more than a twelvemonth and a day, should not, after their return to the island, be again admitted to their seat and function till a vacancy happened; when they might claim, and be reinstated in both.

The chief-justice and attorney-general might be privy-counsellors, and vote at elections for representatives in assembly; but not be eligible into the house of assembly during the tenure of their law-offices.

The privy-council, being thus confined within their just and proper department, would not be disabled from holding a share in legislation; for they might (the law-officers excepted) be eligible into the assembly, if the people should think fit to elect them. To prevent an undue weight being thrown into the scale by this means against the popular interest, and to remove any jealousy they might conceive against the privy-counsellors; six additional representatives, viz. two for each county, might be given to the house of representatives; which would make the whole number of that body amount to forty-nine.

The two legislative branches might be distinguished under the title of "The upper house," and "the lower," or "Commons house."

Objections may be made to this plan, in respect to the great number of absentees, and a scarcity of persons here fitly qualified. The whole number that would compose the privy-council, upper and lower houses, amounts only to sixty-eight persons, supposing the privy-council to obtain seats in the assembly, which would probably happen; and surely the island is populous enough to supply much more than that number of well-qualified persons. The chief-justice and judges of the supreme court, together with the attorney-general, might, if the crown thought fit, be all of the privy-council: in this case, there would be less inconvenience in finding proper men to fill the several departments. I would not be understood

understood to mean this as a compleat description of what an upper legislative house might or ought to be; but only as a sketch or hint on which others, endued with better capacity, may improve, and reduce into more perfect form. Something of this kind seems required, to make our constitution more truly British than at present it is. If the limits of this third branch were clearly and constitutionally planned and ascertained, I am persuaded the government of this island would not afterwards be so often embarrassed with the strifes and animosities of council and assembly, assembly and governor; for the respective branches must then know and acknowledge each other's rights, and jurisdictions, as plain and undoubted: they would therefore cooperate, without jealousy or apprehension, in giving energy and tranquillity to administration; whilst they, who held properties in this island, or were desirous of becoming settlers in it, would be much better satisfied, when they found that they could, even in this remote part of the empire, enter into full enjoyment and inheritance of a compleatly British form of government. The present form of government may be regarded as among the foremost of provincial grievances; it is a monster that owed its birth to corrupt and unsettled times at home; but the inconveniences that have resulted from it, both to the island and the ministry, have been so notorious, that we can hardly find a reason for its being still suffered to exist. The dread of beginning to make a reform has probably affected both parties, and filled them with more jealousies than there was occasion for. A measure so capable of limitation as this cannot be introductive of hurt to the just rights of prerogative on the one side, or of popular liberty on the other; nor is it to be considered in the light of an innovation, since it only tends to assimilate the government of a British colony nearer to that of the mother state; the value and merit of which consist in the balance it preserves, between the ruling powers and the subordinate members of the society. And no solid reason can be alledged, why those subjects, who, for the benefit of the nation; have detached themselves into the small, distant, provincial communities, ought to be precluded from such a close and necessary assimilation, so far as is practicable.



(B.)

## PROCEEDINGS during the GOVERNMENT of the EARL of CARLISLE.

IN the first chapter I gave a short and general account of the struggle wherein the people of the colony were engaged with their governor lord Carlisle in the years 1678 and 1679. But, as this is a matter of greater importance than any occurring in the annals of our Jamaica government, I thought it would not be unentertaining to give the reader, in this place, a more minute detail of it; first reciting briefly some particulars which happened during the antecedent administrations, and have not before been mentioned. In 1662, lord Windfor arrived as governor to succeed colonel D'Oyley. He was accompanied by Sir Charles Lyttelton, who was appointed chancellor and lieutenant-governor. They brought the king's proclamation for encouraging the settlement of the island, a great seal, and mace. His lordship performed every thing that could be expected from him towards fulfilling the intent of his majesty's proclamation. But some rumours arose among the inhabitants, that he designed to exact many exorbitant fees and taxes on the great seal and land, on sugars, and other commodities. This suspicion, which was industriously spread through the island, and too readily credited, excited so much disgust in the minds of the old soldiers, that they were almost driven to mutiny. The governors, in order to prevent a general revolt, caused some of the leading men among them to be seized, and imprisoned under a strong guard. But, as the rest still continued to murmur, and threatened to relinquish their plantations, his lordship, to remove their jealousies, published a declaration; wherein, after expressing his great regard for the interest and happiness of the people, he assured them, that the reports of intended seal fees and taxes were raised by incendiaries and disturbers of the public peace; that they were utterly false and groundless; that no such impositions had been either appointed or intended; and, finally, that he had a due respect to the poverty of the inhabitants, and would never concur in burthening them more than

than was convenient to them. These assurances dissipated their fears, and gave general satisfaction. His lordship departed for England in 1663, leaving Sir Charles Lyttelton lieutenant governor; who about the beginning of December issued writs for electing a general assembly of representatives. This was the first assembly summoned under that description in the island; for the body of representatives, elected and convened by D'Oyley, was called a council. This assembly, or house of representatives, met at St. Jago de la Vega, on the 20th of January, 1664; chose Mr. Robert Freeman for their speaker; continued sitting till the 12th of February; and then adjourned till the 17th of May, to meet at Port Royal. It is said of them, that the members were very unanimous, feasted well, and composed a good body of laws. It appears, from this account, that this first assembly exercised the right of choosing their own speaker, and also of adjourning themselves for the space of more than three months; and that they sat alternately at St. Jago de la Vega and Port Royal, the former the seat of government, the latter of trade. Nothing further material occurred during Sir Charles Lyttelton's administration; at least nothing further has fallen within the compass of my information. But the opinion of this gentleman respecting Jamaica must not be omitted. He was ordered (as all other colony governors were) to lay his observations before his majesty in council. Among his other remarks, written in 1665, are the following: "The government, says he, is plain and easy, and was not truly  
 " (if I may have the liberty to say so) disagreeable; so are the laws,  
 " and their execution; neither merchant nor planter, that I know  
 " of, the least dissatisfied; every cause being determined in six  
 " weeks, with 30s. or 40s. charges. The acts of assembly are here  
 " sent, and most humbly desired to be confirmed by his majesty.  
 " The people are in general easy to be governed; yet apter to be  
 " led, than driven." From this picture we may judge, that the  
 people were extremely well pleased with their form of government;  
 that their laws were wisely adapted, and well executed; and justice  
 administered with all possible dispatch, and at a trifling expence.  
 The colony, so long as it was suffered to remain in this happy state,  
 could not fail of thriving. But wrong measures, conceived by the  
 board of trade and plantations, composed of men who were not

chosen or appointed for their knowledge in trade or plantations, but for their pliant disposition to assist the king's design of establishing arbitrary government in the colonies, entirely disturbed this good order; and the last observation of Sir Charles was fully verified in the sequel.

In 1664, Sir Thomas Modiford, successor to Lyttelton, convened the assembly; who, for some reasons which do not appear, came together with a temper very different from their predecessors. The house was divided into factions, and proceeded with all the heat and turbulence usually attendant upon party feuds. They were prorogued from time to time; and at length dissolved: after which, the governor thought proper to call no more assemblies during the remainder of his administration. In the course of their session we learn, that the clerk of the house, having persuaded them to leave the king's name out of the revenue-bill in the enacting part, and to insert the governor's, as personating the king in the office of passing the act, was taken out of the house by the governor's warrant, committed to gaol, and there detained for some time after the dissolution of that assembly. This anecdote probably furnishes the cause of the animosities prevailing in the house. The form of enacting had been prescribed in the king's instructions to the governor. Their objection lay to the insertion of the king's name in a money-bill, considering it as very different from other bills, which were not to take a permanent effect until revised at home; whereas the provisions in their money-bill were immediately to take place, and would expire before the crown could have notice of them: therefore, the governor's consent was all-sufficient. The true intention of this effort on the revenue-bill, perhaps, was, to exclude the crown in future from a double negative. If they had carried their point in this instance in a money-bill, they might have introduced the same form into all their other bills, and so established their principle, "that, the governor being here the representative  
" of the crown, his act should bind the crown; and the operation  
" of their laws, thus passed, not be impeded or suspended by waiting  
" for the king's determination upon them." Whatever might be their true reasons, it is certain this early spirit of opposition only served to quicken the plan, then under consideration of his majesty,

jeſty, for introducing into this colony a new frame of legiſlation, ſo contrived, as to take from their aſſembly all power of defending themſelves againſt any future act of tyranny exerciſed upon them either by the crown or its governor.

The earl of Carliſle was ſelected for carrying it into execution. His commiſſion, dated the 1ſt of March, 1678, empowered him, among other things, “to ſummon general aſſemblies of the free-  
“holders and planters within the iſland, and other the territories  
“thereon depending, in ſuch manner and form as had been for-  
“merly practiſed and uſed in the iſland; and to agree and conſent  
“to all laws, ſtatutes, and ordinances, for the public peace, welfare,  
“and good government, of the iſland, and territories thereunto be-  
“longing, and of the people and inhabitants: which ſaid laws, &c.  
“being framed with the advice and conſent of the council, ſhould  
“be tranſmitted to his majeſty, to be by him approved, and re-  
“mitted back under the great ſeal of England; the ſaid laws, &c.  
“to be framed as near as conveniently might be to the laws and  
“ſtatutes of England.” A power was likewise given him, “upon  
“invaſion, rebellion, or any ſudden and neceſſary emergency, to  
“paſs laws, with conſent of the aſſembly only, for raiſing money,  
“and without tranſmitting ſuch money-bills to his majeſty.”

The earl arrived here the 19th of July; and brought with him ſeveral laws, modeled by the lords commiſſioners for trade according to the Irish conſtitution, with the great ſeal of England affixed to them. Among others, was, “An act for ſettling a perpetual  
“revenue.”

It was provided, by the commiſſion and inſtructions, that the aſſembly ſhould give their conſent to this bundle of laws without the power of examining, or objecting to, any part of them; that no aſſembly ſhould be called, except by ſpecial order from England, or upon any extraordinary emergency. This was the intention of the words, inſerted in the commiſſion, “neceſſary emergency;” for, under the latitude of their conſtruction, it was left in the governor’s diſcretion to judge of, and to create, that neceſſity in what manner, and as often or as ſeldom as, he pleaſed. The aſſembly were never to deliberate on new laws, nor on amendments to old ones. All their laws in future were to be framed by the governor and his  
privy-

privy-council, and remitted from their board to his majesty; and, after receiving his approbation, they were to be returned under the great seal, and passed by the general assembly, after the usage of Ireland. This was the new system of legislation intended to be set up in Jamaica. In hopes to establish it, his lordship immediately issued out writs for calling an assembly. On their meeting, they chose colonel Beeston for their speaker. During the session, his lordship made frequent offers to corrupt the members, and pressed and importuned them, without ceasing, to pass the body of laws sent over. But they still modestly resisted his attempts and insinuations; declaring, "that the mode proposed was repugnant to the constitution of England, of which country they were the natural subjects; and that they were not desirous of living under any other than the laws of England." His lordship, finding he could not then prevail, and that no revenue was settled, gave them leave to pass a revenue bill for one year's duration. This he signed; and then dissolved them. Previous, however, to their dissolution, they rejected one by one all the laws which his lordship had imported with him; and passed an address, requesting, that he would intercede with his majesty for a change of orders.

His lordship accordingly represented their abhorrence to the new system; and the consideration of the business was thereupon referred to the lords of trade, who, with more obstinacy than wisdom, adhered to their former plan; and, upon their report to the king in council, the very same body of laws was again sent to the governor, accompanied with his majesty's order in council, that these laws should once more be tendered to the assembly; and, in case of their refusal to pass them, that he should instantly dissolve the house, and continue to govern without an assembly. Such was the pernicious advice offered by the ministers of the board of trade to his majesty. The illegality of it was afterwards proved by the opinion of the twelve judges; the tyranny it was calculated to enforce is almost without example. In a more virtuous age, such counsel would have been thought a sufficient ground for impeaching and bringing them to condign punishment.

In 1679, the governor was no sooner possessed of this anathema, than he summoned an assembly; of which colonel Beeston was again

again chosen speaker. The laws, which had been enacted in lord Vaughan's administration, were continued by proclamation during his majesty's pleasure. His lordship then communicated his orders to the assembly; who received them submissively, but with a fixed and unanimous determination not to comply with them. However, as they perceived themselves strongly urged by the governor, both with persuasion and remonstrance; and that they were reduced to the dilemma of either admitting, or rejecting the form of constitution proposed; they privately agreed to take advantage of a popular rumour, at that time current; that the French had meditated a descent upon the island. They hinted therefore to his lordship how necessary it was, at this alarming juncture, that the officers then attending in the assembly and council should, for the general safety, be dispersed to their respective commands, in order to guard the coasts. Their real design, couched under this plausible representation of their danger, was merely to gain time; which they hoped might produce some alterations in their favour, or at least enable them to consult together with more privacy, calmness, and attention; in regard to the steps they ought to pursue on this trying occasion. Having passed a bill for continuing the impost six months longer, they presented it to his lordship; with a request, by their speaker, that he would prorogue them for some time, that they might take proper measures for securing the island against the expected attack. His lordship, influenced by the dread of a foreign enemy, readily assented to their desire, signed the bill, and prorogued the house to the 20th of October. They employed this precious interval in advising with their constituents, and framing an address to his majesty against the new model; which was brought in, and resolved in their next session.

On their meeting again according to the prorogation, his lordship renewed his caresses and most pressing intreaties; labouring to convince them, that it must tend inconceivably to promote their interest and welfare, if they would submit to wear the badge of slavery manufactured for them by the lords of trade. But the assembly practised every art to spin out the time with a variety of delays; and by this means avoided coming to the point with him until the 14th of November, when they presented him with their address to the king,

in answer to the report of the lords of trade; and after several meetings of committees, and attendances upon his excellency, they by degrees voted against every one of the laws transmitted from England. The governor, equally surprized and enraged at their firmness and unanimity, perceiving that all his gentle arts of persuasion were disregarded, began to try the effects of intimidation. He threatened, that, if they persisted in their refusal, he would find a way to punish such stubborn disobedience, by sending the leaders of them prisoners to England, to be dealt with there by his majesty as disaffected and rebellious to government.

On the 1st of December, he commanded the speaker, with the whole house, to attend him; and then produced before them the form of an oath drawn up by himself, which he informed them was a test of their principles and loyalty; and that, if any person among them refused to take it, he should consider the recusant as disaffected to his majesty's government. He insisted they should all take the oath in his presence; and began first with their speaker, colonel Beeton, who, on its being tendered to him, desired to be excused, adding, "that he had often taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and was ready on all occasions to take them again; that he knew of no other oaths imposed on his majesty's subjects by law, and therefore would not take this, for which there was no authority." Upon this speech, several members, both of council and assembly, refused the test. This resolute conduct drove his lordship beyond all the limits of moderation and decency. He broke out into the most passionate gesticulations; upbraiding them in a strain of bitter invective, and even scurrility; distinguishing a few among the recusants more particularly with abuse and insult. This furious demeanor so terrified some of the members of each body, that about four or five of them were pusillanimous enough to swallow the oath.

But let it be recorded, to the eternal honour of the major part, that they rejected his illegal proposition with the disdain it deserved; and held such command over their passions at this trying crisis, that, considering the governor a meer tool of oppression, employed by his superiors to carry this odious measure into execution, they deemed him unworthy their resentment, and returned  
his

his insolent language with nothing but a silent contempt. This was an example of cool forbearance, singular in these times, and clearly indicated the good sense and manly fortitude which characterized these patriots. Among the council was colonel Long, who was likewise chief justice of the island. He had warmly opposed the introduction of this Irish model, and declared his approbation of the speaker's reasons for refusing the oath. The governor was exasperated with a peculiar rancour against both these gentlemen, but more especially the former, whom therefore he immediately suspended from his seat in council, and dismissed him from all his other posts and employments. His excellency dissolved the assembly, and determined to call no more; but, finding himself generally abhorred for his violences, and dreading, perhaps, the resentment of an enraged people, he took a resolution about the middle of April, 1680, of departing for England with all convenient speed. That he might present himself before majesty in a more acceptable manner, and make some amends for his inability to carry so favourite a point which the ministry had espoused and recommended to his management, he determined to take with him, as state prisoners, several of the leading men among his opponents. But, recollecting afterwards the inconveniency of being burthened during the voyage with so great a number, he singled out two of the principal, Long and Beeston; commanding the former to repair on board the same ship which was to convey his excellency. Beeston had just before engaged for passage in another vessel, intending a voyage to England on his private affairs: but the governor, being informed that he was not seriously bent on the voyage, sent for the attorney-general to acquaint him with what he had heard; and desired him to let colonel Beeston know, that his excellency expected, and insisted on, his immediate embarking. That he might make sure of colonel Long, he committed him to prison, and there kept him until the ship was ready for sea; at which time, his excellency caused him to be conveyed on board, and carried him a prisoner to England. This gentleman, after being landed in England, exhibited several articles before his majesty in council against the earl; accusing him of sundry misdemeanours in government; charging him particularly with having given private encouragement



to many noted pirates, and shared in their booty. The earl made but a very imperfect defence; consisting, chiefly, of recriminations on his accuser, as the chief adviser and abettor of the party who had manifested so much disobedience to his majesty's orders; the which was the more censurable, as he had been one of the privy-council. In what manner their dispute terminated is not at present material to set forth. The public contest with the island was, upon a reference to all the judges, decided entirely in their favour, as I have before related; and their old frame of government restored to them, with many gracious assurances from the throne. The discreet conduct, and undaunted spirit; of those virtuous patriots, who had stood forth and successfully opposed this execrable machination, under so many disadvantages, and with so much loss to their private fortunes, are highly to be respected. Their memory deserves the most grateful tribute of encomium from the present inhabitants, and to be transmitted with honour through every succeeding generation; for it is to them we owe, in a great measure, the present flourishing state of the island, which could not have resulted from a despotic frame of government.

ABSTRACT of a FRAGMENT containing MINUTES of the two ASSEMBLIES held by his Excellency the EARL of CARLISLE.

1678, Sept. 7th.

Upon the question on the bill of revenue, sent with others under the great seal of England to be passed here, the house assent, as their first reason against consenting to it;

Because no money was ever raised in Jamaica by order of the governor and council; unless in colonel D'Oyley's time; when, pursuant to his commission, the counsellors were chosen by the king's writ, and consequently were the representatives of the people.

On the bill for confirming all orders of council:

Reason against passing it;

Because no orders were ever made by the council alone, unless when the government devolved upon them, and they chose a president.

Oct. 3.

On passing the bill for a public impost :

Question. Whether the enacting part of that bill should pass under the style of "Governor, council, and assembly," or "By the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the council and general assembly?"

Resolved for the latter.

Oct. 8th.

The impost-bill, with the council's amendments, were brought into the house from his excellency by the speaker.

Oct. 9th.

The committee of the assembly, at a conference hereon with a committee of the council, say, that, upon the objections made to the bill of impost, the title is, "By a committee of the council;" and in the second amendment the council is left out. The assembly desire to know, Whether the council consider themselves as a distinct body, or not, in the making of laws? If they are, they ought not to leave themselves out. If they are not, then they are included in the general assembly, and their consent already in the bill, and consequently cannot make objections to it.

The council promise an answer, in writing, after first consulting with his excellency.

His excellency sent for one of the committee of the house, and asked him, what the meaning of the question was; that it seemed captious, and, he thought, had a double meaning; that he knew no reason why the council should define themselves; and that the king's command was positive as to the style of the laws.

The house prayed the council would give some answer in writing, as they had promised; but, not being willing (or able) to comply, the governor delivered the following answer in writing for them to the committee of the house:

The king hath empowered his governor, with his council here, to frame all laws that are to be enacted by his majesty and the general assembly; so his majesty's council, when required by his governor, ought to frame all fit laws; and, if to frame a new, then to alter a form proposed. This committee of the council was appointed by his excellency to confer with a committee of the general

assembly about the framing of the bill of impost. The style of passing laws here by the general assembly is now made positive, and ought not to be disputed by any.

Resolved by the house not to proceed on the amendments.

Reply to his excellency.

The general assembly do conceive that, "by your excellency's commission and instructions," the council are only to frame such bills as are to be sent home to his majesty; but, for such laws as his majesty doth upon very great necessities permit to be passed here, the bills are to arise, as this bill did, with the assembly; and it is not a form proposed, but a bill completely and solemnly passed.

The council therefore cannot make any amendments, unless they do so as a distinct estate; and, if so, they must either be named in the bill, or define themselves what they are: for none can be supposed to have any share in the legislative power, unless their names are used in the public acts, which are the only true and essential marks of their authority.

This committee of the council was not appointed to join with the general assembly in framing the bill of impost; but the bill was framed and took its rise in the assembly; and, having been three times read, and passed, was sent up to the governor and council; and the amendments, which are read by the council, were proposed by them as a distinct estate: otherwise a conference would not have ensued.

The assembly do not dispute the style of the laws, but are very desirous to know whether the council are not included in the general assembly; for, otherwise, until the council do declare themselves to be a distinct body in the making of laws, they cannot receive any amendments from them, nor confer with them; and the governor, who is here *in loco regis*, is only to give his affirmative or negative; so that the bill must stand or fall in the same manner as it was sent up.

The speaker and the house attended his excellency with the bill of impost, and amendments made thereto by the council.

His excellency took notice of their reply to his answer on part of the council; and said, that "for the council to define themselves was more than they could do, since their authority was derived

“ from the king; and his majesty only ought therefore to ascertain “ it;” That, upon reading his instructions, he was very clear, that the council had a virtual power in the framing of laws, but not a nominal; that, by the new constitution of government, they were not to frame and prepare the laws: and that he had never given permission to the house to pass this bill, but had suffered them to go on in that business without interruption, since his majesty had not declared to the contrary: that they acted ill in raising scruples; and if the question was captious, it must not be answered.

He desired to know, whether they would receive a bill from him and council, and bad them consider of it.

The house sent this message :

The assembly have already passed a bill for the impost; and, until they know what is become of that, they do humbly conceive, they are not obliged to take into consideration another bill of the same quality; nor are they obliged to make any previous answer.

His excellency ordered the whole house to attend him.

He desired to know, Whether or not the house were willing to let a committee of the house confer with a committee of his council about the bill of impost, upon amendments made by himself, and to bring their reports to him?

Resolved by the house, to appoint a committee to confer with a committee of the governor's council.

Oct. 10th.

The committee of the house reported, that they had met the committee of the governor's council; and acquainted them, that they had not considered the amendments, and therefore were not provided for a conference; but, if the council's committee would give them a copy of the amendments, they would meet and confer with them the next morning.

A copy was accordingly given.

The first amendment to the bill was by striking out the words “ advice and.” To this the house disagreed.

The second was, by striking out the words “ council and the;” to which the house agreed. The style of the bill would then have stood

flood thus: "By and with the advice and consent of the general assembly," leaving out the council.

There were several other amendments; to most of which the house disagreed.

The house then sent a message to his excellency, that they had considered of the amendments, and found several of them very reasonable. Wherefore they desired his excellency's opinion, Whether he would put an end to this bill, that they might go on to the raising of another, or else to advise them how they should otherwise proceed?

His excellency desired the bill and amendments might be brought to him in the morning; and, if he saw further occasion, he would have another conference.

Oct. 11th.

The bill for a public impost was engrossed, signed by the speaker, and sent up to his excellency.

His excellency ordered the speaker and the whole house to attend him.

Here is no further entry; so it is presumed he dissolved them.

#### SECOND ASSEMBLY,

Convened the 19th of August, 1679.

The speaker made the usual petition for freedom from arrests, freedom of debate, and access to his excellency's person; which he freely and immediately allowed.

A committee of the house having been appointed to examine Mr. Martin, the receiver-general, his accompts of the revenue; they reported, that Mr. Martin told them, he had been with his excellency, who had ordered him to come and acquaint them, both from the king and his excellency, that the receiver-general was not obliged to shew his accompts to the assembly; but that he had delivered them to his excellency; and, if any of the committee were desirous of seeing them, they might see them in his hands.

Whereupon the house resolved, *nem. con.*

That it was their undoubted and inherent right, that, as all bills for money ought to, and do, arise in their house, so they ought

ought to appoint the disposal of it, and to receive and examine all the accompts concerning the same.

The house sent up to his excellency a revenue-bill which they had passed.

The whole house were ordered to attend him.

His excellency desired that the clause, or tack, "for continuation of the act for regulating fees," might be left out; and he would take care to put it in force by his proclamation.

On the question, the house resolved, that the clause, or tack, should stand, and that they should adhere to their bill.

August 28th.

The house desired a recess for two months; which was granted.

Oct. 20th.

The house met according to prorogation.

Nov. 13th.

His excellency acquainted a committee of the house of the debts on the revenue, amounting to 3000*l.* which, if paid, would not leave a competent sum to defray the charge of repairing the fortifications; that, if the house would not themselves fall upon the framing a bill to establish a fund for payment of that sum, he would leave them without excuse, by sending a bill down to them.

The whole house ordered to attend.

The speaker brought into the house a revenue-bill, delivered him by his excellency.

Nov. 14th.

On the question: Ordered to be read.

On the question, Whether it ought to pass or not, it not arising in the house?

Resolved, *nem. con.* Not to pass.

The speaker and whole house waited on his excellency with their humble address to the king.

Nov. 18th.

The house passed a revenue bill of their own framing.

Nov. 19th.

The speaker informed the house, that his excellency had sent to desire a committee of the house should meet a committee of the council.

council that morning at seven o'clock, to consider upon amendments of the bill of revenue.

A committee was accordingly appointed.

His excellency sent back the bill of revenue with his own amendments; which were read. ¶

A message was sent to acquaint his excellency, that the house is inclined to adhere to their bill; for that it admits of no amendments, "the king only consenting to, or disapproving of, bills, "when presented to him."

Nov. 20th.

The house resolved, to adhere to their bill, and send it up again to his excellency.

The whole house commanded to attend directly.

The speaker reported his excellency's speech, "that seeing the "house will not consent to the amendments, he, in the king's "name, rejected the bill."

*Cætera desunt.*

#### REASONS offered by the ASSEMBLY to justify their REJECTION of the new Mode of LEGISLATION.

1. That, being English subjects, they have a right to be governed as such; and to have their liberty and property secured by the laws of England, or by others of their own making.

2. That, in the proclamation brought over by lord Windsor, the king was graciously pleased to grant freedom and denization, as an encouragement for families to transport themselves.

3. That his majesty had been pleased by his several commissions to his governors to declare it; which commissions are recorded for the people's satisfaction and encouragement; and that they had for sixteen or eighteen years been governed by the laws of England.

N. B. This refers to the first establishment under colonel D'Oyley, *anno* 1660; or, perhaps, rather to lord Windsor's government in 1662.

4. That all the other British colonies have, and ever had, assemblies; and their laws take origin from them.

5. That they conceive the Irish mode of passing laws will be too tedious, because of the vast distance, and of the frequent changes of the planters interest.

6. That

6. That this Irish mode was desired by the English to support them against the Irish; but that they of Jamaica were all English, and the conquerors as well as planters of that fertile island; and that they had paid there above a sixth part of what the Irish produce in Ireland.

7. That they much feared a noise of any such change of government might induce many to desert the island, and their merchants to forbear trading.

8. That if the king's commissions have appointed them there, and if they have been constituted in all the colonies from their first settlement sixty years ago, as a government most just, and like that of England; then they hope, that they alone, of all the colonies, shall not be retrenched of the privileges natural to such assemblies; but that, if particular persons have offended, they may suffer the change, and not the colony.

9. That they hoped his majesty would be pleased to consider that his interest, and that of trade, were involved in theirs; "for it is the planter who must defend and improve the colony; and agreeable laws will best persuade him to do it."

ABSTRACT of the ADDRESS of the ASSEMBLY to the KING in COUNCIL, in Reply to the REPORT of the LORDS of TRADE.

1679.

WE therefore humbly beg your majesty will with patience be pleased to hear the account of our proceedings; which truly to manifest, we must be forced to look back so far as Sir Charles Lyttelton, and Sir Thomas Modiford, their entrance upon their governments; at which time, we humbly conceive, the island really began to take up the form of civil government, and wholly to lay by that of the army, which until that time was supported by supreme authority; when after their several arrivals, by order of his majesty, and according to the method of his majesty's most ancient plantations, they called an assembly, and settled the government of the island in such good form, that, until his excellency the earl of Carlisle's first arrival, you thought fit not to alter it; though several governors in that time were changed; which must necessarily infer the goodness and reason of it, as well as the



satisfaction of the people; since, from that time, they betook themselves to settle and plant, especially the merchants; by which means the estates here are wonderfully increased, as is evident by the number of ships loading here, by the industry of the planters, and the satisfaction they receive by those wholesome laws then begun, and from that time continued; so that the change of them need not have been made with such mature deliberation from home.

We cannot imagine that the Irish model of government was, *in principio*, ever intended for Englishmen: besides, that model was introduced among them by a law made by themselves in Ireland; and consequently, as it bound them by being generally known to all those who removed thither, they have no reason to repine, it being their own choice to live under it, or to stay away from it, and was made for the preservation of the English from the Irish faction. As there is not the same cause, so there is not the same reason for imposing it upon us; unless we (as they did) consent to it ourselves, who are all your majesty's natural-born subjects of your kingdom of England; which is the reason the parliament gave, in all their acts [n] that concern the plantations, for obliging us by them to what places, and with whom, and in what manner, we may trade; and which impose a tax on us here, in case of trade from one colony to another: and it is but equitable, then, that the same law should have the power of loosing, as well as binding. They never desired any power but what your majesty's governor assured them was their birth-right, and what they supposed your majesty's gracious proclamation assured them also. Your majesty was graciously pleased to write a letter to your governor, Sir Thomas Lynch, after the double trial of one Peter Jansen, a pirate, "signifying your dislike that any thing should be done that should cause any doubt in your subjects here of not enjoying all the privileges of your subjects of your kingdom of England," or to that effect. But, as to obstructing of justice against Brown the pirate, what they did, though not justifiable in the manner, was out of an assurance, that there was no law in force here to declare the lord chancellor's power in England, and our chancellor's here, equal, in granting commissions in pursuance of the statute of Henry VIII;

[n] Navigation act, &c.

which

which also your majesty and council perceiving, have, in this new body of laws, sent one to supply the want [o]. As to the imprisonment of Mr. Thomas Martin, one of their members, for taking out process in chancery, in his own private concern, against several other members and one of the council (the assembly then sitting), and for other misdemeanours and breaches of the rules of the house, they hope it is justifiable; your majesty's governor having assured them, "that they had the same powers over their members, which the house of commons have over theirs; and all speakers here praying, and the governors granting, all usual petitions of speakers in England."

It is beyond all controversy, that the old form of government, which was ordered so much like your majesty's kingdom of England, must of consequence be of great encouragement to all your majesty's subjects, as well as strangers, to remove themselves hither, upon your majesty's gracious proclamation in Lord Windsor's time; and by those gracious instructions given to Sir Thomas Modiford. All or most part of the sugar plantations have likewise been sett ed upon the model at first constituted, and in belief that the settlers lost none of their privileges, as your majesty's subjects of your kingdom of England, by their removal hither.

Having therefore by no act, as we believe, provoked your majesty, or forfeited our rights, by even desiring or attempting to lessen or question your majesty's prerogative, the inviolation whereof we have ever esteemed the best means of preserving our privileges and estates; we shall hope for the continuance of your majesty's favours. And, whereas their [p] lordships are pleased to offer their advice to your majesty, to furnish your governors with such powers as were formerly given to colonel D'Oyley and others, in whose time the then accounted army was not disbanded, but to

[o] In 1677, during lord Vaughan's administration, this governor issued a commission, according to the statute of Henry VIII, for the trial of Brown for piracy: upon which he was condemned to die; and the governor signed a warrant for his execution. But, it being conceived that the governor, as chancellor of the island, was not legally vested with a power of ordering such a commission-court, colonel Long, at that time chief-justice, granted a *habeas corpus* to Brown after his condemnation; and the assembly voted a reprieve, and commanded obedience to it, alledging, that all the proceedings of the court were illegal and extrajudicial.

[p] The lords of trade.

continued to the lord Windsor's arrival, who brought over your majesty's royal donation [q], and orders to settle the civil government; we hope their lordships intend not, that we are to be governed as an army, or the governor empowered to lay any taxes by himself and council; since, your majesty having discharged yourself and council, by act of parliament [r], of any such powers over any of your subjects of the kingdom of England (as we undoubtedly are), it will be very hard to have any imposition laid on us but by our own consents; for, their lordships well know, no derived power is greater than the primitive.

However, if your majesty shall not think fit to alter this model, but that we are to be governed by the governor and council, according to their lordships advice; yet we humbly beseech your majesty will do us the grace to believe, that we are so sensible of our duty and allegiance, that our submission and comportment under your majesty's authority shall be such, as we hope that you, in your due time, will be graciously pleased to restore to us our antient form of government, under which it hitherto hath pleased God to prosper us, &c.

Sir Thomas Lynch, in 1679, concludes his state of the assembly's objections with these remarks: "It is probable, the assembly will reject the laws thus offered them. It is certain, there is an absolute necessity of a revenue; for the public charges are great, and the debts many. It is possible, the council will join with my lord, to order the laws for the government to be continued; but, I verily believe, they will not continue the revenue-bill, for that they think belongs particularly to the assembly; and, if they should attempt to continue it, it would not be without process; and I doubt not but the judges, &c. would quit, and juries constantly give it against the officers. It would be the same, or perhaps worse, if any order went from home, for the purpose of enforcing it; and would give umbrage to the rest of the colonies, which are under too many discouragements already, by the cheapness of their commodities, and the French power, growth, and trade; and the plantations seem more necessitous now than formerly. All which I humbly submit."

[q] To four regiments of the old soldiers who were settled.

[r] Stat. Car. I. cap. 10. § 5.

The same gentleman, in a subsequent account of the happy termination of this contest, says, “His majesty, upon the assembly’s humble address, was pleased to restore us to our beloved form of making laws; wherein we enjoy, beyond dispute, all the deliberative powers, in our assembly, that the house of commons enjoy in their house.”

(C.)

PROCLAMATION by OLIVER CROMWELL relative to JAMAICA,  
*A. D. 1655.*

WHEREAS, by the good providence of God, our fleet, in their late expedition into America, have possessed themselves of a certain island called Jamaica, spacious in its extent, commodious in its harbours and rivers within itself, healthful by its situation, fertile in the nature of the soil, and well stored with horses and other cattle, and generally fit and worthy to be planted and improved, to the advantage, honour, and interest of this nation :

And whereas divers persons, merchants, and others, heretofore conversant in plantations and trade of the like nature, are desirous to undertake and proceed upon plantations and settlements upon that island; we, therefore, for the better encouragement of all such persons so inclined, have, by the advice of our council, taken care, not only for the strengthening and securing of that island from all enemies, but for the constituting and settling a civil government, by such good laws and customs as are and have been exercised in colonies and places of the like nature; and have appointed surveyors, and other public officers, for the more equal distribution of public right and justice in the said island.

And, for the further encouragement to the industry and good affection of such persons, we have provided and given orders to the commissioners of our customs, that every planter, or adventurer to that island, shall be exempt and free from paying any excise or custom for any manufactures, provisions, or any other goods or necessities, which he or they shall transport to the said island of Jamaica

maica within the space of seven years to come from Michaelmas next ; and also, that sufficient caution and security be given, by the said commissioners, that such goods shall be delivered at Jamaica only. And we have also, out of our special consideration of the welfare and prosperity of that island, provided, that no customs, or other tax or impost, be laid or charged upon any commodity which shall be the produce and native growth of that island, and shall be imported into any of the dominions belonging to the commonwealth ; which favour and exemption shall continue for the space of ten years, to begin and be accounted from Michaelmas next. We have also given our special orders and directions, that no embargo, or other hindrance, upon any pretence whatsoever, be laid upon any ships, seamen, or other passengers, or adventurers, which shall appear to be engaged and bound for the said island. And we do hereby further declare, for ourselves and successors, that whatsoever other favour, or immunity, or protection, shall or may conduce to the welfare, strength, and improvement, of the said island, shall from time to time be continued and applied thereunto.

Given under our hand, &c.

OLIVER, Protector.

EXTRACT from CROMWELL'S INSTRUCTIONS to the COMMISSIONERS, Major-general FORTESCUE, Vice-admiral GOODSON, Major ROBERT SEDGEWICK, and DANIEL SERLE, 1656.

WHEREAS we have published and made known, unto the governors and people of the English islands and plantations in America, such terms and conditions as shall be granted to those who shall remove from thence to the island of Jamaica ; and have also, by patent under the great seal, granted to Martin Noell, merchant, of London, twenty thousand acres of land, parcel of the said island, with several privileges to be enjoyed by him, his heirs, and assigns, copies of which are herewith sent you : you are hereby authorized and required, to cause the same to be executed and observed on our  
part

part in all things, according to the true meaning and purport of them respectively; and to see what is to be done on their part be likewise performed.

You are hereby authorized to admit any other of the people of this commonwealth, or the dominions thereof, who are Protestants, to inhabit and plant upon any part of the said island, where you shall think convenient to allot them, upon the terms and conditions granted to the said Mr. Noel; and accordingly to assign and set forth land, and allow them the like advantages in all things; and what you shall do herein, pursuant to these instructions, we shall ratify and confirm.

You shall cause the terms and conditions to be published and proclaimed in the islands and plantations of the English in America, and use such other means as you shall find necessary for inciting people to come and plant upon this place, &c.

The patent, mentioned in the preceding instructions to have been granted to Mr. Noell, is not to be found among the records preserved in the island, the oldest of them not reaching so far back by many years. We cannot therefore judge with precision of the particular terms on which the lands were, under the proclamation of 1655, granted out to the settlers: indeed, for the most part, they were held under orders of survey issued by the commander in chief, or plats surveyed: and these orders and plats were assignable from one person to another, in the same manner as notes of hand. So little attention was paid to the law formalities usual in conveying and transferring landed property; and many tracts in the island are at this day held under no other original title than such indorsed or assigned orders; a form of which orders I have subjoined for the satisfaction of the reader.

JAMAICA, ff.

Whereas Mr. J. S. hath transported himself and family unto this island, with an intent to settle and abide here, and to that end hath requested me to grant him an order for his proportion of land at Port Morant, by the sea side, next adjoining to the plantation of J. D. being South-West by a great pond there, close to the sea-side; I do therefore hereby assign and appoint him two hundred acres  
of

of ground (according to a proclamation heretofore made) in the place afore-mentioned, to run it out as he shall think fit; and I do hereby require, that no person or persons belonging to the army, or [s] kingdom of England, molest or trouble him in the prosecution of his settlement, but rather to aid and assist him herein; provided this be not prejudicial to any former order by me made. Dated this 12th January, 16<sup>60</sup>/<sub>8</sub>.

EDW. D'OYLEY.

Recorded, the day and year above-written, in the secretary's office, at the general's house,

Per ARTHUR TOWN, secretary to the general.

LETTER from RICHARD POVEY, Esq; Secretary of JAMAICA, to a Gentleman in ENGLAND, by his Majesty's Ship BEARE, dated POINT CAGWAY, 27th Oct. 1662.

Though I know the accomplishments of his [t] excellency our noble governor are not unknown to you, being your report gave me the first joys both of his worth and adventures hither; yet I cannot be silent, or forbear to tell you, how he encountered with the nature of this climate as to his own constitution: for, as soon as he had left his genuine air, he found a flatness of his spirits, and an indisposition to his wonted action; but he most nobly withstood any possession of a disease, until he had fairly dismissed the old governor [u], satisfied the late army with his majesty's royal gift [w], chose a new militia, found employ for our fleet abroad, and had well settled the present government of this his majesty's island. Then (as I have just reason to lament in behalf of the public) he declined so much from his pristine health, that he could scarce hold up his head to debate with his council, how he might appoint such wholesome rules and laws for the quiet settlement of the inhabitants, and the improvement of this his majesty's island, and yet might be very satisfactory to invite many of his majesty's good subjects. And, this being effected, he might possibly grieve, that he found nothing more to do, but to hasten home, and there speak and declare the hopes of a new kingdom; which we rather

[s] This was after the Restoration of Charles II. instead of the word Commonwealth.

[t] Lord Windsor.

[u] Col. D'Oyley.

[w] A donation in money to the four regiments.  
persuade

persuade him to do, than to waste and spend his days here by a lingering, uncertain life, without any probability of recovering health.

This is, Sir, the brief history of our condition and affairs since the arrival of the lord Windsor among us; and we hope the prudent grounds he hath laid and left us will tend very much to our future improvement, and the service and satisfaction of his majesty, as well as the encouragement of all such as have relation or inclination to Jamaica.

(D.)

PROCLAMATION carried over by Lord WINDSOR, dated 13 Car. II.  
*Anno 1661.*

WE, being fully satisfied that our island of Jamaica, being a pleasant and most fertile soil, and situate commodiously for trade and commerce, is likely, through God's blessing, to be a great benefit and advantage to this and other our kingdoms and dominions; have thought fit, for the encouraging of our subjects, as well such as are already upon the said island, as all others that shall transport themselves thither, and reside and plant there, to declare and publish, and we do hereby declare and publish, that thirty acres of improveable lands shall be granted and allotted to every such person, male or female, being twelve years old or upwards, who now resides, or within two years next ensuing shall reside, upon the said island; and that the same shall be assigned and set out, by the governor and council, within six weeks next after notice shall be given in writing, subscribed by such planter or planters, or some of them in behalf of the rest, to the governor, or such officer as he shall appoint in that behalf, signifying their resolutions to plant there, and when they intend to be on the place; and, in case they do not go thither within six months then next ensuing, the said allotment shall be void, and free to be assigned to any other planter; and that every person and persons, to whom such assignment shall be made, shall hold and enjoy the said lands so to be assigned, and all



houses, edifices, buildings, and enclosures thereupon to be built or made, to them and their heirs for ever, by and under such tenures [x] as is usual in other plantations subject to us. Nevertheless, they are to be obliged to serve in arms upon any insurrection, mutiny, or foreign invasion. And that the said assignments and allotments shall be made and confirmed under the public seal of the island, with power to create any manor or manors, and with such convenient and suitable privileges and immunities as the grantee shall reasonably desire and require; and a draught of such assignment shall be prepared by our council learned in the law, and delivered to the governor to that purpose; and that all fishings and pisheries, and all copper, lead, tin, iron, coals, and all other mines (except gold and silver), within such respective allotments, shall be enjoyed by the grantees thereof, reserving only a twentieth part of the product of the said mines to our use. And we do further publish and declare, that all children of our natural-born subjects of England, to be born in Jamaica, shall, from their respective births, be reputed to be, and shall be, free denizens of England, and shall have the same privileges to all intents and purposes as our free-born subjects of England; and that all free persons shall have liberty, without interruption, to transport themselves and their families, and any their goods (except only coin and bullion), from any our dominions and territories to the said island of Jamaica. And we do strictly charge and command all planters, soldiers, and others upon the said island, to yield obedience to the lawful commands of our right trusty and well-beloved Thomas lord Windsor, now our governor of our said island; and to every other governor thereof for the time being: under pain of our displeasure, and such penalties as may be inflicted thereupon.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the fourteenth day of December.

*Per ipsum Regem*

[x] Free and common socage, paying a trifling quit-rent for every hundred acres yearly to the crown.

Although

Although the first planters of Jamaica had a clear, indisputable right to the benefit of any English statute in force at the time of their conquest; yet they conceived an extremely vague idea of this right. They excluded a statute of Henry VIII, for regulating the trial of pirates, as inadmissible: but they received into use the statutes of frauds, and *habeas corpus* act; though these were passed long after their conquest, and did not bind the island. They had found the *habeas corpus* by common law not quite so effectual a protection to liberty; which caused them to prefer the other. But their claim to these last-mentioned statutes was opposed both in the island and at home: and although their courts of justice and juries had grounded sundry determinations and verdicts upon them; yet, whenever the question came by appeal before the king in council, this tribunal declared, that neither these nor other English statutes, passed subsequent to the reduction of Jamaica, unless specially mentioning it, did extend to or bind that island. The people were not well pleased with an opinion which tended to impeach a multitude of judgements affecting large properties (which judgements had rested upon these statutes), and threatened to preclude them entirely from those advantages derived under them to their fellow-subjects in England. Besides, they found, that they could not get a confirmation of any acts of assembly containing similar provisions; the reason of which was, that they never would consent to pass a law for establishing a perpetual revenue. They were determined not to burthen their posterity with an oppressive taxation, which they apprehended might, as in the other islands, be misapplied to other purposes, and become inadequate to the support of government and fortifications, for which uses alone it was demanded; they feared it would only form the groundwork to new charges and impositions: they passed therefore their supply-bills for a duration only of one or two years. The crown, no less inflexible, refused not only to make perpetual the bills they framed adopting these beneficial statutes, but even the whole body of their laws. This struggle continued till the year 1728; when, under a more mild and considerate administration, this matter was brought to a compromise. The assembly in that year settled a permanent revenue, not burthen some to themselves, because chiefly arising on articles

of foreign growth and manufacture imported, and on quit-rents, fines, and forfeitures, which were surrendered up by the crown, and form a capital part of the fund of 8000*l. per annum*. In return for this, they obtained the royal confirmation of their most favourite and necessary acts of assembly, and the following declaration, expressed in the 31st clause of this revenue act.

“ And also all such laws and statutes of England, as have been  
 “ at any time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received, as  
 “ laws in this island, shall and are hereby declared to be, and con-  
 “ tinue, laws of this his majesty’s island of Jamaica for ever.”

This clause is justly regarded by the inhabitants as the grand charter of their liberties; since it not only confirmed to them the use of all those good laws which originally planted and supported freedom in England, but likewise of all the other provisions made for securing the liberty and property of the subject in more modern times; when, upon the several overthrows of tyrannic power in that kingdom, the subjects rights were more solidly fixed on the rational basis of three solemn compacts between the sovereign and people; at the Restoration of Charles II; the coronation of the prince of Orange; and, lastly, the accession of the House of Hanover.

The little clause before recited has cost the island, in fifty years, about 50,000*l.*, the net income of the revenue being about 10,000*l. per annum*. Yet, considering the unspeakable benefits derived to them in virtue of this compact, they do not think it too dear a purchase.

Having now, I presume, dwelt sufficiently upon the principles whereon the constitution of this colony was originally founded, shown wherein it differs from a truly English model, pointed out several abuses, and proposed their remedies; I shall emerge from the gloomy thicket of politics, and take an excursion into the regions of history.

## C H A P. XI.

*The Expedition to, and Conquest of, Jamaica.*

## S E C T. I.

**I**N various publications relative to this island, the proceedings of the army under Penn and Venables are so slightly touched upon, that I flatter myself it may not be unacceptable to give a more ample detail of them. A knowledge of the difficulties under which the founders of this colony struggled may inculcate a lesson of industry, unanimity, perseverance, and good order; for it was the want of these occasioned most of the disasters which befell the first race of settlers here. However much it may shock our humanity to reflect on the numbers who miserably perished; it is proper to consider, that they were the wretched victims to their own debauchery, indolence, and perverseness. The climate of the island has unjustly been accused by many writers on the subject, the one copying from the other, and represented as almost pestilential, without an examination into the real sources of this mortality; which being fairly stated, it will appear that the same men, carrying the like thoughtless conduct and vices into any other uninhabited quarter of the globe, must infallibly have involved themselves in the like calamitous situation. It is difficult to remove a stubborn prejudice, which has gained strength by the consent of popular opinion; but it is at least equitable to attempt some proof of its being erroneously founded. With this view, I shall lay before my reader the most material facts in my power to obtain, and from which he may form a candid judgement.

Thomas Gage, a Roman Catholic priest, who had for some years resided in New Spain, and was perfectly well acquainted with it, is said to have laid the first regular plan before Cromwell for invading and mastering the Spanish territories in America. He particularly advised the reduction of St. Domingo and Cuba; which

might easily pave the way for extending his conquests to the continent, and at the same time very much distress the king of Spain, by the means it would afford of intercepting the annual treasures remitted in the galleons, upon which that monarch chiefly depended for support, and without which he would be incapable of enterprizing any thing in Europe. He particularly recommended to Cromwell, not to undertake any hostility of this nature in America, until he had prepared so strong a naval armament as might protect the English coasts during the expedition, and prevent the Spaniards from attempting an invasion against them, in case the force to be employed in America should fail of success, or be destroyed. Colonel Modiford, a considerable planter of Barbadoes, thoroughly informed of the Spanish American dominions, was probably consulted on this occasion; for he urged to Cromwell the practicability of forcing a settlement on the continent somewhere in Guiana, and preferred it to an attack upon any of the islands. His reason for this opinion probably was, that, if an island was made the object of invasion, and conquered, it would excite a jealousy among all the sugar islands, by being planted and becoming a rival in their chief article of produce: whereas, on the continent, the settlers might be employed in making profitable returns to the mother country in various other products besides sugar. However, he recommended warmly, that, if a design against any of the islands should be thought more adviseable, Cuba presented itself as the most advantageous, because of the noble port and town of Havannah, which might be called the back-door of the West-Indies, as the Spaniards were obliged to navigate their treasures homeward through the gulph of Florida; and these might therefore easily be intercepted by keeping a sufficient squadron at the Havannah. When this affair came to be deliberated upon in council, it was determined to begin with attacking Puerto Rico, or St. Domingo, and from thence proceed to the acquisition of Cuba; it being supposed, that the Spaniards were too weak in those islands to withstand the force preparing to be sent against them; and that the possession of them would be attended with superior advantages in point of annoying the Spanish trade, and be retained with infinitely more security, as insular possessions are defensible by ships, and therefore preferable

preferable to continental; which latter require a numerous body of troops and inhabitants to guard against the irruption of their neighbours. It is certain, more wisdom was shewn in conceiving the plan of this expedition, than in executing it.

In 1654 a powerful fleet was equipped, and put under the command of admiral Blake, for carrying on the war in Europe, and protecting the coasts of England. Another fleet, consisting of about thirty ships and vessels of war, was got ready, and on the 26th of December, 1654, dispatched for the West-Indies, under command of admiral Penn, vice-admiral Goodson, and rear-admiral Blagge; to whom, with Venables, general of the land forces, was assigned a council of Commissioners, consisting of Edward Winslow, Daniel Serle, and Gregory Butler [y]. These commissioners were invested with a power of controuling, as well as of advising, all military operations. Nothing could be more absurd than such an appointment; and it proved, in the event, as might well be expected, the bane of the expedition. The chief motive for the appointment seems to have been no other than a low policy of keeping so many spies over the conduct of the principal officers in the fleet and army. On board the fleet were embarked about four thousand soldiers, composed, it is said, of two regiments of Cromwell's [z] veterans; of persons forced into the service; and, it is said, of about one hundred of the royal party; who, disgusted at the treatment their prince had received from the court of Madrid, were willing to join in any enterprize against the Spaniards [a]. On their

[y] Their secretary was Samuel Long, a lieutenant in colonel D'Oyley's regiment; distinguished, some years afterwards, by his opposition to the earl of Carlisle, while governor of Jamaica.

[z] This seems not to agree with some accounts, though conformable to others.

[a] Mr. Hume, in his account of this expedition, says, that "several sea-officers, having entertained scruples of conscience with regard to the justice of the Spanish war, threw up their commissions; that no command of their superiors, they thought, would justify a war which was contrary to the principles of natural equity." This he calls "an effect of the most innocent and honourable kind of that spirit, partly fanatical, partly republican, which predominated in England." For this anecdote, he quotes the authority of Thurloe, vol. VI. p. 570. 589. But, if the learned historian had given himself the pains to examine these authorities, he would not have committed so capital a mistake.

According to his account, the intention of attacking the Spaniards in the West-Indies was notorious to the subordinate officers of Penn's fleet. But the fact was directly the reverse. The destination of the fleet was kept so profound a secret, that none of the foreign ministers, then resident

in:

their arrival at Barbadoes, they beat up for volunteers ; and, having raised there four thousand foot, and two small troops of sixty horse, failed

in England, could penetrate into it : they had various conjectures, but no certain intelligence \*. Penn and Blake had no knowledge of it ; neither of them knew what the other was to attempt ; so far from it, they were not informed perfectly what themselves were to perform ; their orders were to be opened at sea ; and they had no further lights given them than were absolutely requisite for making the necessary preparations †. About the time of the fleet's sailing, some of the officers understood they were to go to Barbadoes, and for this reason carried private adventures ; but they were not told whether they were to engage French, Spanish, or Dutch subjects. The truth was, that, some time after the war broke out with Spain, the marquis of Ormond laboured to prevail with the Spanish monarch to assist Charles in his Restoration ; and endeavoured to persuade him, that the king of England could do more towards defeating Cromwell's attempts in the West-Indies, and assisting his Catholic majesty against his other enemies, than any other prince in Christendom. He urged, that, let the success of the English fleet be what it would in the West-Indies, if Cromwell was prevented from sending constant and full supplies thither, the design must come to nothing ; and, finally, that, if he would lend Charles such assistance and countenance as might facilitate the carrying on of his own affairs, the royal exile would be in condition to cut out so much work for Cromwell in the three kingdoms, as would leave him no time for attending to these remote expeditions ‡.

The Spanish ministry listened to these proposals ; and one colonel Sexby, a principal man among the levellers, was employed to bring about a revolt in the fleet. For this purpose, he received money from the court of Spain ; and an agent was employed in England to distribute it among the inferior officers. Charles himself sent over thirteen blank commissions ; and employed his emissaries in founding the boatwains and other petty officers ; and bribing the common seamen to a mutiny, by a promise of two month's pay in hand ||.

All these designs and intrigues were formed long after the departure of Penn's fleet ; and at the time when its destination ceased to be a secret.

After Penn's return from the conquest of Jamaica, he was disgraced ; his command in the fleet taken from him, and given to general Montague \*\*, who with Blake was appointed joint-admiral of the second fleet, fitted out in March, in the year 1656 ††, which was designed to intercept the Spanish plate fleet ; in effecting which, it was expected they might be obliged to cross the line, if not extend their operations into the American seas.

Among the ships of this fleet were some refractory officers, whose names are mentioned by Montague, viz. the captains, Lyons, Hill, and Ableson, and a lieutenant of the Resolution ‡‡. He asserts, that Lawson, the vice-admiral, was concerned with them ; which is extremely probable ; for Lawson and Lyons were violent fifth-monarchy men, and deep in the plot of an insurrection formed in the same year against the Protector. Lawson was also in strict intimacy with colonel Sexby before-mentioned, the distributor of the Spanish money, who had hired Syndercomb to assassinate Cromwell ||||. Thurloe got intelligence, from intercepted letters, of the money sent over from Brussels, where Charles resided, to corrupt the fleet ; and that those officers, who had shewn themselves dissatisfied, acted thus in concert with others who received letters weekly from Brussels \*. By his activity he defeated their schemes, and seized 800*l.* of their remittances.

He

\* Thurl. vol. III. p. 7, 8. 27. 59. 69. 77. vol. II. p. 155. 168, 169. 539. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. I. p. 119.

† Clarendon's Hist. 673. Whitlock, Rapin, Eatick, 462. Thurloe, vol. II. p. 339.

‡ Ormond to D. of Newberg, June 15, 1655. Carte, vol. II.

§ Thurl. vol. VI. 299. \*\* Jan. 1656. Thurl. vol. IV. p. 388. †† Thurl. vol. VI. p. 529.

‡‡ March 1656. Thurl. vol. IV. p. 570, 571. 590. ||| Thurl. vol. VI. p. 299. \* \* \* Carte, vol. II.

sailed from thence the 31st of March, 1655, for St. Kitt's; where they found one thousand recruits, collected partly from thence and from Nevis, and the other adjacent islands: so that on their departure they were able to muster about ten thousand effective men; including one thousand sea-men formed into a regiment of marines, under command of vice-admiral Goodson.

On the 13th of April the fleet arrived off St. Domingo; and preparations were immediately made for a descent: but, unfortunately, the commissioners, the admiral, and the general, disagreed in opinion; various difficulties were started. The general proposed the debarkation should be made as near as possible to the fort St. Jerome, lying at the bottom of the harbour, and covering the town, before the Spaniards should have notice of their design; or time to prepare for opposition; and by coming thus suddenly upon them, they might reasonably hope to carry the place by assault. Others, particularly commissioner Winslow and the admiral, insisted, that the fleet could not get near enough to effect this purpose, and that the troops must therefore be landed at the mouth of Rio Hayna, or Hine River, where Sir Francis Drake had formerly landed, and march from thence to attack the fort. This opinion prevailed, and gave great disgust to the seamen in general, who

He writes thus to Montague: "They have got a great sum of money to raise forces here, a good part of which is fallen into our hands. Their treasurer is a seaman, and a great confidant of Lawson's, and of those who deserted their commands; and it is certain, that this money was given by the Spaniard, upon this undertaking of Sexby, that the fleet should revolt before they went from Portsmouth. This being joined to what you knew before your departure hence, it is not hard to judge of the spirit of these pretenders to honesty\*." From these authorities it is evident, that the dissatisfactions, alluded to by Mr. Hume, did not occur in Penn's fleet, but in the fleet fitted out near a twelvemonth after the taking of Jamaica. When the recusant officers were hard pushed, by admiral Montague, to assign their reasons for deserting the service; one alledged, "that they had not received due payment of their arrears;" another, "that his wife did not choose he should be sent to a distance from her, and that his constitution was not adapted to a hot climate;" a third declared (Capt. Ableson), "that he was averse to engaging with the Spaniards in America, but had no objection to fight them in Europe†." Such were their evasions, to conceal the baseness of their minds, which made them stoop to receive the wages of corruption from the king's private emissaries; in doing which it is plain, they were traitors to the commonwealth of England, and very mercenary friends to Charles. This affair of the Spanish money does not at all correspond with Mr. Hume's encomium on their innocence, honour, and conscientious scruples; but it well justifies Thurloe's opinion of them. In regard to the justice of the war, which Mr. Hume pronounces to have been "contrary to the principles of natural equity," I shall take the liberty of encountering that opinion hereafter.

\* Carte, vol. II.

† Thurl. vol. VI. p. 539.



differed in sentiments from their admiral; declaring, that the ships could approach near enough to the fort by tacking-in; but the admiral, in his journal of proceedings submitted afterwards to the council of state, asserted, that, after some attempts to turn up into the harbour, he was obliged to desist, the wind being directly in their teeth. What contributed to increase this disgust amongst the forces was an order, issued by the commissioners immediately before the disembarkation, prohibiting the army from plunder, upon pain of death. Such a prohibition was particularly offensive to the new recruits collected among the islands; who had been chiefly induced to engage on this expedition by the hope of plunder. On hearing the order proclaimed, they threw down their arms with indignation, and with difficulty were prevailed upon to resume them by a solemn assurance of their general, that they should receive six weeks pay, in lieu of plunder. The prohibition was grounded on a pitiful saving intended by the council of state; who had given the commissioners express order to dispose of all prizes and booty, and apply the profits towards defraying the contingent charges of army and navy. This was but an unfavourable offset; and it may be readily supposed, the army proceeded on their service with no very great alertness, since the chief spur to their endeavours was so unseasonably taken away. On the 14th, after casting lots to determine which regiments should first go on shore, seven thousand men were landed at the distance of near forty miles from the place they were to attack, without a single implement necessary either for a siege or escalade, without any knowledge either of the country through which they were to pass, or the nature and condition of the fortifications they were to invest, and with only one or two days short allowance of bad provision. They marched the whole day without any guide in a deep scorching sand, through tall woods, whose closeness obstructed the free passage of the sea breeze, and rendered the air intolerably sultry. The soldiers, parched with drought, and finding no supply of water by the way to slake their extreme thirst, gathered oranges and other fruits; of which they were tempted to eat such immoderate quantities, that great part of them were seized with a severe flux; some hundreds dropped down on the march, many of whom were too much

weakened

weakened to proceed, and others died. The colonels Butler and Holdip, with their regiments, were ordered to land to the Eastward of the city, and there wait; but they were unable to effect a landing in that part, and therefore went ashore at the mouth of the Hine river; from whence they imprudently began their march, and rambled several miles through the woods, having lost their way; and at length, with the utmost difficulty, found means to join the main body. On the same day, they fell into an ambuscade; but soon routed their assailants, and were then so near to the city, that they might easily have entered it at night, if they had not the more formidable enemies, hunger, thirst, and weariness, to contend with. They had the additional misfortune to lose one Cox, their only guide, who was killed near general Venables, whilst the latter was reconnoitring the fort. The general's secretary likewise was slain by another shot, close at his side; and he himself very narrowly escaped. The want of some refreshments was attended with the most excruciating pain. The whole army now impatiently cried out for water; and so aggravated was their distress, that at ten o'clock at night, the very time when they had assured themselves of possessing the city, a retreat was unanimously agreed upon. They accordingly marched back to Hine river, but did not reach the watering place till the 19th. Here they refreshed themselves for five days; and, during this interval, various were the consultations between the general, the admiral, and the commissioners; who disagreeing about the plan of future operations, the soldiers grew disheartened by delay; whilst the Spaniards gained time to collect all their forces, and procure intelligence of their situation, which indeed, through the most infamous neglect, and even inhumanity, the private animosities of the chiefs in command, and opposition to each other, was now become truly lamentable. Desborough, a favourite of the Protector, had a private share in the contract for victualing this army. A large quantity of stores had been sent to Portsmouth for this purpose; and Venables was assured he should carry out with him ten months provision for ten thousand men: but the most part of the stores was sent back to London, under pretence that there was not sufficient room for it in the ships at that port, where the troops were to embark; although the

officers of the fleet found room in them for no inconsiderable quantity of commodities, with which they designed to traffic when they should touch at the islands.

The army on leaving England were miserably destitute, not only of provision, but of arms, and other necessities proper for conducting the expedition [b]. The general made very heavy, but fruitless complaints upon this subject, in his letter from Barbadoes to the Protector. They were obliged therefore to depend almost wholly on the fleet for subsistence. But the admiral carried his aversion towards Venables to such an unjustifiable extremity, that he did not even allow the men victuals enough to keep them from starving. Their only food was the worst beef, candied with salt, and unwatered, and a small portion of brown mouldy biscuit, filled with dirt and maggots. No brandy, nor any comfortable liquor, was allowed them, although particularly necessary for their health at this time, as they were much afflicted with diarrhœas, and had no other drink than brackish water, which served only to increase thirst, and exasperate their disease. The water of the river, which flowed in its course from the mountains over a large bed of copper ore, was so impregnated with that mineral, as to be rendered extremely unfit for human use. They had, moreover, no shelter to screen themselves from the inclemency of the weather, though this was about the season of the periodical rains; they were exposed day and night to very heavy showers, succeeded by noxious fogs: all these evils combined to produce an epidemic flux, which scarcely any of the troops escaped. In the mean while, the admiral, with his whole fleet, lay in the harbour entirely inactive, only a few random shot being fired from the ships either against the fort or city. It is evident, that the very appearance of so great

[b] Instead of fifteen hundred arms, which Mr. Noel, the Protector's agent, was directed to ship, they received but one hundred and ninety; and these for the most part unserviceable: so that, on leaving Barbadoes, only sixteen hundred of their European forces were well armed. At Barbadoes they lost much time in making half-pikes, to supply this defect. At the attack of St. Domingo, not one half of the army was equipped with fire-arms.

Their powder was of bad quality; and ammunition so scarce, that, on leaving Barbadoes, they had not more than fifteen charges *per* man. The soldiers, during the last fortnight at sea, had very little bread or other victuals; most of them at landing were extremely weakened by this spare diet; and were obliged nevertheless, during their five days march on shore, to subsist on three days allowance of provision.—Venables's letter to Mountague; Carte, vol. II.

a naval

a naval force, brought close to the city, must have struck terror into the inhabitants, and probably might have frightened them into a capitulation: but the admiral, whilst he made not one motion with his fleet towards annoying, or even terrifying, the enemy, seemed to enjoy a malicious pleasure from the distresses of the army, and threw the whole burthen of the attack upon them, at the same time labouring, by every means in his power, to weaken, and disappoint them of success. At length, another march was resolved upon; and, in order that the attack of the fort might be carried on in regular form, some artillery and a heavy mortar-piece were landed. These the poor soldiers were compelled to drag along; others were loaded with spades, mattocks, and various other implements for a siege; which, being added to the weight of their knapsacks, arms, water, and cloaths, proved a most intolerable burthen even to the stoutest among them, and oppressed the weak so much as to render them unserviceable. On the 25th, they began their march, and passed the night under arms in the midst of the woods. The following day, their forlorn, consisting of four hundred men under command of adjutant-general Jackson, was detached towards the fort. He was ordered to advance two wings of his party on each side through the wood, for discovering ambuscades. But this miscreant, prompted either by cowardice or treachery, paid no obedience to his instructions: he prevailed on captain Butler to head the detachment, and retired to the rear. Butler was a brave, but inexperienced soldier; and, continuing his route along the avenue, which was lined on each side with trees, and fearless of danger, was suddenly beguiled into an ambuscade: however, he behaved so gallantly, that he kept his men in good order till he was slain. Captain Powlet, of the firelocks, displayed equal courage, and fought it out to the last; but he was no sooner killed, than Jackson faced about, and basely ran away. The soldiers, now left without an officer, unanimously followed his example, and fled with such impetuosity as to throw the van of the army, composed of the general's regiment, into immediate disorder. The front lines of that regiment in vain endeavoured with their pikes to stop the fugitives; and the confusion was greatly augmented by the narrowness of the avenue, which admitted no more than six men abreast,

abreast, and by the annoyance of the fort guns, which were loaded with grape-shot, bits of iron, and broken pistol barrels, and raked them incessantly. The army, thus wedged in, were incapable of retreating; so that the Spaniards continued to shoot at them, until they were tired with loading their arms. Major-general Haynes at last found means to draw off the rear of his regiment into the wood, counterflanked the enemy, drove them to the very walls of the fort; and thus the ground they had lost was recovered and maintained.

General Venables, though reduced extremely low by a severe flux, caused himself during the action to be led about from rank to rank, encouraging the men; but, fainting at last, he was obliged to quit the command to major-general Fortescue, who soon found every persuasion unavailing: the troops were so weak and disheartened, that not any of them could be brought to serve the mortar, in order to silence the fort. In the engagement the brave major-general Haynes, his lieutenant Colonel Clark, major Ferguson of the general's regiment, the Captains Hinde and Hancock, several lieutenants and ensigns, the whole reformed, seventeen only excepted, and some hundred privates, were killed; many wounded; and nine pair of colours lost. We have the following anecdote transmitted of major general Haynes, which ought to be recorded to his immortal honour. During the action, he was at one time engaged with no less than eight of the enemy; one of whom he slew, and desperately wounded the rest: a little before his death he cried out, "that, if only six brave fellows would stand by him, he would soon force the enemy to retreat." But not a man came to his assistance; and, having received a mortal thrust from a lance, he fell like an old Roman, covered with wounds and glory.

The panic which had benumbed the army will not appear extraordinary, if we consider the condition of the men, wasted as they were with a most deleterious sickness, spent with heat and fatigue, debilitated by want of food and rest, and confined in a defile where no more than the front rank could engage. In such circumstances, it is not at all wonderful, that a very small body should find it in their power to disconcert, and even drive before them, a numerous host. Besides, they could not suddenly recover from the

disorder into which they had been thrown by the forlorn, although the officers did every thing in their power to rally that corps, and even killed several of them on the spot as an example to the rest. The party of the enemy, who put them into this terror and confusion, consisted of no more than three hundred, most of whom were Negroes and Mulattoes. Captain Haynes, son to the major-general, at the head of twenty horse, totally dispersed them, without loss of a man, and rescued his father's dead body. This is sufficient to shew with what ease such a despicable crew might have been repelled, and the place subdued, had the forlorn been commanded by an able officer, or the troops supplied with provisions and conveniences necessary to preserve their vigour and spirit.

The general imputed this unhappy defeat to the ill behaviour of the recruits collected from Barbadoes and the other islands, who were injudiciously sent on the forlorn. But it seems evident, that he ought to have selected some of his best and most experienced men for that service, headed by an officer of approved ability; or should have provided against those consequences which might be reasonably apprehended from their repulse.

On the 27th, the officers, taking into consideration the extreme debility of their men, with their total want of victuals and water (for the enemy had stopped up all their wells), privately agreed to retreat. Having first buried their mortar-piece in the sand, they returned once more, with their arms and baggage, to their old quarters at Hine river. Conferences were renewed between the general, the admiral, and commissioners; and their debates, as usual, were acrimonious, dilatory, and inconclusive. In the meanwhile, the rains, pouring incessantly, harraided the disconsolate troops on shore; the flux raged with aggravated violence among them; and, in addition to their miseries, they were so inhumanly neglected by the fleet, that, for want of other subsistence, they were driven to the expedient of devouring all their troop-horses and dogs: their sick and wounded were suffered to lie on the open decks of the ships in the harbour, for forty-eight hours, without either aliment or dressing; insomuch that maggots were bred in their sores. The general averred, that Penn had given rear-admiral Blagge positive orders not to furnish the army with any more provisions.

vifions of what kind foever. Such savage barbarity merited the moft capital punifhment : yet has that admiral been extolled, by all his partizans, as a mirrour of worth and bravery. In fact, the blind partiality of hiftorians, more efpecially of thefe times, has led them to afcribe the beft characters to the worft of men ; and the contrary. This has always been the foible of writers, who were as much under the dominion of inveterate party rage, as thofe very perfons whofe actions or manners they profefs to describe. The army had loft, by ficknefs and their different skirmifhes, upwards of five hundred men in the fpace of ten days. Their calamities ftill augmenting, the officers refolved (after seeking God) to enter upon a general purgation of manners. Jackson, the firft object of their wrath, was found guilty of cowardice by a court-martial, cashiered ignominioufly, and condemned to ferve as a fwabber on board the hofpital fhip. Some loofe women, detected in men's cloaths, were feverely chaftized ; and a ftrict inquiry made after all fufpected prostitutes. One of the late major-general's foldiers, having been convicted of running away, was hanged ; and a rigid difcipline enjoined to every regiment. After thefe neceffary feverities, the commanders, perceiving that the ficknefs did not in the leaft abate, determined to abandon St. Domingo, and proceed next to the attack of Jamaica ; where they either expected to meet with lefs refiftance than at Cuba ; or thought it prudent not to return to Europe, without recommending themfelves to the Protector by fome fucceffful exploit, which, however inconfiderable, might ferve to check a too fevere inquiry into the real caufes of their late difgraceful mifcarriage.

The army was re-embarked ; and the whole fleet arrived on the 9th of May off Port Cagua, or, as it is now called, Port Royal, in Jamaica. In their paffage from St. Domingo died the commissioner Winflow, very little regretted. He is reprefented to have been a haughty, opinionated man, tenacious of his own conceits, petulant, weak, and plunged into fanaticifm. But, in truth, fo conflicting were the tempers of the chief perfons employed to conduct this expedition, that the portraits given of one another are not to be received without a very large allowance for partiality and private rancour. In this light we are alfo to confider the affertion, that the  
admiral

admiral was so thoroughly convinced of the general's cowardice, or incapacity, as to declare openly that he would not trust Venables with the attack of Jamaica, if he could possibly attempt it with his fleet. The following circumstance seems indeed to support this declaration. The admiral, on entering the harbour, sailed a-head in his ship called the Martin Galley, and continued bearing down towards the Spanish breast-work at Passage Fort, under crowded sails, until she ran aground; and in this position he covered the troops at their descent. From the tenor of his conduct, therefore, it seems as if he thought himself bound to attend the operations of the army no further than merely to secure their landing upon the enemy's coast, and there leave them to their fate.

## S E C T. II.

ON the 10th of May, in the evening, the troops were landed at Passage Fort, which was fortified by nine pieces of cannon, and a guard of five hundred men. A proclamation was instantly made by the general's order, that, if any man attempted to run away, the person next to him should shoot him dead, or forfeit his own life. But there was little occasion for this order; the Spaniards fled without offering the least resistance, and left the English in peaceable possession of their fortress. The army formed with all expedition; and it was resolved in a council of war, that they should march without delay to St. Jago de la Vega, which lay only at the distance of six miles. Had they proceeded according to this resolution, they had probably secured a large booty; but, before their rear was in motion, the general, to their great astonishment, commanded the army to halt, and then (according to his usual custom) repaired on board ship to take his repose. The soldiers remained under arms the whole night, and were not suffered to march until late the next morning. This shameful delay gave the Spaniards sufficient time for removing bag and baggage from the town; and greatly injured the troops, by exposing them unnecessarily to the damps of night, and heat of the day, without either rest or refreshment.



On the 11th they entered the town. The Spaniards, previous to their approach, had spent the whole night in removing all their valuable goods, together with their women, children, and Negro servants, to some little distance in the country. A treaty was set on foot with them; which was span out for a week. In this interval, Venables, suffering himself to be amused with presents of fruit, and other civilities, from the Spanish governor, afforded the inhabitants full leisure for securing their moveables beyond the reach of the English, and determining the place of their future residence, at least during the stay of their invaders, which they supposed would not be of very long continuance. During the progress of the treaty, the general was strongly importuned by his officers, that a detachment might be ordered out, to prevent the enemy from stealing away with their effects (as they were then posted within three miles only of the town), in the event of their not coming to any accommodation; but he turned a deaf ear to this seasonable remonstrance; and at last the capitulation was ratified, on the part of the English, by major-general Fortescue, vice-admiral Goodson, colonels Holdip and D'Oyley, commissioners appointed by the general and admiral for that purpose; and, on the part of the Spaniards, by two commissioners, one of whom was their governor, Don Christopher Arnoldo Sasi. Among other terms, they were promised their lives, and the benefit and protection of the laws of England to all such as chose to become subjects of the commonwealth; provided that none, under the rank of commission officers, should be allowed to wear rapiers or poignards. But, in regard to those who did not incline to remain in the island under English government, they were required to come in, lay down their arms, and surrender all their slaves and effects to the discretion of the general and admiral; in consideration of which, they should be allowed free transport in the ships of the fleet to Europe, or New Spain. When these conditions were shewn to the rest of the Spaniards, they rejected them with indignation: they urged, in reply, that they chose not to decline from the allegiance they owed their natural sovereign the king of Spain; that they were not desirous of being removed from the island, for, being all natives of Jamaica, they had neither relations nor friends in Old or  
New

New Spain to give them relief; and, in short, that they were resolved rather to stay and perish in that island, than beg their bread in a foreign country. Having given this as their final answer, and perceiving no likelihood of more acceptable terms, they retired into the North-side mountains, leaving their two deputies in the hands of the English. The general was taxed with avarice upon this occasion, though upon what grounds it does not appear. It is certain, he did not seize the opportunity given him of plundering the Spaniards before their retreat; but, as their effects were removed previous to the treaty, it seems not credible that he received any pecuniary douceur for sparing them: had such an occurrence passed, there were too many eyes upon his conduct not to have observed it; and too few persons so much attached to him as not to have divulged it. I rather impute this scandal to some of his enemies in the fleet, by way of recrimination for a censure of the like kind which he had some time before passed on the admiral, and which probably was the real source of disagreement between them. Antecedent to Cromwell's protectorate, the English sugar islands were of very little value to their mother country. Their trade was wholly managed by the Dutch; these brought the planters a regular supply of European goods and manufactures; and were the carriers of their produce, which for the most part centered in the hands of merchants living in Holland, or other foreign parts, without any, or very little, advantage to England; for the Dutch took no manufactures from that kingdom, except of such sort as could not elsewhere be procured, and sold them sugars, and other commodities, produced in the English West-India islands, at an enhanced price. Cromwell, determined on putting a stop to this unnatural intercourse, had given admiral Penn strict orders to seize every Dutch vessel he should meet with trading at any of these islands. When the fleet arrived at Barbadoes, the admiral found ten or fourteen of these vessels in port; every one of which he seized as prize; and having assigned their cargoes to the sole custody and disposal of his nephew, general Venables thought fit to interpose, and represented, that he thought some other persons should be joined with the young man as a cheque upon his conduct, and to prevent all suspicion of embezzlement. The haughty spirit of

the admiral resented the insinuation contained in this proposal; and their dispute was further heightened by the general's insisting with some warmth on the expediency of it. This was probably the origin of a secret grudge, which instigated the admiral to thwart and distress the general, when at St. Domingo, by every means in his power; at least, it is not easy to reconcile his behaviour at that attack with any other cause of equal influence.

The English found the climate more temperate than that of St. Domingo, as being more open to the sea breeze. Here were several small sugar-works, and plantations of mace, rice, cassava, and tobacco. But what gave them more pleasure was, to learn, from one of the oldest inhabitants, that a silver mine was opened; that another of copper had lately been discovered; and that the grains of gold, which the Spaniards had casually picked up, afforded reasonable expectation of discovering some veins of that precious metal. From this intelligence, the army began to be extremely well satisfied with their conquest, hoping, no doubt, that, after a little better acquaintance with the country, they might find means to amass a considerable stock of wealth, without much labour.

The island at this time belonged, as some say, to the duke de Veragua, who was lineally descended from Christopher Columbus; so that it was the private estate of a Spanish subject, and not a member of the royal demesne [c]. Its chief ports were, Caguaya [d]; next to this, Esquivel [e], which was thought of great importance, as it afforded convenience for ship-building on an arm of the sea, which forms a basin on the Eastern side. This arm, called Guavagera, admits a small fresh-water river, named El Rio de la Puente [f]. The land between the town of St. Jago and Esquivel was then, for the most part, open savannah, or plain, well stocked with cattle and horses; but, since these days, it has been much over-run with the opopanax and cashaw trees. A Portuguese informed the English, that, near this port, in a mountain called Mescher Cornoufwe [g], was a very rich silver mine, which the Spaniards had just opened.

[c] It was rather, perhaps, held as a fief of the crown; for it is scarcely probable, that it was granted to the duke in full sovereignty.

[d] Now Port Royal.

[e] Old Harbour. It took its name from Juan de Esquivello, lieutenant to Diego Columbus in 1509.

[f] Bridge River.

[g] Supposed to be some part of the Healthshire hills.

The savannahs were by the Spaniards formed into what they called hatos [b] The Indians are said to have employed these level grounds in the cultivation of their maize; and their soil was then extremely fertile. The Spaniards converted them to the same use, and into pastures for their herds and flocks. But these spots, formerly so prolific, are now become the most sterile in the whole island; which may be owing to several causes; as, the impoverishing the earth by incessant culture; the failure of seasonable rains in those parts, which were anciently watered with plentiful showers; and the utter inattention to restoring fertility by a proper manure. What now forms the district of Vere and Withywood was called the hato of Yama and Guatibocoa. In the hato of Yama was the mountain called [i] Panda Botellio; six miles to the Westward of which was the [k] Manati mountain, over which ran a stony narrow path, of about eight feet in breadth. This was the only road by which the Spaniards passed to the Western parts of the island. Near Great Pedro point, in St. Elizabeth's, was the hato of Pereda [l], esteemed one of the best and largest pieces of savannah in the island, being twelve miles or more in length: this now goes under the name of Pedro Plains, and Great Savannah: near this hato was a small village, called Parattee. About six miles West of the great river Caobana [m], lay the hato of El Eado [n]; next to this the hato Cabonico [o]; and, adjoining to the latter, the savannah of the sea, or, as it is still called, Savannah la Mar. To the Eastward of Puerto de Caguaya, was the hato de Liguany, which was then stocked with large quantities of fine cedar, and other timbers proper for ship-building [p], and conveniently bordering upon that fine basin which now forms the harbour of Kingston. The part lying between the long mountain and Liguany mountain was called Lezama, comprehending a long, narrow slip of plantable land. Further Eastward was the hato Ayala, full of tame cattle, and esteemed very proper for sugar plantations, and erecting mills on two con-

[b] Hato signifies a flock. [i] Now Round Hill, in Vere.

[k] Now Carpenter's mountains, next the coast. The road ran from Swift river over Long Bay and the Devil's Race.

[l] Or probably Parada, a parade. [m] Caobana signifies mahogany, now Black River.

[n] White Savannah. [o] Now Cape Bonito.

[p] They found here some ships on the stocks in building.

venient rivers [q], but dangerously open to the incursions of pirates, who used to land at two coves, Los Ana [r], and La Cruz de Padre [s]. Next to this was the hato of Morante, twelve miles in length, spacious, and plentiful; consisting of many small savannahs, and abounding with hogs and cattle: this hato terminated at what was called the Mine, at the cape or point of Morante, to the Northward of which lay port St. Antonio.

From this account it seems, that, although the Spaniards had been so long in possession of the island, they occupied but a very small portion of it, chiefly in the Southern division. They had but little intercourse with the Midland and Northern districts, except the parts adjacent to their old town of Sevilla, in St. Anne's. Their hatos were the estates of the richest among them; they were in all about ten, or at most twelve; and upon each of them was a house of residence, or country house, for the owner's reception, whenever he chose to retire from the town.

Their traffic was but small. It chiefly consisted in supplying the Spanish homeward-bound merchant ships with fresh provisions, of which the island produced so great an abundance, that it was considered as the granary and victualing place for all these ships.

Besides, they killed eighty thousand hogs every year for the sake of their grease, which was called hog's butter, and found a constant vent at Carthagena. This grease, or lard, is still used throughout all the Spanish West-Indies, as an ingredient in their oillios, and other dishes, instead of butter, and seems preferable to it; as the latter, imported from Europe, is generally rancid before it reaches the islands, and, being used by the English in this state, may be regarded as one cause of putrid fevers and dysenteries, both of which it has been observed to produce.

Their mahogany, fustic, ebony, and *lignum vitæ*, were other commodities for trade. Of the first they had several, when the English landed, of thirty-six feet in girth, or about twelve feet diameter; fustic, of about two; and *lignum vitæ*, of three feet diameter; the bark of the latter, esteemed at that time a great specific against the *lues venerea* given in a decoction, sold at Carthagena, at 2s. sterling the pound weight. They had great plenty of cacao,

[q] The Hope and Cane.

[r] Bull Bay.

[s] Yallahs.

which

which sold at 3s. *per* bushel. They likewise cultivated sugar, pimento, indigo, and tobacco, but in small quantities, and chiefly for their own consumption. Of fruits they had a great variety; the pine-apple, avoëto-pear, naseberry, mamme-sapote, lime, lemon, orange, guava, banana, plantain, papaw, melon, cucumber, &c. Their potatoes were of such prodigious size, as to astonish the English officers: they were probably either the sweet potatoe, or the yam, which latter, by its affinity to the potatoe, might easily be mistaken for it by Europeans. The fruits most in esteem among the Spaniards were, the pine, which sold at sixpence each, and the avoëto-pear, which sold at threepence: these probably had not long been introduced here; and, being more scarce, were thought more estimable than the rest.

Colonel Modiford, speaking of this expedition, observes, that, since the English would have an island, Jamaica was far preferable to any of the others, because it had excellent harbours, and was accounted the most plentiful and healthful of them all. "If this place," says he, "be fully planted, his highness may do what he will in the West-Indies." But, notwithstanding this recommendation from so good a judge, neither the people of his island (Barbadoes), nor of the other Caribbees, were desirous to promote the settlement of Jamaica: they feared it would cause a drain of men from their islands, and reduce the price of their staple commodity, sugar. For this reason, and others, they obstructed the planting of it to the utmost of their power, and intimidated their inhabitants from passing over to settle there, by representing it as a certain grave to all such adventurers. Indeed, the calamities which afterwards befell the army, occasioned by their own obstinacy and laziness, and the treachery of their officers, in a great measure helped to confirm this bad account given of it. But to return to my narrative.

The English forces were now in full possession of the town, where they constituted their head-quarters. The officers chose the handsomest houses for their own use; and, after selecting as many more as were thought convenient for the accommodation of the private soldiers, they devoted the remainder to ruin. The first objects of military rage were the religious edifices. The abbey was leveled

leveled with the ground; and the churches, of which there were two, named the Red Cross and White Cross, entirely demolished. Parties were then detached in quest of the Spaniards; of whom twenty-four were taken prisoners, and fifty came in and voluntarily surrendered. The rest of them skulked about in small bodies; and, having driven all their cattle into the mountains, and ruined their provision grounds, the English troops found themselves on a sudden extremely destitute of food in this land of plenty, for they could procure no fresh meat except at the point of their swords. Two victualers from England brought them no more than twenty-two days short-allowance of bread; and the whole fleet, upon inquiry, was found to have no more than three months subsistence. But the circumstances of the army were more deplorable. Exclusive of their bread, they had but a very small stock of cassava; and of that little the Spaniards stole a share. Whenever they were lucky enough to procure a few roots, or a little fresh meat, they devoured them without bread; their allowance being no more than half a biscuit *per* day to each man. The admiral in this distress sent three ships to the Caymand isles, to take in a loading of turtle; but they returned with too few to supply the fleet alone. The stores for the army having been landed at Passage Fort, the soldiers were continually harrassed by carrying them from that distance on their backs to the town, as they had neither horses, nor wheel-carriages, or other kind of vehicle, for that laborious service. Their diet consisted of much the same kind of materials as had been given them at St. Domingo, the refuse of the naval provisions, putrid salt beef, and rotten biscuit, at a short allowance, with no other liquor for dilution than the turbid water of the Rio Cobre. Their severe and constant drudgery, such unwholesome food, together with a bad habit of body, contracted during the unfortunate campaign of St. Domingo [1], united to engender a most dreadful dysentery, which, for want of any medicines or means to check it, became epidemic, sparing neither officers nor men; and

[1] The officers died so fast, that the general had enough to do to find proper men for supplying their places. Near three thousand men were at this time (about the 25th of May, and within a fortnight after their landing) sick, occasioned by their exposure to the rains and ill air of St. Domingo. The distempers caught there many of them carried to their graves.—Venable's letter to general Montague. Carte, vol. II.

so debilitated those who were not immediately destroyed by it, that they looked like dead men, just crept abroad from their graves. So universal was now the sickness, that, on the 14th of June (less than a month after their landing) they had not more than five field-officers in health; a great many officers and men had been swept off; two thousand privates were sick; and the rest grew very unruly and mutinous. In this sad conjuncture it was resolved to keep only the best-sailing frigates as cruizers to attend the station, and send home the remainder of the fleet under admiral Penn, with an account of the army's necessities. General Venables, who had not recovered from the sickness with which he had been afflicted at St. Domingo, and began to be apprehensive for his life, willingly embraced this opportunity of returning home. The admiral set sail on the 25th of June, with three fourths of the fleet, leaving twelve frigates under command of the vice-admiral Goodson. In his passage through the gulph of Florida, the Paragon took fire, about ten leagues from the Havannah, and blew up; by which unhappy accident one hundred persons perished. To make some little amends for this disaster, the admiral, having fallen in with a French Greenlander near the Land's End, made prize of her. On the arrival of the fleet at St. Helen's, Venables, dreading the Protector's resentment for his having quitted the army without leave, dispatched a letter to secretary Thurloe; wherein he made many pusillanimous excuses, pleaded deplorable ill health, and dwelt on the description of his bodily infirmities in the querulous strain of an old woman complaining to her apothecary. He was ordered to attend the council, severely reprimanded, sent prisoner to the Tower, and afterwards dismissed from all his employments. Penn likewise came in for a share of rebuke, and was committed to the same place. Nor were they released from thence, until they had purchased the Protector's forgiveness by making some submissions, which on the part of Venables are said to have been very humiliating. In regard to the principles of these two commanders, it seems agreed on all hands, that they were secretly disaffected to Cromwell, and warmly attached to the royal exile. This is further confirmed by a passage in the marquis of Ormond's letter to the duke of Newberg, June 15, 1655, viz.



“ Besides the power the king hath in the navy and amongst the  
 “ seamen in this particular fleet under admiral Penn; where (be-  
 “ sides the common soldiers and mariners) there are many principal  
 “ officers who have served his majesty, and whose affections will  
 “ dispose them to receive any orders from the king.”

Venables was deeply concerned in the unsuccessful insurrection at  
 Chester in favour of the Stuarts; and Penn having privately corre-  
 sponded with Charles, and afterwards appeared among the most  
 distinguished favourites of that prince, I think there needs little fur-  
 ther demonstration of their aversion to the Protector: we may there-  
 fore be warranted in conjecturing, that they were both equally care-  
 less about the success of that enterprize, which the Protector had  
 so much at heart, and on which he is said to have depended not a  
 little for the future support of his power; and, as far as they durst,  
 endeavoured to render it ineffectual. The ends of this mu-  
 tual inclination were further promoted by the variance between  
 them in other respects; it is certain the admiral took every occasion  
 to distress the general, and in many instances behaved towards the  
 army in a manner that cannot be justified; and they had their re-  
 spective partizans. To these causes we may impute the miscarriage  
 at St. Domingo, the miserable situation of the affairs of the army,  
 and the repugnant accounts which the officers of either side have  
 given in their public and private letters upon this subject. Their  
 contradictions have rendered this part of their history so perplexed,  
 that it seems difficult to discover which of the two commanders me-  
 rited the greatest blame. Nor is the Protector's sagacity conspicuous  
 on this occasion; who sent out this army to conquer and settle in  
 the West-Indies, omitting to furnish them with medicines, tools,  
 and other necessaries proper for their support and convenience, and  
 suitable to that undertaking. With the general went several com-  
 mission officers; and the chief command devolved on major general  
 Fortescue. This gentleman, in his letter soon after to the Pro-  
 tector, says, “ it is a fruitful and pleasant island and a fit receptacle  
 “ for honest men, our greatest want here.”

“ Many there are,” continues he, “ who came out with us,  
 “ vaunting as if they would have stormed the Indies; big with  
 “ expectation of gold and silver ready told up in bags; but, not  
 “ finding such treasure, and meeting with some difficulties and  
 “ hardships,

“hardships, they fret, fume, grow impatient, and wish they were  
 “at their onions again. Several of such, according to their desires  
 “and discontents, we have dismissed; and they may return with  
 “shame enough. We expect, in their own defence, they will dis-  
 “parage the place and service; but I hope wise and sober men will  
 “not give much credit to them. Think not that I write to entice  
 “and inveigle men hither groundlessly. I speak my own, and the  
 “judgement of wiser than I, that it is the best land they and I have  
 “set foot on. Here is only a want of bread for the present, and  
 “godly society. Here is sufficient, with God’s blessing, to render  
 “mens conditions very comfortable; and they who are able to  
 “furnish themselves with servants may soon enrich themselves.”

This letter may give us some idea of the humours with which the  
 army was compounded; and it is a testimony of the high estima-  
 tion in which this island was held by the more sensible men among  
 the officers. The army, after the general’s departure, was governed  
 by a sort of military council, composed of fifteen field-officers; viz.

Major-general Richard Fortescue, president;

Samuel Barry,	Edward D’Oyley,	John Read,
Philip Ward,	Henry Bartlet,	Michael Bland,
Henry Archbould,	William Smith,	William Jordan,
Andrew Carter,	Vincent Corbet,	Robert Smith.
Richard Holdip,	Francis Barrington,	

The discipline of it fell more immediately under their provinces;  
 but the general affairs of the island were regulated by Fortescue,  
 in concert with the commissioners Goodson and Serle.

The major-general made instant application to Cromwell for  
 cloathing, smiths and carpenters, tools, bread, oatmeal, brandy,  
 arms and ammunition, medicines, and other necessaries. The list  
 is an indication of their many urgent wants. He desired, that ser-  
 vants might be sent from Scotland, to assist them in planting; that  
 certain proportions of land might be assigned to the officers and men  
 respectively; and instructions given in regard to establishing the  
 form of civil government. He represented the generality of the  
 private soldiers to be men of low spirits, apt to receive impressions  
 of fear; and requested a reinforcement of well-disciplined ve-  
 terans from Ireland, to be incorporated with them, and by their

would grow weary of the expence; and, finding his design of colonization frustrated, might be forced to relinquish the island, and withdraw his forces to England. This machination, in which several of the principal officers were combined, was the real cause of their atrocious misconduct in regard to the stores so amply furnished; for very large quantities had been shipped upon the first intelligence brought by Penn and Venables of the army's wants. What rendered the baseness of their proceedings more criminal was, that these officers, in pursuit of their scheme, suffered hundreds of their men to perish miserably by famine and disease; whose lives and vigour might, it is reasonable to think, have been preserved by a common care of the provisions sent from time to time, and a very moderate application of their labour to cultivate the same kinds of country vegetables, pulse and grain, as they found growing at the time of their arrival. But there was neither thrift in the distribution and preservation of the food supplied from England, nor the least advance of husbandry towards providing a subsistence from the fertile soil of the island, as a security against famine. They were permitted, nay privately ordered, to root up and destroy the country products, with no other purpose than that they might be confined to a precarious dependence on English victualers from Europe, and forced by the pressure of their necessities into that spirit of disaffection and reluctance to the service, which might prompt them to be clamorous, seditious, and burthen some to the state.

Sedgewicke perceived their aim. He was not sparing of reprehension to these officers; and he resolved to counteract their purposes to the utmost of his power, and exert himself to prevent such abuses in future. His first care was applied to the stores at Passage Fort. He had brought with him one thousand tons of provision; and, as he reasonably concluded that the army, sensible of the miseries sustained by their former neglect, would heartily join in the proper means for securing this new supply, he desired they would construct some sort of building for preserving it from the weather. But he was disappointed in this expectation. The officers, under various pretences, alledged, that not a man could be spared. The men themselves confirmed what their officers had declared. And  
Sedgewicke,

Sedgewicke, perceiving this settled and general aversion in the army to do any thing, however necessary, for their own benefit, applied to the vice-admiral; under whose direction, the sailors, in about six or eight days, built a complete store-house at Passage Fort, of one hundred feet in length, and twenty-five in breadth; in which all the goods were properly ranged. His next business was to examine the quantity of undamaged beef and bread; and he found, that, at a small allowance, the men would have sufficient to support them for about six months. Whilst he was occupied in thus endeavouring to establish good order, Fortescue died after a few days illness. A military council was then formed for the affairs of the army. It consisted of the superior commanders in each regiment, being seven in all. Colonel D'Oyley, as senior field-officer, was appointed president, in virtue of a power which Sedgewicke had brought with him, and which continued that authority for three months, or until the Protector's further order.

The condition of the army in respect to health was still most deplorable. An epidemical sickness raged amongst them, which swept off one hundred and forty men every week. A regiment, commanded by colonel Humphry, had arrived in October. It consisted of eight hundred and thirty-one young, healthy, and able-bodied men. By the 5th of November fifty of them had been buried, amongst whom were two captains, one lieutenant, and two ensigns. The colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and all the surviving captains, were sick; together with most of the private men. Of all the commission officers in that regiment, not more than four were able to march. The distempers, which at this time prevailed with so much inveteracy, were fevers, fluxes, and dropxies. It is probable, the original disorder was an ague and fever, the consequence of heavy autumnal rains. At this time, the Jesuits Bark, the specific remedy in that disease, was unknown to them. Bleeding was generally administered; which seldom failed of rendering the complaint more obstinate, if not mortal. In the latter case, the disorder probably terminated in a diarrhœa; and, in the former, a dropxy. The symptoms were, doubtless, also much exasperated by the badness of their diet, the quality of the water, and the want of necessaries proper for sick persons; for they had no hospital, nor other convenient

convenient accommodation, nor women to attend them in the capacity of nurfes. I think we are not to charge this mortality upon the climate, but the many other proximate caufes, which were furely equal to the effect. Sedgewicke, who was very capable of forming a right judgement on this point, feems to favour this opinion; for, in communicating his sentiments about this time to the Protector, he fays, “The ifland is adapted to produce any kind of merchandizes that other iflands do. It is full of feveral forts of cattle. The Englifh, fince they came hither, have killed twenty thousand head; and the reft are now grown fo wild, that it is not an eafy matter to kill any of them; though formerly, in the time of the Spaniards, they were all, both cows and horfes, kept under command by proper herdsmen. Our foldiers have destroyed all forts of fruit, provifion, and cattle; nothing but ruin attends them wherefoever they go. If fome good encouragement was given to increafe planters here, it might be well; but, as the cafe ftands at prefent, there can be nothing of that kind. The army claim all the land about the town; fo that there is very great difficulty to accommodate five or fix poor planters with a little ground. The foldiers defire, either to be employed in arms, or fent for home again: dig or plant they will not; but would rather ftarve than work. They might have cultivated as much provifion as would have kept them alive: little is yet done in this way; fo that, unlefs there be a further fupply of victuals fent hither, they will perifh for want of food.” Surely, he would not have ufed thefe arguments, recommending the effectual colonization of a place, the natural depravity of whole air muft have rendered every fuch attempt fatal and abortive. His character of the foldiers implies a very fufficient reason for their difeafes; and thefe, when aggravated to a degree of malignancy, became, no doubt, contagious to the new recruits of Europeans intermixed with them. Weak as the expectation was, of perfuading fuch men to betake themfelves to agriculture and a courfe of induftry, Sedgewicke omitted nothing in his power conducive to this defign; but his principal effort only ferved to difclofe more openly and avowedly the real ground of their obftinate inactivity. He had cultivated the beft underftanding with the vice-admiral, who was equally dif-

posed to establish the colony, pursuant to the Protector's well-known intention. On the 4th of January, 1656, they published an exhortation to the army; wherein it was urged, "that they could not but consider it a very great mercy from God, that, in many of their quarters, the soldiers had begun, in some measure, to recover strength, and were grown more willing to hold possession of the country; that there was no more provision in store than would, in a comfortable way, supply them for four months; that it would be therefore convenient, if not absolutely necessary, to put some provision in the ground, thereby to prevent and avoid inevitable ruin; that, in order to animate the soldiers, who were many of them planters, they proposed to allot to every man his particular land formerly assigned him, and secure him as far as they were able in the propriety of it; that they would issue out seed, such as pease, Indian corn, and the like, and bind themselves to the observance of this compact as an absolute law; that, in case the soldiers should be recalled from the island, in prosecution of the war with Spain, they should receive full satisfaction in money for all their provision left in the ground." They further proposed, "that the army should be reduced to three, or at most four regiments, which would lessen the charges of the commonwealth; and that each regiment should be settled in a township." These were judicious regulations; and equitable assurances; such as no man, in the least inclined to settle, could reasonably withstand. The reduction of the army was particularly requisite; for at this time their whole number officers and soldiers, exclusive of women and children, consisted only of two thousand six hundred. But, as a compliance with these terms would tend to defeat the plots and intrigues of the factious officers, who feared the proposals might operate powerfully on the minds of the common soldiers, hitherto the greatest sufferers; they, on the very same day, having gained intelligence of what was intended, drew up and presented a petition to their president D'Oyléy, representing "the sadness of their condition," and desiring, "that, as they were continually importuned by the soldiers, discouraged by mortality and constant sickness from planting here for their subsistence, he would exert his best offices with the vice admiral and com-

“missioner Sedgewicke for their speedy removal from the island,  
 “that so the handful of people yet remaining might be serviceable  
 “to the Lord Protector and commonwealth of England.” This  
 was signed by

Samuel Barry, John Filkings, Robert Smith,  
 William Smith, Henry Jones, J. Humphry.

On the 8th of January, D'Oyley delivered this petition to the vice-admiral and major general, who on perusal of it were sufficiently convinced of the difficulties they must expect in prosecuting their intended work of reformation; but they were not prevailed upon wholly to desist from it. The sailors of the fleet had in all this time enjoyed very good health; cruizers were frequently sent out, which annoyed the Spaniards, took many valuable prizes, plundered some of their settlements on *terra firma*, and in an expedition to the North coast of Jamaica dislodged all the Spaniards they could find there, and burnt fifty of their houses. The crews of such ships as staid in harbour were employed in planting a small spot of ground near the sea-side; the army alone remained inactive; nor did the vice-admiral give them a better character than the major-general. “They did once,” says he, “apply themselves to  
 “plant some food, but of that very little. What was not burnt  
 “up with the sun was, for the most part, spoiled for want of  
 “weeding; and they will not now be persuaded to do any thing  
 “towards their bellies, or security, except to fetch provender from  
 “the magazine; so that, if the magazine fail, they must inevi-  
 “tably perish. For the cattle, such of them as were in any de-  
 “gree tame, have all been killed; few or none are left; and some  
 “regiments have tasted no flesh for a long time, except that of  
 “horses, dogs, cats, and the like [u]. At their first arrival here,  
 “horses were in such abundance, as to be called the vermin of the  
 “country; but so scarce are they now grown, that among all the  
 “regiments they cannot mount one hundred men.” The vice-  
 admiral had pointed out to them the consequence of killing their  
 horses and dogs for food; for with the assistance of these animals  
 they might have procured hogs and cattle enough for the constant

[u] In this scarcity of better food, rats and lizards were reckoned a delicate repast. Lizards were regularly served up at the officers tables; and colonel D'Oyley affirmed, that they were extremely palatable.

subsistence of the whole army. But they thought it too laborious a task to hunt for them among the forests of the mountains to which they had been driven, and where they multiplied very fast.

Whilst they were thus destroying themselves by their own indolence, the Spaniards and Blacks were continually on the watch, to murder their stragglers, and add to the havoc. Not more than one planter family was at this time settled in the island. Several persons had come from the neighbouring colonies, with intention to settle; but on their arrival either fell sick and died, or were so terrified, that they would not be persuaded to stay, though they sustained very great loss by the removal. Many women, who had arrived to live with their husbands, upon finding them dead, sold themselves in the other islands for servants, rather than stay with the army, and notwithstanding every encouragement offered that might induce them to remain. Some small trading vessels, which had touched here, and sailed afterwards to the other English colonies in America, carried such dismal reports of the army's condition, as to deter numbers from venturing thither who were preparing for it. Thus, as if by a kind of fatality, every thing seemed conspiring to obstruct the settlement of this island. But the English soldiers were not the only sufferers under calamity. A great mortality had also invaded those Spaniards who were retreated to the North side of the island. It happened partly from a like cause, the dearth of provisions. No less than five hundred of them had perished by famine and the diseases incident to it. Those who were called the gentry, consisting of eight families, had found means of escaping to Cuba. The major part of the rest used every possible endeavour to follow them, in spite of their governor, or *Maestro del Campo*, who waited in expectation of a reinforcement from Spain. The whole body of the Spaniards, at this time remaining in the island, amounted to no more than three hundred, men, women, and children; most of whom had seated themselves at Rio Hoja, in St. Anne's, where they lived in huts. As to their Blacks, they were scattered in different parts of the mountains in small companies, and subsisted by hunting the wild hogs and cattle. On the 4th of February, one hundred soldiers were sent to Great Pedro Point, in St. Elizabeth's. They visited three houses in their way to Parety



Bay, and found the dead bodies of two men, supposed to be of the party last sent to this district. There had been a Spanish village at Paretty, which the English on a former excursion burnt to the ground. They perceived these ruins in the same state in which they had been left. From one or two Negroes, whom they chanced to meet with here, they learned, that the Blacks had entirely detached themselves from the Spaniards, and were resolved to maintain their footing in the island so long as any cattle remained for them to kill. Whilst the English were cautiously reconnoitring on every side, they discovered twenty Spaniards in ambush, who immediately prepared to retreat from their place of concealment. But the English rushed in upon them, and took seven prisoners, the rest escaping. From these captives they heard, that forty of the party to which they belonged were fled to the North side; that one thousand Spaniards were expected from Carthagena, who were to land at Pedro Point, and an army from Spain, to make a descent at Passage Fort; that they (the prisoners) had been sent to Paretty by their *Maestro del Campo*, who was collecting all the forces he could at this spot, to join with the reinforcement expected from Carthagena. Upon these advices, Sedgewicke thought it necessary to strengthen the principal harbour with some kind of fortification; and accordingly began to erect a fort at what was called Careening Point, situated at the entrance of Port Caguay. This fort, slightly built with stockades and rubbish, was soon made defensible, and by the 12th of March had twenty-one pieces of ordnance mounted upon it. Even this military operation was entirely performed by the sailors; for, although colonel Humphry's regiment had been sent to assist in carrying on the work, they proved of not the least service. Another fortress was likewise in contemplation, to be constructed at Passage Fort, as a safeguard to their magazine, or store-house. D'Oyley reduced two companies in each regiment, and put the army into a good posture for action. Such of the seamen as could be spared were employed in making a common plantation for the use of the fleet, to procure an augmentation to their subsistence. Whilst these affairs were in agitation, the Falmouth man of war came in from a cruize on the North side of the island, and brought seventeen Spanish prisoners. The army was now grown

grown far more healthy, and consisted of two thousand five hundred effective men, but very little better inclined to till the soil. Their confederate band of officers would let them do nothing more than what they were compelled to by the most urgent necessity; and, upon the departure of any ship for England, expressed in passionate exclamations their anxious desire of returning home. Yet, to do them justice, both the army and fleet were extremely importunate to be carried upon some enterprize against the enemy. The fleet consisted now of twenty-three frigates, ships, and victualers, all in excellent condition; and it was with reluctance the vice-admiral found himself obliged to keep them idle in harbour, instead of seconding the ardour of his men by assaulting the Spaniards on the continent. But the apprehensions, excited by the intelligence of an armament expected from Spain and Carthage, made it prudent to wait for some time; as the army alone was not judged equal to the defence of the island against any very powerful attack. The common sense of danger seemed now to unite the sea and land forces more closely than hitherto. A council of twelve officers, selected from each *court*, assembled to take their general affairs under consideration. They resolved, that thirty acres of land should be assigned to each private soldier; and made a declaration of their sentiments to this effect; "That, if the soldiers would exert themselves towards the settlement of the island, and attend the issue with patience, it might in a little time answer all their hopes, and the public charge; for, if it could be once well-peopled, it would afford great plenty of the best commodities. Besides, the situation of it, with so fine a harbour, was so advantageous, being in the very midst of the Spanish territories, that, with a sufficient force here of troops to make inroads upon the enemy, and a fleet to secure the seas, it might become the magazine of all the wealth in the West-Indies." This exhortation was well timed, as the men were all healthy, although they had no other drink than water. It had been remarked by D'Oyley, that the continual use of this beverage, without the intermixture or correction of spirits, had, especially near the coast, been productive of dropical habits, and other distempers. The English, at their first arrival, drank it carelessly, when in

its

its foulest state, and without any depuration, or settlement; by which means it became noxious, especially when swallowed in such copious draughts as were necessary to quench a thirst excited by salt-meat diet. The more cautious Spaniards had always taken care to filter the water of Rio Cobre, and esteemed it with this process not only inoffensive, but the most wholesome diluent for this climate. Some of them, still more nice in their choice, used to fetch water from the Rio el Puente, or Bridge River, at six miles distance, justly thought not inferior to any in the world. But to proceed. Notwithstanding this allotment of land, and the reasons urged to incite the soldiers to industry, they appeared unmoved by the council's resolution; for, in truth, the dissenting officers, who constituted the majority in the army, although they concurred in voting the rectitude of the measure proposed, yet would not suffer it by any means to be enforced. If therefore they publicly seemed to favour the design of planting, yet they privately opposed, and laboured to defeat it. It is no wonder then, that the soldiers, perceiving themselves excluded from sharing a real property in the soil, should set about their planting business as if it was the most grievous task that could be imposed upon them; and shewed so much reluctance in attending to it, as to make the few officers, who wished to promote the scheme, merely to keep them from starving, almost despair of subduing their aversion.

Sedgewicke, though a man of calm temper, began now to lose all patience, and gave some vent to his indignation in a letter to Thurloe; in which he wrote to this effect: "There are two things  
 " principally enjoined by his highness to the army, fortification and  
 " planting. Should I give you a character of the dispositions and  
 " qualifications of our army in general (some few particulars excepted), I profess, my heart would grieve to write, as it doth to  
 " think of them. I believe they are not to be paralleled in the  
 " world; a people so lazy and idle, as it cannot enter into the heart  
 " of any Englishman, that such blood should run in the veins of  
 " any born in England; so unworthy, slothful, and basely secure;  
 " and have, out of a strange kind of spirit, desired rather to die  
 " than live. A round tower of stone was intended to be built with-  
 " in the fortification at Port Royal; but it was difficult to get either

“ masons or materials, except stone; the army protesting, they could  
“ not spare thirty men to make a little lime; the work therefore,  
“ such as it is, was wholly performed by the seamen. As for  
“ planting, there is but little done; and the truth is, I believe no-  
“ thing more will be done in it, though they have had all the in-  
“ treaties and encouragements that were possibly in our power..  
“ The commanders and officers alledge that the soldiers will not  
“ plant; when, it is most certain, they are not willing the soldiers  
“ should plant, but still stand gaping to go off the island, as after  
“ a gaol-delivery; and, you may be confident, there will be little  
“ done in that way by this sort of people. Such kind of spirit  
“ breathing in English-men I yet till now never met with!” But,  
notwithstanding this severe animadversion on their stupid and heedless  
behaviour, it is plain the major-general had not yet resigned all hope  
of reclaiming them; for, with the vice-admiral’s consent, he re-  
solved to employ as many seamen as could be spared from the fleet  
in planting about twenty or thirty acres of provision; which, if  
it succeeded, he flattered himself, would either convert or con-  
found the soldiers.

A party of men having, about this time, been sent to the leeward  
district of the island, in quest of horses, they traveled thirty miles  
inland, had the good fortune to catch forty horses, and in their  
progress encountered a body of Spaniards, who escaped by flight  
into the woods. But three or four women, not so nimble as their  
husbands, fell into the hands of the English, and were brought to  
the town. In most of these skirmishes the Spaniards seemed in-  
capable of making any resistance, but only fought to save them-  
selves by flight: so different were they from their brethren at St.  
Domingo. This dastardly behaviour rendered the English more  
secure, and encouraged them to wish for an opportunity of en-  
gaging with the whole body, that they might exterminate them  
from the island.

Whatever disorders in the army had retarded the planting of the  
island, it is certain the Protector was not sparing of expostulation  
and good advice for reforming their morals and conduct. He wrote  
express instructions to the commander in chief; in which, among  
other things, he strongly recommended to form a good body of  
horse,

horse, to hinder the Spaniards from landing. He represented, that, if it was known they had five hundred horse well appointed, ready to march upon all occasions in the island, even that alone might deter the enemy from making any attempt upon it. He rebuked their vices with the solemn air of a rigid divine. "As we have cause," said he, "to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo, upon the account of our sins, as well as others; so truly, upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreme avarice, pride and confidence, disorders and debauchedness, prophaneness and wickedness, commonly practised among the army, we cannot only bewail the same, but desire that all with you may do so, and that a very special regard may be had so to govern in time to come, as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced, and severely punished; and that such a frame of government may be exercised, that virtue and godliness may receive due encouragement. And whereas it is too apparent, that a want of due discipline in the army, and timely and orderly taking care in providing food and refreshment for it of such flesh and other things as are upon the island itself, hath been a great occasion of the sickness and other distempers which have fallen among them; we direct you to put the same in an orderly way, as well for the taking, killing, preserving, and dressing of flesh, as for the sowing and planting of such seeds and other things as will produce bread and other food; which will be a means of restoring and preserving the health of the soldiers, and lay a good foundation for easing the extraordinary charge which the commonwealth is at of sending provisions from home to a place which abounds with all things."

At the same time he declared his intention of sending two regiments of foot, consisting of at least twelve hundred men, with a further supply of necessary stores; and informed them, that he had already ordered four months provision for six thousand men to be shipped. It is evident, then, that he was not inattentive to the welfare either of their souls or their bodies; but rightly judged, that immorality was a principal cause of their utter neglect of both. Seven clergymen had, at different times, resided among them; but six of them either fell in the common mortality, or had returned

to

to England. It may be supposed, the officers were not over-zealous in exhorting their men to works of piety; since they took no pains to make them practise those other duties which were become absolutely necessary for the preservation of their lives. In April their little remnant of provision was beginning to spoil, and the quantity so reduced, that they were apprehensive of total want: yet even this dismal prospect could not bring the officers to a sense of their condition, nor influence them to cultivate even so much provision as might serve for themselves alone. The soldiers looked to the magazine for subsistence; and, when that began to fail, they broke into mutiny. A party of colonel Buller's regiment, discontented with their business of planting, and the reduction in their allowance of bread to half a pound a day, which was unavoidable, conspired to revolt: upwards of twenty marched away from the quarters; but they were pursued, and taken prisoners. Three of the most notorious leaders were executed; and the rest pardoned. This example was of great service, as it prevented a general defection, and kept the men for some time more obedient to discipline.

The fortification at Caguay, or Port Royal Point, was now almost compleated; when the major-general, who was sick of his charge, wearied out with the refractory temper of the army and unprosperous condition of the colony, and impatient to be recalled pursuant to his repeated applications, received the Protector's order to take upon him the sole and supreme command. So undesirable a preferment was not more welcome to him than a death warrant. In short, when he reflected on the impossibility of his fulfilling the Protector's intentions with such miserable instruments, of whose unsuitness for such a work he was fully sensible, after a tedious and irksome experience; and perceived how much the Protector relied upon his single ability; he could not conquer his diffidence; the chagrin so deeply preyed upon his spirits, as to overwhelm him with melancholy; and he died on the 24th of June, within a very few days after receiving the orders. The general regret, which appeared in the fleet and army in consequence of this event, was a clear indication of his worth. The honesty of his heart, the mildness of his disposition, gentleness of manners,

and competence of understanding, qualified him to have been a most amiable governor over any well-settled and established colony. But he wanted that severity, firmness, and fire, which were requisite to subdue and awe the stubborn, restive, and insolent spirits, that had long distracted the army in Jamaica, and which grew more intractable, the less they were controuled with a vigorous discipline.

#### S E C T. IV.

AFTER Sedgewicke's decease, the military command devolved again to colonel D'Oyley. In all this time no planters from the other colonies had settled among them. The Protector's agent in New England laboured hard to effect the removal of several families; but they at length peremptorily refused, alledging in excuse "the prophaneness of the soldiery; the great mortality in the island; and the continual hazard to the lives of any peaceable settlers there, from the skulking Negroes and Spaniards." The foremost of these reasons might be thought to militate strongly against the New-Englanders; as the reprobates of Jamaica were very proper subjects to be converted into the paths of sobriety and righteousness by the spiritual precept and example of such immaculate saints: but, it seems, they were satisfied with toiling in their own vineyard, and had no ambition to become apostles to the ungodly. Their other arguments were perhaps more sincere, and better founded. Thus, despised and renounced by their virtuous neighbours, this sinful generation found no comfort but in mutually bewailing their own wretchedness. They had planted little or nothing, but employed themselves chiefly in searching about for eatables of any sort, and in brooding over their wants. "There are some," said the vice-admiral, "cordially and well-affected men in the army, who have no other ends but to serve God and his highness in their employs: but there is another sort, who design nothing but their return to England; to which end, they have not encouraged hunting for even the necessary support of the soldiery. Colonel Humphry's regiment has done nothing; others,

“others, but little; and colonel Holdip, who was the best and  
“most forward planter, was, upon articles preferred by his lieutenant colonel for detaining the dues of his regiment, cashiered  
“by a court martial. Till within these few days, the officers  
“would never consent that a declaration should be published to assure  
“a property in lands to the private soldiers; but, in short, resolved,  
“if they must plant, they should plant only as their servants.  
“There are,” adds he, “ill-favoured doings among them, which  
“have concealed ends. To remedy these disorders, some ingenious and public-spirited men should be sent among us.”

Holdip's activity having rendered him very obnoxious to the resentment of his disaffected brethren, it is probable the charge preferred against him, of oppression, was only a subterfuge to get rid of him. After this dismissal, he took his departure for England; where he was well received by the Protector. About the same time, major Throckmorton, for endeavouring to raise some disturbances in the army, was brought to a court-martial, found guilty, and executed the very next day. D'Oyley, who was well acquainted with the dangerous intrigues carrying on among some in the army, endeavoured by this execution to convince them, that he wanted neither resolution nor power to deal with the boldest of their leaders. The officers, who had applied themselves with most diligence to planting, were the colonels, Barrington, Holdip, and Archbould. The first, whose brother was one of the lords of the bed-chamber to the Protector, and his near relation, had good interest at court. Him the faction were afraid to mark for their vengeance: but they procured Holdip to be sent out of the way, as already mentioned; and they exhibited articles against Archbould, charging him with a design of revolting from the Protector, and endeavouring to gain over the fleet to the interest of Charles Stuart. Upon this ridiculous accusation, he was brought before a court-martial: but, although the cabal laboured hard for his conviction, they were unable to support the charge upon any plausible evidence; and he was honourably acquitted. In fact, the soldiers, finding themselves reduced to the condition of plantation servants, conceived a thorough dislike against those officers who forced them to dig the earth as their slaves. The faction kept up this  
L 1 2 spirit,



spirit, by rendering their toil as grievous as possible, and by opposing every measure that tended to mitigate the servility of their occupation. With this view, they had prevented, as long as they were able, the actual assigning of lands in propriety to their men, which would have reconciled them to the business, as having something in possession which they might call their own; and hoped, that the soldiers would be driven, by the extreme hardship of their case, either to perform their work with so much negligence and ill-will, as might make it unproductive of any good effect; or to break out into open mutiny, and compel their general to abandon the place. D'Oyley in some measure weakened the force of this confederacy by the punishment inflicted on Throckmorton, and by portioning out lots of land to all the private soldiers, with an assurance that they should cultivate and enjoy them unmolested by their officers. The faction, disconcerted by this intrepid behaviour, became violently enraged against D'Oyley; but were restrained from any open opposition, by dread of his activity and determined spirit: and they were obliged to be content, for the present, with privately giving all the obstruction in their power to the industry of their men, and sowing among them the seeds of discontent.

It was fortunate, considering the distracted state of affairs on shore, that the Spaniards were not in a condition to make any attempt upon them. In the island of Cuba had raged the most dreadful and mortal sickness known there for many years; which swept off great part of the people driven thither from Jamaica. The inhabitants there, so far from venturing to dispossess the English, were alarmed for their own safety, and busied in providing for the defence of their own coast. For this purpose, they were wholly taken up in constructing forts, and casting brass cannon, that island affording several mines, and every conveniency of wood and water for carrying on founderies.

In the mean while, the Protector was intent on sending over an augmentation of force, for the security of Jamaica. On the 14th of October, a regiment, commanded by colonel William Moore, was embarked at Carrickfergus, in Ireland: but, soon after putting to sea, they met with so violent a storm, that lieutenant-colonel Brumpton, with two hundred soldiers, part of the regiment, was unfortunately

unfortunately cast away on the coast of Ireland. Colonel Moore was forced back into Cork; which port he with difficulty reached; the other transports luckily escaped and arrived safe, having five hundred men on board. About the same time lieutenant-general Brayne, governor of Lochabar, in Scotland, who was appointed to succeed major-general Sedgewicke, set sail with one thousand men from Port Patrick. Whilst this reinforcement was on its way from Europe, about sixteen hundred, men, women, children, and servants, embarked at Nevis, under the direction of Stoke, governor of that island, and proceeded with him in the *Marmaduke*, *Adam and Eve*, and *Mary* fly-boat, which had been dispatched from the Jamaica squadron for this service. Their purpose was to settle in that island; to which end they had stipulated for certain preliminary articles, which were agreed to by the commissioners at Jamaica. Among other conditions granted them was this; "that masters should have the same proportion of land assigned for their slaves, as was allowed for their hired or indentured servants." From hence we may conjecture, that, at this time, little or no difference subsisted between the condition of white servants and Negroe slaves. The example of these Nevis planters gave a surprising turn to the sentiments of the New-Englanders. They now began to think, that the reports in prejudice of Jamaica had been greatly exaggerated; and that it must be a desirable place which could attract so many persons, and induce them to forsake their established settlements.

In consequence of this new light, Gookin, the Protector's agent, began to recruit with extraordinary success, and engaged three hundred substantial inhabitants of that colony to remove; and, as the provisions hitherto sent from England were found to have been frequently retarded in their passage, or damaged by the length of the voyage, and that similar victuals could, with far more convenience and dispatch, be remitted from these Northern settlements; the agent, in pursuance of orders from the Protector, shipped off for Jamaica nine hundred thousand pounds weight of biscuit, and two thousand five hundred bushels of pease, which were intended chiefly for support of the new settlers, immediately on their arrival. This may be considered as the commencement, or rather

earnest,

earnest, of that lucrative trade which the Northern colonies have, in after-times, with so much advantage to themselves, carried on with Jamaica; though as yet but a few vessels (and those were all from New-England) had entered there. Their cargoes consisted of flour, pease, bread, brandy, and oil; for which they were paid by the vice-admiral in prize-goods, taken from the Spaniards. This, indeed, can hardly deserve the name of a trade; since it was confined entirely to supplying the fleet with some necessaries, and taking in return such articles as were not the growth or produce of the island. The furnishing of the latter depended on the army; and hitherto we do not find that they bent their thoughts this way, though the benefits arising from it were so plainly pointed out to them by the comparatively better and more abundant subsistence which the seamen enjoyed by means of their traffic with the North-Americans.

We have a proof of the flourishing state of Barbadoes at this time from the account of governor Searle; who transmitted the following return to secretary Thurloe of the military establishment of that colony, taken on the 6th of November, 1656:

	Men.
Four regiments of foot, consisting of — — — —	4500
Eight troops of horse, — — — —	800

Total, 5300

according to which, it may be supposed their whole number of white inhabitants amounted to about twenty-one thousand, notwithstanding about four thousand had gone from thence on the expedition to St. Domingo, and afterwards to settle in Jamaica. It is to be observed, that the mode of calculation, usually practised in regard to European provinces, will not answer for the West-Indian islands, especially in these early times, when their militia consisted chiefly of indentured men servants, most of whom were unmarried; so that the number of white women bore no proportion to that of the men.

This account of Searle's is by no means consistent with Ligon's, who says, that, in the year 1650, there were in it,

Effective foot, — 10000

Horse, — — 1000

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 11000

and fifty thousand white inhabitants in all, men, women, and children. But it corresponds better with a French author, who reckons about twenty thousand in the year 1646; especially if it is considered, that, for want of land there, most of the indented, after serving out their time, removed to St. Kitt's, and other islands, where they could settle more to their satisfaction. But even that total must appear amazingly great: nor is it easy to conceive by what means that island, which is not so large as some of the parishes in Jamaica, became so well stocked with white inhabitants in so short a time. Some, indeed, have ascribed it to the encouragement given their servants; to each of whom, when they had served their indentures, lots of ten acres were assigned, on which they were enabled to subsist comfortably; and carried on a manufacture of cotton hammocks, which served as an article of export to the neighbouring islands. But to return. General Brayne in his passage touched at Barbadoes; where he took care to publish the Protector's ardent zeal for the effectual peopling of Jamaica; displayed the many advantages of that fine island in the most alluring light; hinted at the immunities intended to be conferred on all those who should remove thither to settle; and persuaded some of the most considerable planters to promise that they would follow him so soon as they could settle their affairs. Satisfied with this assurance, he let them know how agreeable their resolution would be to the Protector; and how sincerely he himself was disposed to render them every service and protection in his power. And, having so far executed his commission, he proceeded on his voyage.

#### S E C T. V.

BRAYNE arrived at Jamaica on the 14th of December; and about the same time came several transports with the Scotch and Irish troops. The late governor of Nevis and his party had, by advice

advice of vice-admiral Goodson, determined to seat themselves at Port Morante. Goodson probably made choice of this place, for the richness of the soil thereabouts, and the excellence of the harbour, being capable of receiving forty or fifty sail of ships: but the Spaniards had always declared it to be a very unwholesome part of the country; and such it proved to the Nevis planters. On their first landing there, a very heavy rain fell; which gave rise to immediate sickness among them. Unhappily too, they were obliged to live in tents; which not sufficiently screening them from the weather, they were afflicted with severe colds and fevers. These disorders gathered strength, for want of proper conveniences and remedies for the sick; insomuch that three hundred of them died between the day of their landing and the 9th of January following. However, the survivors went on cheerfully with their settlement. A party of the Scotch and Irish troops were stationed there for their protection; and the ground-work of a fort was begun at the mouth of the harbour. Brayne found the army at his arrival in good health, but extremely disinclined to planting. He learned from D'Oyley, that the cause of this originated from the discouragement continually thrown in the way by their officers; and therefore very wisely gave leave to the most turbulent, discontented, and worthless among them, to return to England; an offer which they most willingly embraced. The general had good reason to be pleased with this measure; for, after their departure, the soldiers, now no longer perverted from husbandry, applied themselves readily to work. The condition, however, of the colony, though so far reformed, was still in no very promising way: they were in want of an able engineer, of money, and medicines. The stores of the latter species were entirely spent; and, what was worse, their provisions in the magazine almost consumed. The soldiers had managed their plantations with so little skill or attention, that they were deserted almost as soon as formed. Having failed in their first crop, the general was obliged to send for a supply of seeds and plants from the Windward islands. The soldiers, according to custom, when their subsistence was reduced, began to grow mutinous: their officers reproached them as the causers of their own misery, by their wilful remissness and obstinate sloth; the

the soldiers complained of severities and oppression imposed upon them; and thus nothing but mutual animosities prevailed. The general discovered flagrant neglects of duty on both sides; and wished for persons better affected to the undertaking. He now likewise perceived, that the planters of Barbadoes had deluded him with empty promises of quitting that island for Jamaica. The principal men in the Windward colonies were, in fact, entirely averse to emigration; believing, that the departure of settlers from among them must infallibly diminish the profits of their annual excise on produce, which were wholly applied to public uses, such as building and repairing their fortifications, and the like; for which they had no other fund. Besides, their governors had reasons equally cogent; for, as their salary arose from a poll-tax levied on all the inhabitants, so it was rightly apprehended, that the depopulation of their respective colonies must necessarily lessen their income. They joined therefore cordially with the planters in every effort and argument that might influence the people against resorting to Jamaica, which they described as no other than a certain grave to all who should set foot upon it. By these arts, the inhabitants were so effectually deterred, that even servants, who had worked out the term of their indentures, and could not procure land in Barbadoes, chose to remove into any of the adjacent small islands, and purchase settlements, or hire themselves to hard labour, rather than go to Jamaica, where land was to be had without expence.

The vice-admiral had sailed for England with about nine ships of the fleet; and Brayne, not liking his situation, importuned the Protector, that he might be recalled at the expiration of one year's service in his government; adding, that "neither his body nor his purse could possibly hold out there beyond the twelvemonth." Several disheartening circumstances occurred besides what have already been noticed, and contributed to make him disgusted with the command. He had conceived great hopes from the industry of the Nevis planters settled at Morante; and imagined, that the example of their success would not only prove an incentive to the drones of the army, but induce many persons to remove from the other islands, and dissipate their ill-grounded fears. But, about the

latter end of February, governor Stokes and his wife died, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom was not more than fifteen years old. The governor was advanced in age when he left Nevis; and had been at so much expence in the removal, that his fortune was greatly impaired by it. In his last moments he earnestly recommended his family to Brayne and the Protector, who afterwards bestowed a commission in the army on his eldest son. Either this gentleman, or one of his brothers, formed a very good plantation, which still continues with their descendants. Near two thirds of these unfortunate planters at Morante were buried before the month of March; the rest were reduced to a sickly condition and the danger of starving, for want of strength, either to gather in their crops of provisions already come to maturity, or to plant anew. About a third also of the reinforcement, which came with the general, was dead; and many of the remainder sick; the last month's provision for the army and fleet was delivered from the magazine; and famine began to stare them in the face. The old soldiers, however, were in good health: they had planted considerably during the last two months; and some were employed in making salt, to load back the New-England victualers, whose arrival was daily expected. But they went on not many weeks longer in these occupations; when their provision became totally expended. Their allowance, indeed, when last apportioned, was so scanty, that the greater part of them had devoured, in one week, their whole month's subsistence. They now learnt, that no further supplies were likely to come from North-America; for the New-England merchants, disliking a payment by army and navy bills, hesitated to send any more victualers till they could be assured of a more substantial return. Their condition grew rather worse than ever it had been; for the seamen were equally distressed for food, a circumstance which had not happened before. The soldiers, in this extremity, relapsed into sickness, and were reduced almost to despair: they were not only destitute of aliment to support nature, but of cloathing to protect them from the inclemency of the weather; several perished with hunger; numbers rambled about bare-footed; and some had scarcely rags enough to cover their nakedness. The general did every thing in his power for them.

He

He employed a German, very expert in the business, to catch wild cattle; the ablest of the soldiers were drawn from their plantations, and sent a hunting; and both the officers and seamen of the fleet were equally compelled to hunt and fish, that they might save themselves from starving. The salt manufacture was suspended, not only because they could not attend to it as usual, but the year had proved so rainy, that very little could be made of that article. The weather, so unfavourable to their salt-work, was attended with the best effects on their plantations; where the provision came up in such abundance, as to promise a vast crop. This, in some measure, revived their spirits, though it did not relieve their present necessity. In the mean time, the remnant of the settlers at Morante, having recovered their healths, and got in their harvest, were exempted from the calamities which oppressed the other inhabitants, and proceeded in their labours with great ardour and success. In the month of March, some of the hunting parties intercepted two Spaniards, and conducted them to the headquarters. From the deposition of these prisoners, intelligence was obtained, that the greatest part of the Spaniards had been carried off to Cuba, in boats dispatched by the governor there for that purpose; that twelve Spanish families, consisting of about two hundred, men, women, and children, remained in Jamaica, and two hundred Negroes dispersed in the woods; and that the Spaniards habitation was at Oristan.

Although they were glad to find that the number of the enemy remaining in the island was so contemptible, yet they were not without some dread of attack from a much larger body, which they heard was preparing to make a descent. Their wretched situation at this time left no hope of being able to oppose an army of invaders well provided. But, feeble as they were, a party marched to dislodge the Spaniards at Oristan; which exploit was very soon performed; for the Spaniards, chased from place to place, thought of nothing more than saving their lives, by retreat and concealment, until they should find an opportunity of conveying themselves away to Cuba. The general thought proper to send home the Bear and Success frigates express, with a detail of misfortunes, and to solicit immediate assistance. On board these ships



some of the officers were allowed to remit several tons of fustic and other woods and commodities, for sale, on their own accounts, at the English market. This was the first sample of produce exported from their estates. As the year advanced, their crops of corn and other provision grew to maturity; and these, with the wild cattle and hogs brought in by different parties, afforded a very comfortable relief. The soil yielded so astonishing an increase, that the whole army now saw, in the strongest light, the necessity and advantage of attending to their plantations; and, concluding that no further supplies of bread would be sent from England, they applied themselves very earnestly to agriculture. They extended their settlements so rapidly, that the general hoped in a short time the fleet would be the only charge to the state, except the maintenance of five hundred men, who were judged necessary to be kept on constant duty, for the safeguard of the island. The activity of the officers now seemed to form a perfect contrast to their past indolence: they were all become, in the phrase of the West-Indies, red-hot planters. Among the foremost was colonel Francis Barrington, already spoken of. This gentleman, and his whole regiment, were exceedingly industrious. He had formed a very fine plantation of provisions and tobacco. He had also a large nursery of sugar-canes in a thriving condition; and intended, when they were fit for transplanting, to erect a sugar-mill. He was master of a good drove of cattle, and above thirty sheep. In short, he was so well pleased with his settlement, that he determined to prosecute it vigorously; and declared to his friends at home, that there was no island in America where a settler could enjoy equal advantages, mentioning, among others, that he could buy a horse in Jamaica for forty shillings, which in Barbadoes would cost forty pounds. This circumstance shews the great plenty of these animals then in the island, notwithstanding the numbers which the army had destroyed or eaten. It likewise produces a reflection, that the colony might, even at this time, have been brought forward into a very flourishing state, if the other officers had exerted the same spirit and good sense as were manifested by colonel Barrington. Prosperity, the common attendant upon industry, now began to dawn upon them; and the arrival of a fleet, with some victualers from

from England, about the beginning of July, proved a large addition to their comforts. Yet the planter foldiers, it must be owned, were reduced to a life of too much labour; for their officers, discerning the emoluments to be gained by the produce of so excellent a soil, were apt to impose the same kind of work upon them as what the Negroe labourers were afterwards employed in. This was found much too severe for their broken constitutions, and moved the general to propose, that the Protector should send over a number of indented servants, or a supply of Africans, giving as a reason, "that their masters, having by this means an interest in their servants, would be more careful of them, and work them more moderately; by which many lives would be saved, and the plantations more forwarded." This clearly insinuates, that he thought the soldiers had been urged to labour beyond their strength; and that many had perished from this cause, whose deaths were regarded by their officers with indifference, as the loss fell on the state or public, and not on them.

The officers went on for some time in a very peaceable mood, until an affair occurred which administered matter for fresh discontent. The colonels Buller and Humphry, captains Vavaffor, Fleetwood, and others, who had gone to England, were immediately on arrival paid their whole arrears. When the news of this reached the ears of their brethren in Jamaica, the latter were highly offended, and reproached the Protector with unjust partiality; observing, that such officers as had left the island, and merited disgrace and punishment, for their misbehaviour and opposition to public measures, were well received and rewarded at home; whilst they who remained behind, struggling with disease, famine, and every species of hardship, were neither supplied with fitting necessaries at the state's expence, nor paid their just arrears, which were very considerable. It is certain, there was but too much truth in those allegations; nor, I think, can any other reasons be assigned for this proceeding, than that the Protector, in the low state of his treasury, thought, of the two, it would be more prudent to satisfy the demands of the returned officers, whose clamours, and interest with the rest of the army at home, might be troublesome to his repose; and to delay payment of those left in Jamaica, whose re-  
moteness

moteness prevented their complaints from becoming so immediate marks of public notice, and who were not so capable of giving disturbance to his government at home. The officers in Jamaica, provoked by this ill treatment, were all extremely urgent to embark directly for England, that they too might receive their pay, and engage in the military operations carrying on in Flanders. In this emergency, the general, in hopes of dividing their resolutions, employed what little money he could command in buying off the married men; to whom, in consideration of their families, and greater expences of living, he paid the fourth part of their dues. This preference, though it rendered the married officers more tranquil, and wore to them an appearance of equitable dealing, afforded additional subject-matter to the rest for dissatisfaction; for the batchelors argued, that, if any predilection was due to either party, themselves were better entitled to it, because their pay would return home again in remittances of cash or goods, or in the purchase of Negroe servants; whereas the married men gave all their pay to their wives, who spent it in cloaths and victuals, without any adequate benefit to the commonwealth. Thus the general, having disunited these parties, and discharged himself from being the sole object of clamour, found means, but not without difficulty, to pacify the most turbulent, by representing his own indigence, which prevented him from instantly gratifying all their wants, and by assurances of laying before the Protector the hardship of their case, in order to their obtaining the most ample redress; to ensure which, he advised them to a submissive and peaceable demeanour. After this storm was blown over, he proceeded vigorously towards carrying on a new town, which he had projected at Port Royal Point. Here he erected all the store-houses for the army and fleet, and designed it as the chief place of future trade. He established a governor at Tortugas, in order to hinder the French from occupying that island, who had in contemplation to form extensive salt-works there. Observing many of the private soldiers lazy and unsettled, in expectation of being constantly maintained at the public charge, he dismissed them the service. In short, he omitted nothing in his power that could render the colony more populous and thriving. The incessant application of his mind and body to these

these objects harrassed him so severely, that he had not time to use proper remedies for recovery of his health, which had suffered by violent fevers. His usual specific on these occasions was copious blood-letting; which in this climate only served to weaken his constitution, and accelerate his end. He died on the 2d of September, after ten months residence; during which, he had enjoyed but very few intervals from sickness and uneasiness; and was buried, with all the pomp and solemnity the circumstances of the colony could admit of, in the church of St. Jago de la Vega. Brayne was a native of Scotland, and seems to have been tinctured with some small portion of national prejudice. Not long before his decease, colonel Moore arrived from Ireland, with the remainder of his regiment. Moore did not much like his new place of residence. The chief cause of his impatience was, that he had been obliged to leave a plantation in the province of Ulster, in Ireland, which he feared would go to ruin during his absence. He therefore pressed very earnestly for leave to return; but, Brayne refusing him with some degree of petulance, he grew indecently outrageous, nor could suppress his passion, till the general threatened to put him under arrest, and bring him to a court-martial, for mutiny. In representing this affair to the Protector, the general insinuated, “that the officers from Ireland put the state to great charge, and do little service;” a censure, which certainly was too indefinite to be just. Abstracted from this, which, in a favourable construction, we may impute to a hastiness of temper, and the still glowing fire of resentment kindled by the late affront, I do not perceive any blemish in his character. He was unquestionably a good soldier, an honest man, and most indefatigable in the execution of that duty to which he was appointed. By his judicious step at first setting out, in removing those factious officers who had occasioned so much trouble to Sedgewicke, and by his spirited behaviour and prudent measures afterwards, he won the affections of the army, brought them to a relish for industry, and advanced further than all his predecessors towards establishing the colony upon the two essential supporters, planting and commerce. For these reasons, he was most deservedly respected while living, and lamented when dead.

## S E C T. VI.

THE supreme command, upon Brayne's decease, again fell to colonel D'Oyley ; who, dissatisfied with several fruitless applications to be appointed a permanent governor, and not well pleased that he had been so repeatedly superseded, very seriously addressed the Protector for leave to return home ; and prayed him to confer the post on colonel Barrington, whom he recommended as a man of known integrity, competent abilities, sufficient experience of the place, desirous of continuing on it, and of a genius strongly inclined to planting. Though it seems probable from hence, that he now entered with some reluctance into the vacant office of governor ; yet his conduct in the sequel proves, that he was every way equal to, and worthy of it. The change had scarcely taken place, before they gained certain intelligence, that the Spaniards, in pursuance of a plan formed by the viceroy of Mexico, were making preparations to attack them. There was now an absolute necessity for keeping all the officers and men to a strict military duty ; none could safely be spared. Their vigilance was redoubled ; and, by D'Oyley's good dispositions, a letter of instruction from Don Peter Bayona, governor of Cuba, to serjeant-major John de los Reyes, a Spanish officer, was intercepted, together with other material papers, relative to their intended enterprize. The serjeant-major, among other particulars, was ordered to choose out a convenient spot for his head-quarters, adjoining to some watering place, and situated high, for the enjoyment of fresh air, and preservation of health ; to begin his assault upon that quarter which had the smallest force to defend it, viz. Port Morante, where he understood the Nevis planters resided with a very inconsiderable guard of soldiers, and those much discontented ; that, as to the manner of fighting, it should be in parties, having the main body near at hand, to sustain them ; that, in the first engagement, and during the heat of it, they ought to be very bloody, but afterwards should offer quarter, and free passage to Cuba, and thence to Spain ; that all

such as desired it should be treated with civility, and for this purpose tickets might be dispersed among them by some trusty messenger.

As to the manner of the march, he was directed to form the van with eight musqueteers, headed by an able serjeant, and place the same number before each flank, at a good distance from the main body; whose business it should be carefully to explore all ambuscades, and upon discovering any to fire upon them, and retreat fighting to the main body. And because he had notice that the English possessed above fourteen hundred slaves, and that most of the Spanish Negroes were still faithful adherents to the interest of their old masters, the serjeant-major was enjoined to endeavour to introduce some of these Negroes among the English slaves, that, by promises of good conditions, they might be persuaded to desert their owners, or at least betray the English quarters: but he advised to proceed herein with great circumspection, because of the little confidence that could safely be reposed in such kind of allies.

The tenor of these instructions was an evidence of that caution and sagacity for which the Spaniards are so remarkable. The choice of situation, pointed out for the head-quarters, is conformable to the disposition these prudent people have in general shown in building their West-India towns, except where they found themselves obliged for the sake of trade, or some other very cogent reason, to deviate from it. Indeed every part of these instructions affords an useful lesson to the inhabitants of our English West-India colonies; and it is on this account chiefly, that I have interwoven them with my narrative, in which I shall now proceed.

The army had no sooner taken all proper measures which this intelligence naturally suggested, than they were informed that Don Arnoldo Sasi, the old governor of Jamaica, was landed, and preparing to assist in the meditated conquest. He had brought with him all the surviving natives that had formerly retired to Cuba, and were able to bear arms. He was likewise endeavouring to collect the other scattered parties from their concealments in the island, in order to discipline them: but they were so pusillanimous, and had so little of martial spirit, that they soon began to nauseate the service, and to desert from him as fast as they could. Incensed

at their cowardice, he issued a proclamation, that none should leave the island on pain of death; and, for their encouragement to stand their ground, he assured them, he was in daily expectation of six hundred soldiers from Carthagena. The governor of Cuba was not behind-hand in severity. He threatened to hang up, without mercy, every man of them that should pass over to his territory. But their timid behaviour convinced him, that the island was only to be regained by regular troops, and that none of these poltroons were to be depended on in time of action; and he thought necessary to apprise Saff of this opinion, that he might not risque the failure of their plan by relying too much upon such men. Exclusive of the reinforcement from Carthagena, eight hundred regulars were expected from Old Spain. So that Don Arnoldo began to plume himself on the sure prospect of a glorious victory; and, in the fullness of his heroism, he dispatched a letter to the king his master, in which, after commending his royal wisdom in seeking to re-possess an island of such vast importance to his commerce of the Indies, he promised confidently, that he would dislodge the English very speedily from all their quarters, and expel them out of the island in this year of 1657, or at least reduce them to their fortrefs at the sea-side.

D'Oyley, not in the least dismayed with all these hostile appearances, resolved to attack them before their forces could effect a junction. He picked out a body of five hundred men, well-officered; and embarking with them sailed in quest of the enemy. On his arrival at the North side of the island, he landed near Ocho Rios (or Cheireras Bay), where the Spaniards, equal in number, had taken post, and fortified themselves with an entrenchment and breast-work. He assailed them with such impetuosity, that they were soon driven from their works, and totally routed, great part of them being slain in the action, and the rest either forced into the woods, or taken prisoners. In the ensuing year, D'Oyley received intelligence, that their long-expected corps of regular infantry had been for some time arrived from Spain. They consisted of thirty small companies, making in the whole about one thousand men; and, being well furnished with provision, ordnance, and ammunition, they had taken up their quarters at Rio Nuevo,

Nuevo, in St. Mary's, where they erected a fort of some strength on a rocky eminence, near the sea, and not far from that river. D'Oyley called a council of war, in which it was unanimously resolved to fall on the enemy without delay. Perceiving a general ardour among the troops for entering into action, he commanded out seven hundred and fifty officers and soldiers, and on the 11th of June embarked and sailed for the North side.

On the 22d in the morning, he attempted to land at Rio Nuevo Bay, which was defended by two companies, within half-shot of the cannon belonging to the Spanish fort. The Forlorn advanced through the water, and assaulted that party with so much gallantry, that they were soon routed, and one captain and twenty-three men slain. D'Oyley, pursuing this advantage, made haste to land the rest of his men; which he effected without much loss, notwithstanding a continual discharge from the fort. The English spent that day in battering the fort from their ships; but the elevation on which it stood prevented the guns from bearing so as to make any effectual impression. In the mean time, D'Oyley, having reconnoitered the place, was at a loss how to proceed. He had learnt, that the enemy greatly exceeded his little army in numbers; that they were fortified with six pieces of cannon; the situation of their fortress was naturally strong; and his access to it was obstructed by the river, which he must necessarily pass, and whose depth he was unacquainted with. Having therefore duly weighed these circumstances, he ordered a sufficient number of ladders and other implements, necessary for a *coup de main*, to be got ready; and on the 23d he dispatched a drummer, with a summons to Sasi, governor of the fort, requiring him to surrender; and ordered the drummer to sound the depth of the water very carefully. This messenger, having passed the river without much difficulty, was admitted to the governor; who treated him with uncommon civility, giving him twenty-five pieces of eight as a present for himself, and sending a jar of sweetmeats to the English general, accompanied with a refusal to capitulate. Upon this, D'Oyley resolved to march the next morning; and ordered two ships to fall to leeward, and draw the enemy's attention to that quarter by a vigorous fire; the other ships to warp as near as they could, and batter in front,



while he prosecuted the attack by land on the other side. Having made these dispositions, he forded the river on the 24th, as soon as it was light, and came to a steep hill at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the fort. A party of the enemy had taken post here, and were very busy in erecting some new works. The English, advanced with the utmost intrepidity; and, clambering up the rocks, an exercise they had often practised in their hog-hunting excursions, soon gained the summit, drove the Spaniards from their works, and, after halting a little to refresh themselves, proceeded towards the fort. The general, as soon as he came within sight of it, observed with much satisfaction, that the walls were not carried up to the same height on that side as on the other, and ordered the Forlorn to advance with their ladders and hand-grenades. The Spaniards, disconcerted with the boldness of their approach, fired towards them at random, with but little execution. In the mean time, the English, having attained on full speed to the foot of the wall, received the enemy's fire; and, clapping the muzzles of their guns into the loop-holes of the flankers, poured a volley of shot full in upon them, which, as they were cooped up within a narrow compass, killed and wounded several. In the midst of the confusion occasioned by this assault, the general gained possession of the flankers; which the garrison no sooner perceived, than they made as much haste as they could to get out of the fort, and took to their heels with the utmost precipitation. Many of them sought a refuge among the rocks on the sea-shore; where they were shot by the sailors, who put off immediately from the ships: the rest were pursued three or four miles; and great part of them slaughtered, or taken prisoners.

The great disparity of the loss on each side in this engagement, proves the victory to have been very compleat.

On the part of the Spaniards, three hundred privates, several captains, two priests, and one serjeant-major, were killed; one hundred privates, and six captains, made prisoners of war; the royal standard and ten colours taken.

In the fort were found ten double barrels of powder, great store of shot, six pieces of cannon mounted, and a large quantity of wine, brandy,

brandy, salt, oil, and other provisions; which were a most acceptable prize to the victors.

On the side of the English, the captains Wiseman, Mears, captain-lieutenant Robinson, ensign Foster, and twenty-three privates, were killed; and thirty-four wounded. D'Oyley demolished the fortification; and by this gallant action repaired the honour of the army, which had sustained some injury at St. Domingo. He afterwards dislodged the fugitive remnant of the Spanish forces who had sheltered themselves in the woods, took two more of their colours, and several prisoners.

After these successive disasters, and other defeats in small skirmishes, the Spaniards despaired of regaining the island. Most of them, who could find opportunity, quitted it, retiring to Cuba, or some other of their settlements, and never ventured to make another attempt of any consequence against this colony.

A Spanish fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of war (which had been destined to take in soldiers at Carthagena, to support the invasion of the island), upon the news of Don Sasi's ill success, made the best of their way to the Havannah, and left the coast open to the English fleet; on board of which D'Oyley embarked three hundred soldiers, burnt two galleons bound from Carthagena to Porto Bello, and destroyed the town of Tolu, situated on the coast of the Spanish Main. Their settlements at Sancta Martha and other parts had greatly suffered, some time before, by the spirited attacks of Goodson. So that now the terror of the English arms reduced the enemy to think of nothing but the means of best protecting themselves from invasion, by strengthening their maritime forts; while D'Oyley, equally provident for the security of his charge, completed two forts, and set about erecting a third, as a further safeguard to the harbour. He likewise recommended this to Cromwell as a fit place for taming those fiery and turbulent spirits that were troublesome at home; and intimated, that the officers were willing to make a reasonable allowance out of their pay to all such of the meaner sort as might be sent over, and be bound to serve them for a term by indentures.

The army, being now become masters of Jamaica by right of conquest, attached themselves more closely than ever to their plantations.

rations. Two hundred and fifty settlers came among them from Bermudas; and several Quakers, who had been driven out of Barbadoes. These inoffensive and well-meaning schismatics dispersed godly books among the soldiers, with a view to their conversion. The Quakers in England had, for some time, been under persecution, being supposed to have embraced the tenets of the Levelers; and many of the principal men among them were accused of preaching doctrines, and plotting conspiracies, dangerous to government. D'Oyley, regarding them as a devout and peaceable set of people, gave them a friendly reception; but, as he knew the opposition they had met with at home, he thought it necessary to apply to Cromwell for instructions in what manner they were to be treated. It does not appear whether or not they were successful in making proselytes; but, as they professed to handle no other than spiritual weapons, it is probable they soon found the military government of Jamaica ill adapted to their principles; for the greater part of them at length removed to their brotherhood in Pennsylvania. By the progress of the settlements, some produce began now to find its way to market. Port-Royal was the place for negotiating all mercantile transactions. Hides, salt, woods, tobacco, and tortoise-shell, were the chief productions vended by the inhabitants inland or upon the coast. To these were added a variety of valuable prize goods taken by the fleet, which made frequent captures from the Spaniards. What trade as yet had sprung up was almost entirely managed with the North Americans. Mahogany at this time must have been exceedingly plentiful, and very near the South coast of the island; for most of the first-built houses were of this wood. Whilst the foundation of future splendour was thus gradually laying at Port-Royal, the frigates on this station gave the enemy such continual annoyance, by plying near the Havannah, and obstructing their intercourse with that place, that the Spaniards were obliged to bring home much of their treasure by the way of Buenos Ayres, in Rio de la Plata; a tract disused ever since the reign of queen Elizabeth, during which they had been greatly infested with English adventurers.

After the decisive victory gained over the Spaniards in Jamaica, their Negroes had still continued very troublesome. When they perceived

perceived their old friends and masters were no longer able to keep footing on the island, they murdered the governor placed over them, and chose a leader from their own gang. Such was the hard necessity of the Spaniards, that, unable to command, they were constrained to implore and court protection of these blacks. The captain elect was the famous Juan de Bolas, whose place of retreat in St. John's parish, a pretty steep mountain, still retains his name. The English procured some blood-hounds, and hunted these blacks like wild beasts; till, grown weary at length of this uneasy life, and being in danger of perishing for want of provisions, they sent a deputation to D'Oyley, who promised to receive them into favour on surrendering their arms. The major part of them accepted the terms; but some others refused to submit, and withdrew to secret recesses in the midland parts, with which they were perfectly well acquainted. Here they nettled for several years, until they grew numerous enough by breeding, and the accession of runaway slaves, to repeat their antient hostilities, of which I shall give some account hereafter. The submitting Negroes, as an earnest of their fidelity, became extremely sedulous in discovering the hiding-places of the Spaniards, and readily assisted the English in pursuing them and the other Negroes who had refused to come in on terms.

In the beginning of the year 1660, colonel D'Oyley, being informed by these allies that his old opponent, Don Christopher, unwilling to resign his pretensions to the government so long as he could maintain the least party, or shew of authority, was lying *perdue* on the North side of the island, ordered out a detachment under the command of lieutenant-colonel Tyson, consisting of eighty officers and soldiers, and twenty-one of the revolted Spanish blacks; which, after a tedious march across the mountains, came up at length with Don Christopher, who had posted himself in a swampy place with one hundred and thirty-three men. His second in command was an experienced soldier, who had served in Spain, and had engaged in this new service in consideration of double pay, and a promise of succeeding to the chief command after the governor's death.

The

The English advanced upon them with intrepidity; and at the first onset the Spanish lieutenant-general received a wound, by a lance, in his belly, of which he died in two hours. The loss of this able leader, upon whom all their hopes had been fixed, immediately struck the whole of their little army with a panic. Their general, Don Christopher, was one of the first to retreat, and ran so nimbly as to save himself from being taken. Several, however, were made prisoners, and about sixty officers and soldiers slain, on the part of the Spaniards, without any loss to the victorious side. The blacks were extremely active upon this occasion, and gained great applause by their dexterity in catching the fugitives. The unfortunate old governor, being now reduced to the last extremity, and studious only for the preservation of life, sent commissioners to treat on his behalf; and was permitted to retire to Cuba. After this exploit, the English proceeded to Chereiras Bay, where a vessel lay at anchor, which the Spaniards had formerly taken, and employed to bring them monthly supplies of provision from Cuba, such as cassada-bread, sweetmeats, chocolate, and other conveniences. The better to secure her from being surprized, they kept several scouts at some distance from the shore, to reconnoitre the country, and give the alarm upon the approach of an enemy. Colonel Tyson had intelligence of their caution; and, disposing his men in different ambuscades, found means to secure all the scouts one after another; after which, he concerted his measures so well, as to make himself master of the vessel, on board of which he found twenty officers and soldiers, who were all taken prisoners.

The few remaining Spaniards, who had eluded the search of the English forces, embraced the first convenient opportunity of making their escape from the island, leaving about thirty of their Negroe slaves behind, who secreted themselves in the mountains, and afterwards entered into alliance with the other unsubdued banditti. The island now began to wear the appearance of health and plenty; the planting business went on successfully; commerce increased; and the sense of former miseries was almost obliterated: when, in the midst of these pleasing circumstances, a factious officer of the army, colonel Raymund, who had made himself very popular among the private men, conspired to engage them in a ge-

neral revolt, and persuaded his friend, lieutenant-colonel Tyson, who had behaved so gallantly in the last encounter with the Spaniards, to associate with him in the plot. Raymund's object, it has been supposed, was to seize the government himself; but the real design is not certainly known. Whatever it was, he was probably encouraged to the attempt, by knowing that D'Oyley was not armed with any express commission, or power, to punish such offences capitally. Besides, he had won the affections of the soldiery, or at least the major part of them; and was not unacquainted, that D'Oyley was by no means a person agreeable to the Protector; that he was rather austere in his manners, and a steady advocate for pursuing the cultivation of the island, to which most of the private men were disinclined. It is certain, this conspiracy was alarming, if not extensive. The mutineers began by breaking open and plundering some houses in St. Jago de la Vega; and, their number of partizans increasing, it was imagined they meant no less than the demolition of the town. D'Oyley saw the danger so urgent, that he found himself compelled to suppress it by an act of boldness which might strike the rest of the troops with awe. He immediately put himself at the head of a chosen party, defeated the conspirators after a stout resistance, seized the two officers, and brought them instantly to a court martial. They were adjudged guilty, and shot pursuant to their sentence. Colonel Raymund met his fate with a magnanimity and resolution that would have done him honour in a better cause; but his companion, who had been unwarily drawn in to a participation of the crime, but had pledged himself too far to retract, appeared overwhelmed with contrition for having sullied his character with the infamy of rebellion, and effaced the glory of his past services by an ignominious end. This severe example re-established good order and discipline, and every thing seemed to prosper under D'Oyley's wise and active government.

Trade no sooner began to raise its head at Port-Royal, than a more agreeable employment offered to all those soldiers and other enterprising spirits who preferred a roving and martial life to the sober and laborious occupation of planting. Privateers began to swarm. The example of the squadron, which had made several

rich captures, was a powerful incentive with many, and pointed out to them an easy road to affluence: though the first design of equipping them was no other than to secure the island against the Spaniards, by giving constant alarms upon their coasts; and to save the commonwealth the heavy charge of always maintaining a fleet here for that purpose; and, finally, to compel the Spaniards into a solid and durable peace, by annoying them in every quarter, and interrupting their navigation. This was general Brayne's object; and in process of time, encouraged by D'Oyley and several succeeding governors, who thought it the most judicious way of dealing with the Spaniards, and of prevailing on them to recede from their maxim of waging a perpetual enmity with all intruders in America. The propriety of it was fully justified in the event, by the confluence of traders and others, who resorted to this island in the course of a few years, in order to participate of the booty with which Port-Royal became so abundantly stocked by the privateers, who, from very small beginnings, mustered at last three thousand fighting men, and thirty sail of stout vessels, well furnished with every necessary. The great confluence of inhabitants to Port-Royal, and the long tranquillity ensured by so powerful a naval armament, which the Spaniards were unable to withstand, necessarily tended to increase the number of settlements on shore; for the great consumption of provisions of all sorts in that town, and for the outfit of so many privateers, created a very large demand for cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, corn, and every other similar supply furnished by the planters and settlers. Hence it happened, that those who were possessed of the smallest lots, not exceeding thirty acres of land, were able to maintain themselves in a very comfortable manner, by attending to some one or other of those small articles which gained ready money at the market. And it is owing to this cause, that we find such a prodigious number of these little settlements grouped together in all the environs of St. Jago de la Vega, and in the maritime parts not far from Port-Royal harbour, which were then full of people, all subsisting well by their traffic with that town. The revenue of the landholders was considerably increased likewise by the rising rents of houses there, which in its flourishing æra were set on as high terms as the  
best

best houses in the city of London. When the spirit of privateering was broke, this event was followed by the declension of Port-Royal, and the dissipation of the petty settlers, who from that period began to spread themselves more into the inland parts; and, when sugar became the staple of the island, the nature of the commodity, which required large tracts for its cultivation, necessarily gave birth to land monopolies. A large number of the thirty-acre lots were bought up on easy terms by the more opulent planters or merchants, and consolidated into one property.

To sustain these sugar estates, large breeding farms were requisite; and these tended to promote the spirit of monopolizing: so that those places, which originally were best stocked with inhabitants, are now either desert, or turned into pastures for cattle and sheep. The general avidity for settling sugar works has been productive of consequences in Jamaica similar to what have lately been experienced in England upon the demolition of small farms. It has thinned the country of people, and occasioned many necessary articles of food to be extremely dear and scarce, by abolishing that class of poor, but useful, subjects, who had found their account in the production and vending of those articles.

As we have no memorials of the further proceedings of the army from this year 1660 to the year 1662, when lord Windsor was appointed in the room of colonel D'Oyley [w]; I must here conclude

[w] The last capital operation by land, performed by these veterans, was in the latter end of the year 1662, soon after lord Windfor assumed the government. His excellency, taking into consideration the many insults and abuses committed by the islanders of Cuba upon English subjects, and their frequent attempts to obstruct the trade of Jamaica, determined to retaliate upon them, and prevent them from giving any disturbance for some time to come. With this view, he caused one thousand picked men, drawn from the regiments, to be embarked upon twelve sail of the best vessels belonging to the island, and to sail directly for Cuba. On the 1st of October they made the land, and about four o'clock in the afternoon were got well in with the castle and block-houses, upon the South side of the harbour of St. Jago. This harbour is one of the best in America. It runs about seven miles North into the land; the entrance, for about a mile, is so narrow, that only one ship can enter at a time; then it widens for about two miles; and then contracts itself again; after which, it is somewhat divided by a small island, called Isla Verde; beyond which, it opens at once into a spacious triangular basin, extremely deep, and perfectly secure from tempestuous winds. The entrance may be defended against a numerous fleet, not only by the fort and batteries which guard the Eastern point, but because there is no anchoring near the mouth, where the depth of water is from eighty to one hundred fathom; with a prodigious swell; and, the height of the land intercepting the breeze, ships are generally subject to be becalmed



conclude my narrative with some encomium on the last-mentioned gentleman, under whose auspices this colony was preserved from foreign as well as intestine enemies, and advanced very far in civilization.

By his personal bravery and wise conduct in defeating every attempt of the Spaniards to retake the island, as well as by the spirit of industry he excited among the troops and other inhabitants, without relaxing their military discipline too much; he gained

very near it, and in danger of driving upon the rocks which environ the leeward or Western point. The town stands near the North-east angle of the harbour, about the distance of three miles and a quarter from the principal fort, called, like that of the Havannah, the Morro, or Rock. The English fleet had no sooner approached the offing of the harbour, than a land wind sprung up, and baffled their attempt. Upon this, they altered their first plan of attack, and, coasting along the shore, effected a landing, about two miles from the point, upon such inconvenient ground, that the night came on before the whole army could be disembarked. The spot where they had landed was rocky and full of trees; which, together with the darkness that involved them, contributed to retard their march, and to render it exceedingly difficult. Their guides, however, having at length provided some torches, they pursued their route, and about the dawn of day came up with a plantation about six miles from the landing place, and three from the town, to which they advanced with all the celerity in their power, after taking sufficient refreshment. Upon their approaching the town, they found the commandant Don Pedro Moralin, and their old acquaintance Don Christopher, the late governor of Jamaica, posted at the head of eight hundred men. The Spaniards, having barricaded all the avenues, and drawn down a train of artillery, made shew of an obstinate resistance. The English forces, not in the least intimidated at this appearance, came on in good order, with a general shout; and, having received a discharge of their great and small shot, rushed forward, took possession of the artillery before the Spaniards had time to load again, and charged them so furiously, that they soon put them to rout, killed numbers of their men, and, having gained the town, made themselves masters of six sail of ships which lay at anchor before it. Flushed with this success, they spent but little time in resting from the fatigues they had undergone. The necessary dispositions were made for securing their re-entry into the town; and they immediately marched to attack the castle and block-houses. By this time the fleet had pushed into the harbour, and ranged in a convenient line, to co-operate with the troops, who no sooner drew near the fort, and began to assault, than the enemy, dismayed at their huzzas, and the impetuosity of their manœuvres, deserted the ramparts, and betook themselves to the inner works; from which also they retreated with precipitation, after firing a few irregular shots, and were pursued as far as the English general thought advisable. The victorious army proceeded next to demolish all the fortifications, and the town itself, consisting of two thousand dwelling-houses, which they razed to the ground, and laid the country waste for some miles round. They took one thousand barrels of powder in the fort, and thirty-four pieces of cannon, chiefly brass, four of which were afterwards sent to the Tower of London. The fort had been by the inhabitants reputed impregnable. The wall on the land-side was sixty feet in height, and proportionably thick; and the whole building had cost the king of Spain, but a few years before, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling. So that the loss sustained by the enemy, in ruined buildings and plantations, the capture of ships and other effects, was probably not short of half a million sterling, or upwards.

more honour than either Penn or Venables by their invasion of it. If to this we add, that he appears not to have sought advantage to himself by the monopoly of land, which undoubtedly was within his power, or by practising any extortion or oppression on the subjects abandoned to his entire command; but, on the contrary, manifested a firm and persevering zeal in maintaining good order among men disheartened and averse to settlement; in improving and establishing it by humane, vigorous, and prudent measures, while in its infancy; and, finally, delivering it out of his hands to the nation a well-peopled and thriving colony; we shall see cause to applaud him as an excellent officer, a disinterested patriot, a wise governor, a brave and upright man; and must lament, that, although it is to his good conduct alone we owe the possession of Jamaica, he received no other reward for his many eminent services than the approbation of his own heart. He was of a good family, educated to the law, and held some civil employments in Ireland: but, conformable to the usage of the times during the Civil War, he quitted his profession for the camp, and first served among the royalists. He was, early in the war, taken prisoner by the forces of the parliament; and afterwards entered into the service of the victorious party. He engaged in the expedition against the Spanish West-Indies for one year only; but, by various occurrences, continued in the service till after the Restoration. He had strongly solicited Cromwell to confirm him in the government of Jamaica; and was constantly refused, from a distrust perhaps of his political principles. So that, although he enjoyed the supreme command here for a longer space than any of his predecessors, it was only by the accident of survivorship upon the deaths of Sedgewicke and Brayne. It is a memorable circumstance attending his life, that the very man to whom the Protector had manifested so inflexible an aversion or jealousy, seemed the most capable of any commander employed; that he held the government, which had been denied to his solicitations, much longer, and succeeded in the administration of it much better, than any other.

If we take a retrospective view of Cromwell's policy and management throughout the whole of this business, we shall find no great reason to admire them. The ill success of the enterprize  
against

against St. Domingo may justly be ascribed as much to the treacherous behaviour of the persons commissioned by Oliver in the equipment, as to the injudicious choice, and bad execution, of the officers and men by whom it was conducted. The soldiers were for the most part the refuse of the whole army; the forces, enlisted in the West-Indies, were the most profligate of mankind; Penn and Venables were of very incompatible tempers; the troops were not furnished with arms fit for such an expedition; their provisions were very defective both in quantity and quality; all hopes of pillage, the best incentive to valour among such men, were refused the soldiers and seamen; no directions nor intelligence were given to conduct the officers in their enterprize; and at the same time they were tied down to follow the advice of commissioners who extremely disconcerted them in all their projects [x].

For the possession of Jamaica, the generals were more indebted to the cowardice of the Spaniards, than the bravery of their own troops. In the reinforcing of that army, who were to plant as well as defend the island, it was surely unwise to send sturdy beggars, thieves, and vagabonds, gleaned from Scotland and other parts, with a design to their altering their nature in Jamaica, and becoming converts to sobriety, industry, and good-manners. The quality of these recruits may be judged from major-general Boteler's return of persons committed to gaol within his association. It begins in this manner.

In the gaol at Northampton,

Thomas Jackson,	{	These three are such as live out of any calling,
Matthew Gauge,		and very drunken fellows, and quarrelsome;
Marke Crookes.		are all single men, and fit for the service beyond seas.

This same purveyor for the colonies, in his letter to Thurloe in the year 1656, "makes humble motion, that he would please to help him to a vent for those idle vile rogues, that he had secured for the present, some in one country, some in another; being not able to provide security for their peaceable demeanour; not fit to live on this side some or other of our plantations." He adds, "that he could help Thurloe to two or three hundred at twenty-

[x] Hume.

"four

“four hours warning; and the countries would think themselves well rid of them [y].” What happened upon the introduction of such levies into Jamaica might easily have been foreseen. They persisted in their dissolute courses, contaminated others who were well disposed, and rendered the place for some time offensive to strangers, who might otherwise have chosen to settle in it. Another great defect in the colonization of the island was the neglect of providing and establishing, by the supreme authority of the state, some certain frame of civil government. The Puritans of New-England, who had prospered so amazingly, were restrained to an orderly, temperate, and industrious way of life, by the austerity of their religious principles, which answered all the ends of municipal laws, and compulsory penalties. The men, collected at Barbadoes and the other small islands, were chiefly servants, who had worked out the term of their indentures, and derived very little morality or decency from their education, sphere of life, or habitual practices; for they had been used to herd with Negroe slaves, and resembled them in the brutality of their manners.

In regard to the reprobates expelled from England, where they were nuisances; although it may be true, that men of restless tempers, and many of indifferent morals, which might render them noxious in the mother-state, may often become very useful citizens, when transplanted into the remoter parts of the empire; yet it seems reasonable to think, that, in order to become useful, they must undergo their probation in colonies already well-settled, and subjected to a regular form of government, where wholesome laws connect and strengthen all the obligations of society, and where a competent power resides to put those laws in full execution. Men of a capricious or dissolute turn of mind have not that sufficient degree of patience, steadiness, and decorum, so essential to the establishment of new plantations in parts remote from the immediate superintendence of the mother-state. Considering, therefore, the several events attending the first settlement of Jamaica, it may be reckoned a fortunate circumstance, that, when, by the licentious and refractory proceedings of many in the army, the affairs of the colony wore no very promising aspect, and that the business of

planting did not proceed with that rapidity so conspicuous in other islands, the privateering trade at length opened a channel, by which these disorderly spirits were driven into an occupation perfectly well-suited to them. In the acquisition of wealth to themselves, which they dissipated in riot and debauchery, they contributed more largely than they were aware to the prosperity of that island, and the emolument of the mother-country.

When Richard Cromwell treated with Bourdeaux, the French ambassador, in respect to the conditions of a peace with Spain; he was told, that the king of Spain would never consent to leave Jamaica in English hands, in regard it "would in time overthrow" all the maxims by which he governed his American dominions;" but would give a considerable sum of money to England for it. Richard was too honest, perhaps, to encourage this proposal; but it may serve to show the very great importance of this island in the estimation of the Spaniards, as threatening, while in English hands, to subvert their project of an exclusive monarchy in the West-Indies. Yet the Spaniards could lay claim to this island on no other pretence than that of usurpation. They expelled, or put to death, sixty thousand Indian inhabitants, to make room for about fifteen hundred Spaniards. Their whole number of inhabitants, including Negroe slaves, were, at the time of the English invasion, computed only at three thousand, of whom the slaves were supposed to form the major part. As the maritime powers in Europe were not disposed to acknowledge this pretended right of universal sovereignty in America, which the crown of Spain had arrogated; so this opposition gave rise to a sort of predatory Tropical war, which for many years subsisted previous to the conquest of Jamaica. It was chiefly conducted by private adventurers, French, English, and other subjects; and gave no interruption to the peace in Europe between the respective nations and Spain. But many of these adventurers, if not most of them, were countenanced in these expeditions by their respective sovereigns, proved by their obtaining regular commissions; and the rest were not questioned for what they had done. So that the Spanish claim could not even support itself on a prescriptive right; since it was so continually denied by these interruptions. In short, agreeable to the law of nations, a  
general

general and firm assent to their claim could only have been testified by a treaty admitting it in full effect, and ensuring permanently a quiet, peaceable possession. No such compact having been ratified with Spain, the English and other states, contesting the Spanish usurpation in these seas, thought themselves at liberty to acquire some share of those lands which the Spaniards were unable either to people or to defend. Even according to the utmost refinements of the civilians, if we grant that the first discoverers of any country have the best right to possess it; yet we must contend for this distinction, that such a right is only legitimately constituted in respect to countries found desert, or without inhabitants. But, as all these American lands, when discovered by Columbus, were well-peopled with the Indian Aborigines, the Spaniards could not derive a legitimate right from this source. The crown of Spain, aware of this distinction, never alledged it as material in their favour, but chose rather to found their claim on the Pope's donation; who, as God's vicar on earth, asserted a right to dispose at pleasure of every acre of land on the globe[z]. It is certain, that the Spaniards, by admitting the papal omnipotency in this case, have implied a right in the Pope to resume his grant at any time, and bestow these very territories upon the French, or others of his catholic vassals; and that the claim of such new grantees would derive additional strength from the very title set up by the Spaniards themselves; for the Roman pontiff constantly asserted an equal right to take away, pull down, and destroy, as to confer, build up, and support. And there is no doubt but that, if this donation were of any validity, the king of Spain would be equally well entitled to possess the kingdom of England; for that also was granted by the Pope, first to Philip of France, and afterwards to Philip of Spain; who, to obtain it, equipped the formidable Armada. In this age, when the thunders of the Vatican are no longer capable of striking terror into Papists or Protestants, a claim of this nature

[z] Noah, who had a better title in law, is said by some historians to have executed a deed of bargain and sale soon after he came ashore from the ark, and conveyed the whole world to his three sons, share and share alike. But this deed no where appearing at present, unless it is preserved in the Vatican library, we are not informed to whose lot America fell. The Pope, it is thought (no title-deed being extant), conceived this Western estate to be escheatable, and so claimed it as *vicarius Dei*; but, if the opinion of the learned may be relied on, it properly and legally belongs to the right heirs of Noah.

is deservedly laughed at by both parties. The English therefore, unable to find any lawful foundation for the claim of exclusive sovereignty in America, and intending a war with Spain, or rather reprisals for various acts of hostility and rapine, determined to strike some blow in America, where the offences had been committed. The capture of Jamaica was really no other than a denunciation of war. In this sense it was understood by the court of Spain, which immediately sought revenge by confiscating all the English ships and effects in the Spanish ports and factories. I have been surprized, therefore, to find some authors arraigning the lawfulness and justice of this act of Cromwell, since it seems to have every requisite ingredient appertaining to a lawful acquisition in war. Some, indeed, have insisted wholly on the unlawfulness of committing hostilities in America pending the peace in Europe; but these writers did not reflect, that no peace had ever in express words respected America by name; or, if a peace had been established there by implication of treaty in the like manner as in Europe, there is no doubt but the English nation, meditating a defensive war against Spain for her infraction of such a treaty, might, without any breach of the law of nations, declare it by hostilities in America. Even if no general war had been intended against Spain, the seizure of Jamaica would have been justified by the principles and practice of the Spaniards themselves, who had laid it down as a maxim, never to contract sincere peace with the English in America. In the reign of Charles I, and whilst a profound peace was observed in Europe, they attacked St. Christopher, Nevis, Providence, Santa Cruz, and some other insular settlements on which the English had planted themselves. They murdered, or carried into slavery, most of the settlers; nor did the English ever receive from the crown of Spain the least reparation for these outrages. It was not consistent with the fundamental policy of that court, that the English should ever be admitted to a participation either of territory or trade in the West-Indies. There is no doubt but the Spaniards are still equally tenacious of these pretensions, and want not the will, but the power, to recover all they have lost.

This

This reasoning will receive a considerable elucidation from the following account, which Thurloe has given us, of the rise of this West-India expedition.

Speaking of the negotiations between Oliver Cromwell, soon after he was raised to the protectorate, and the foreign ministers, he says, in reference to the Spanish ambassador, Don Alonzo de Cardenas, "that, touching the West-Indies, the debate thereof was  
 " occasioned upon the first article of the treaty of 1630 between  
 " England and Spain, whereby it is agreed, that there should be a  
 " peace, amity, and friendship, between the two kings and their  
 " respective subjects, in all parts of the world, as well in Europe  
 " as elsewhere. Upon this it was shewed, that, in contravention  
 " of this article, the English were treated by the Spaniards as ene-  
 " mies wherever they were met in America, though sailing to and  
 " from their own plantations; and insisted, that satisfaction was  
 " to be given in this, and a good foundation of friendship laid in  
 " those parts for the future between their respective subjects, the  
 " English there being very considerable, and whose safety and in-  
 " terest the government here ought to provide for; or else there  
 " could be no solid and lasting peace between these two states in  
 " Europe.

" The second difference was touching the inquisition; to the  
 " danger of which all our English merchants trading in Spain  
 " were exposed, &c.

" To these Don Alonzo replied, that to ask a liberty from the in-  
 " quisation, and free sailing in the West-Indies, was to ask his  
 " master's two eyes; and that nothing could be done in these  
 " points but according to the practice of former times.

" The debates upon these articles gave no great satisfaction to  
 " either side, nor increased the confidence; but rather shewed, that  
 " the principles of England and Spain at that time were very dif-  
 " ferent, and that it would be hard to make their interests  
 " agree.

" Then it came into debate, before Oliver and his council, with  
 " which of the crowns (France or Spain) an alliance was to be  
 " chosen. Oliver himself was for a war with Spain, at least in the  
 " West-Indies, if satisfaction were not given for past damages, and



“ things well settled for the future. And most of the council  
“ went the same way.”

As this happened in 1653, and the fleet was not equipped until the latter end of 1654, we may reasonably presume, that conferences were in the mean time renewed with Cardenas, in hopes of working some change in the Spanish determinations; but without any effect.

“ So it was resolved to send a fleet and land-forces into the West-Indies, where, it was taken for granted, the peace was already  
“ broken by the Spaniard, contrary to the former treaties; and  
“ not to meddle with any thing in Europe till the Spaniard should  
“ begin, unless the American fleet should be met with, which was  
“ looked upon as a lawful prize.

“ The fleet was sent away to the West-Indies; and a war followed thereupon between England and Spain [a].”

Such is the circumstantial detail which Thurloe (the best authority) has given of this business. Does it not appear from hence, that the Spaniards had broken the treaty of 1630, as it was then understood; had treated the English subjects in America as enemies, and interrupted their freedom of navigation? that a reparation for these injuries was demanded, in form, of the Spanish ambassador; and that, so far from making any, he would not even admit the right of free sailing, but avowed the maxims of his court which had produced these injuries? Could any reasons be more justificative than these for entering into a war, for obtaining redress, which could be procured in no other way? And would any previous formality be reasonably expected in this case? Civilians all hold, that he who is already attacked (which was the case with the English settled in America) need not declare war. The state of war was sufficiently determined by the open hostilities of the Spaniards in those parts [b], and by the declarations of their ambassador, who answered in the name of his master.

It appears further, that Cromwell voted for a war, as expedient only in case satisfaction were not given for past damages, and security for a solid amity in future. This was surely a just and honourable principle, and highly becoming the nation.

[a] Thurl vol I. p. 760, 761.

[b] Vide Burnet's Hist. vol. I. p. 119.

The injuries sustained from the Spaniards, the cruelties they exercised, and the English blood they shed in America, in contravention of the treaty of 1630, were then recent in the minds of every one: but now they are obliterated by the distance of time. Yet it cannot be doubted, that these outrages were as justly and as generally resented at that period, as their later hostilities were immediately before the war of 1739. The questions of "free sailing" and colonizing in the West-Indies" were the grounds of both these wars. The reasonings apply equally to both these events; and Cromwell's war with Spain appears as just and honourable (in a national view) as the war of George II. Nothing therefore, I think, but the blindness of party-zeal, could have misled some authors to call this expedition piratical and lawless; and others to stigmatize it as an unwarrantable violation of treaty. So far from being repugnant to the principles of natural equity (as Mr. Hume asserts), it seems manifestly consistent with the laws of nature and nations, and the rules of sound policy: but of this let the reader dispassionately form his own judgement; recollecting, that, from the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 to the year 1726; in the time of peace, the Spaniards captured or plundered no less than forty-seven of our ships in the West-Indies, valued at 141,000*l.*; that, after signing the preliminaries of peace in 1727, and notwithstanding the apparently pacific disposition of the Spanish court in Europe, and their solemn engagements, their governors in the West-Indies were instructed to continue their depredatory war; so that our men of war were no sooner withdrawn from those seas, than our merchants began to feel severely the effects of the Spanish perfidy; and every ship from our colonies brought a fresh subject of complaint of their robberies on our trade, and cruelties towards our sailors. The house of commons, moved by these accounts, addressed the king in 1728, desiring he would be pleased to endeavour, 1st, to prevent such depredations; 2dly, to procure just and reasonable satisfaction for the losses sustained; and, 3dly, to secure to his subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. These are expressly the very same three points for which Oliver contended upwards of seventy years before.

After

After the unjustifiable sale of Dunkirk to France in 1662, many persons were filled with apprehensions, lest the necessities of Charles should prompt him to sell Jamaica to the Spaniards. It is probable, that, as the court of Spain had offered a sum of money to Richard Cromwell for it, the king would gladly have accepted the like terms, if he had not been restrained, on the one hand, by his close alliance with France against the Spanish interest; and, on the other, by his dread of the parliament; who had prepared a bill for annexing Dunkirk to the crown of England, at the very time when Charles negotiated the sale of it; and highly resented the transaction, alledging, that, not having been acquired by the king's arms, he could have no right to sell it, whatever right he might have to restore it by treaty, with the consent of parliament. Charles rightly judged, that, if he should proceed to the sale of Jamaica, the parliament would take care that the purchase-money should not, as in the former case, descend into his private coffers, but be appropriated to national use. The inhabitants of Jamaica were not without dread of a change; and several reasons were offered to his majesty's consideration, chiefly by Sir Thomas Lynch, why he should keep, preserve, and support, that island; among which the following were the most material.

1. That it is very extensive, and capable of receiving great numbers of people.

2. It is seated in the heart of the Spanish American territories; so that the Spanish ships coming into the West-Indies, and sailing from port to port, either make some part of this island, or may be immediately met by the men of war plying on this coast; which proves it of great importance to us, inasmuch as it lies so convenient for annoying and distressing the Spaniards in time of war.

3. Jamaica is found to precede all the English plantations in America in the very commodities that are proper to their several colonies; and is also distinguished from them by its producing cacao, hides, tortoise-shell, mahogany, dying-woods, gums, spices, drugs, &c. fruits, fowl, and fish, an infinite store; many of which are unknown to the others; likewise such an abundance of hogs, sheep, horses, and horned cattle, that none other of the English West-India islands can equal it. And as this island is  
thus

thus advantageous in furnishing such various commodities; so it is no less profitable in taking off and consuming the manufactures of England.

4. Its extent and fertility make it capable of receiving all those planters who, by the wearing out of lands and waste of woods, are forced to desert the Caribbee isles.

5. By its strength of inhabitants and shipping [c], it might of itself carry on a war against the Spaniards in these seas, and force them to admit of a trade into their ports; and, a trade being thus forced, a very beneficial intercourse and acquaintance might be made and promoted with the native Spaniards.

6. It is not so subject to hurricanes, as the Caribbee isles.

7. The coast of Virginia and those isles being very liable to violent gusts of wind, their ships have often been driven out to sea, and so much disabled, as to be constrained to put into some of the Spanish ports, where they were made prizes; but, after Jamaica fell into English hands, it afforded convenient harbours for all vessels thus distressed, and has saved many which were forced by storms from the other colonies.

These arguments require no comment, since the experience of a century has fully demonstrated their truth and importance in most points. In respect to opening a trade with the Spaniards, the advantages of it would no doubt have been fully proved, had the experiment ever been made in the manner proposed; considering the immense profits that have been gained to the nation by a limited and clandestine intercourse, carried on under every possible obstacle which the Spanish government could contrive, to suppress it, and which it never has been, nor ever will be, able wholly to suppress, without the concurrent endeavours of the British ministry.

Having shewn the means by which Jamaica was first acquired and maintained, and its settlement advanced; it remains just to mention one or two occurrences which in later times proved of eminent service in the further population of it.

About the year 1674, a treaty was entered into between Charles II. and the states of Holland; whereby it was agreed, that England should cede to the latter the colony of Surinam, in

[c] At this time there were thirty sail of privateers belonging to the island.

exchange for the Dutch province of New York. Three English commissioners, Mess. Cranfield, Duckenfield, and Brent, were sent over to execute this treaty, and remove the English subjects, with their effects. The evacuation was accordingly performed in the following year; and the English planters, in number about twelve hundred; including Negroes, conducted to Jamaica, where they were graciously received by lord Vaughan, the then governor, agreeably to the instructions given him; and settled on a tract of land in the parish of St. Elizabeth, since called Surinam Quarters. The addition of so many industrious men was unquestionably of very great service to the island; but the soil allotted for them was by no means equivalent to that which they had been obliged to resign at Surinam. Another body of useful planters was gained in 1699. The jealousy, excited in England by the trading part of the nation, and particularly the East-India company, against the Scotch project of colonizing on the isthmus of Darien, had so influenced the ministry of William III, that methods, neither humane nor very honourable, were practised, in order to obstruct it. The Scotch transplanted thither had been reduced to great distress, for want of provision and other necessaries, and drew their supplies chiefly from Jamaica and New York. But a stop was put to this support by the following proclamation, which the governor, sir William Beeston, was directed to issue:

“Whereas I have received orders from his majesty, by the right  
 “honourable James Vernon, one of the principal secretaries of  
 “state, importing, that his majesty was not informed of the inten-  
 “tions and designs of the Scotch in peopling Darien, which is  
 “contrary to the peace between his majesty and his allies; and  
 “commanding me not to afford them any assistance: in compli-  
 “ance therewith, in his majesty’s name, and by his order, I do  
 “strictly charge and require all and every his majesty’s subjects,  
 “that, upon no pretence whatsoever, they hold any correspondence  
 “with the Scots aforesaid; nor give them any assistance with arms,  
 “ammunition, provision, or any thing whatsoever, either by them-  
 “selves, or any other for them; nor assist them with any of their  
 “shipping, or of the English nation’s; upon pain of his majesty’s  
 “displeasure,

"displeasure, and of suffering the severest punishment. Given, &c.  
 "9th April, 1699."

Surely, this was little short of a declaration of war; it differs only in that it does not enjoin acts of hostility, for in other respects it prohibits every degree of amity and intercourse in as rigorous a manner as if we had been engaged in open war with them; nay, it even interdicts some things which are not disallowed to an enemy in open war; for it is an eternal principle, in every just war between civilized states, that they should never forget their enemies are men, nor destroy that charity which connects them with the rest of mankind. To save an enemy from perishing, is surely more glorious than to destroy. But the Scotch were then our friends; and the measures therefore pursued for starving them to death were disgraceful to the government, barbarous, and unjustifiable. The like proclamation was issued in the other neighbouring English colonies; the news of which, and of the temper of the English parliament, thunderstruck the Scotch, who, having failed of receiving regular support from their own nation, had till now depended on the English colonies for a continuation of amicable help, and intercourse; and, on being denied any further assistance from Jamaica and New York, to which they had sent for fresh supplies, they were driven to the utmost extremity of want, and compelled to abandon their settlement on the 20th of June, 1699. Scarcely one hundred of them got back to Scotland; a few perished by the hands of the Spaniards; the rest of the survivors, embarking in two ships, betook themselves for refuge to Jamaica; even here, although their distresses by famine and sickness were well known, yet the terms of the proclamation were so rigorous, that they were obliged to gain a lodgement on shore sword-in-hand: but they were soon dispersed into various employments, and by their industry acquired in process of time very considerable estates, which are now enjoyed by their worthy descendants. The Assiento and private contracts with the Spaniards were other sources of population; for, when the town of Kingston, by means of this commerce, became the great magazine for supplying British manufactures to the Spaniards, numberless merchants, factors, and traders, were attracted by the gainful

plan of business which then opened to view; and many of them laid out the profits of commerce in settling or purchasing sugar estates in this island. The two remarkable epochs of 1715 and 1745 were attended with some small emigrations hither of a few, who, either from principle or indiscretion, had engaged in those unfortunate enterprizes. This island afforded them a sanctuary, wherein they found leisure to make atonement for their past misconduct, by becoming laborious, peaceable, and useful subjects of the established government. I have omitted to remark, that, when the colony began to flourish, many families of note removed hither from Barbadoes. They probably began to emigrate during Sir Thomas Modyford's government. We find several descendents from these old stocks still remaining in the island, and some plantations, which, although in the course of time they have passed into other hands, continue to retain the names of their original founders, who were for the most part natives of Barbadoes; invited hither perhaps by the freshness of the soil, and some other advantages which made it more eligible than their former place of habitation.

## S E C T. VI.

## B U C A N I E R S.

I DO not mean to recite the exploits of those who pass under this name, and who made so remarkable a figure in the early part of our history; but only to vindicate them in general against the misrepresentation that has been made of their conduct.

I have already mentioned how much the island stood indebted to their valour; and the remarks which follow will serve as a supplement to what has been said in the preceding narration.

During the administration of Cromwell, the colony, having very few profitable settlements, and a considerable fleet and army stationed for its defence, became a dead weight or charge on the Commonwealth of England, in the amount of about 53,000*l. per annum*. When a form of civil government was established, soon after

after the Restoration of Charles II, it grew the resort of a multitude of adventurers, composed of different ranks and degrees of men. Some were men of fortune and enterprize, allured by an expectation of finding gold and silver mines; others, gentlemen of decayed estates, loyalists, and parliamentarians, who, having wasted or forfeited their patrimonies during the late Civil War, had a prospect of retrieving them in an island, of whose valuable productions they heard the most exaggerated accounts. To these jarring principles, of the royalist and the republican, we are to attribute a large share of those intestine feuds and continual duels for which it was so remarkably distinguished many years after it fell into English hands.

Mercantile men likewise flocked hither, in quest of new resources of trade in the neighbourhood of the rich Spanish settlements: The other English colonies afforded also a supply of poor, but industrious, planters; who had fresh and fertile lands given them without expence. But the principal supporters of the colony, by the torrents of money which they poured in, to the enriching of merchants and planters, and the invitation of new settlers, were the Bucaniers, an hardy race of seamen, and other bold spirits, united in firm league; who assailed the Spaniards in all quarters, demolished their fortifications, sacked their towns, plundered their treasures, and reduced them to so necessitous a condition, that, had it not been for the too great influence which Spain found means to cultivate in the British administration, it would probably, after a few years longer conflict, have been no difficult matter to have annexed Cuba, or some other valuable parts of their pretended territory in these seas, to the British crown; or, at least, to have forced their admitting us to a participation of their trade, in preference to other nations, whilst we had retained the Havannah, or St. Domingo, as cautionary to guard the treaty, and a lasting peace. By these means, they would have been effectually prevented from driving us out of the logwood creeks, from capturing our defenceless merchant-ships, and enslaving their crews, under pretence of holding exclusive right of dominion over the American seas; events, at which the impolitic or dastardly concessions of our court, many years afterwards, tamely connived. But the Spaniards had,



by this time, recovered from their former losses. They had grown, by a cessation of what they called our piratical hostilities, into a state of vigour and opulence.

By the very pacific disposition of the British court, they were animated with a degree of spirit which they had never felt before; nor was it long ere they exhibited some proofs of it in a series of insolence, mixed with rancorous and wanton acts of barbarity, exercised upon our countrymen, and which they have in a greater or less degree, upon every suitable occasion, persevered in manifesting to the present time.

It is to the Buccaneers that we owe the possession of Jamaica at this hour. The Spaniards had never ceased from their inclinations to regain it; and the settlement went on so slowly at first, that they had the greatest reason for hoping to become masters of it, and drive out their conquerors. But they were checked all at once by the attacks which they received from whole squadrons of privateers, invading them in different places with such irresistible fury, that they began to find very sufficient employment at home, in defending their own coasts and effects. At the time when privateering was in its most flourishing state, during the government of Sir Thomas Modyford and Sir Thomas Lynch, as many men were engaged on board these vessels as there were on shore in the island. I do not undertake to excuse the cruelties which are said to have been sometimes practised on the Spaniards. The assailants had no thoughts of courting the friendship of their opponents, or of conquering for the sake of amity and traffic. Both parties were embittered against each other by reciprocal injuries, in which the Spaniards had undoubtedly been the first aggressors; and the war was therefore carried on with revenge and desolation. It is but justice to Sir Henry Morgan, the most celebrated of all the English leaders, to affirm, it does not appear that he ever encouraged or approved of any such inhumanities; which, although they might be a just retribution upon those who had murdered, tortured, or doomed to perpetual imprisonment, many hundreds of Englishmen, and thousands of poor Indians, ought not, I confess, to have stained the hands of brave men. The general name of *pirates*, given to these persons, loads the memory of some  
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among them with an undeserved opprobrium; considering the many wonderful and gallant actions they performed, the eminent services they effected for the nation, the riches they acquired to their country, and the solid establishment they gave to so valuable a colony. Sir Henry Morgan, whose achievements are well known, was equal to any the most renowned warriors of historical fame, in valour, conduct, and success: but this gentleman has been unhappily confounded with the piratical herd; although it is certain, that he constantly sailed under a regular commission, was equipped for his expedition against Maracaibo by the governor of Jamaica, and was applauded and rewarded for his conquests by the ruling powers both in that island and in England. When the Spaniards in these seas were so distressed in their settlements and navigation, that they were almost humbled into despair, and, their ambassador at our court having presented several memorials, it was thought advisable by government to put a stop to this West-Indian war by a treaty of peace, and rigorous orders; Sir Henry immediately desisted; and, after the reduction of Panama in February 1671 (the treaty not having then reached America), he undertook no further enterprize.

This gallant man, having sheathed his victorious sword, retired into the peaceable walk of civil life; in which he was equally eminent for his good sense and noble deportment. But, after being raised, on the sole recommendation of his many great qualities, to the honour of knighthood, and to the highest station in the island, he fell a sacrifice at length to the vengeful intrigues of the Spanish court, and the pusillanimity of English government; as Sir Walter Raleigh had done before him. He was, upon a letter from the secretary of state, sent into England as a prisoner; and, without being charged with any crime, or ever brought to a hearing, forcibly kept there three years at his own great expence, to the ruin of his fortune and his health, which was wasted under the oppression of a court faction, and a lingering consumption, caused by the troubles inflicted on him, and the coldness of the climate.

That these commissions, before the American treaty, were constantly authorized by government, is well known; and although,

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in pursuance of Spanish remonstrances, a *sham* re-call was sent to Sir Thomas Lynch, who was ordered home prisoner, to answer for the commissions he had issued; yet, so far from being punished for what he had done, he was appointed afterwards, a second time, governor of the island, and in the very same king's reign; so variable is the state weather-cock! It appears, moreover, that Sir Henry was no sooner vested with the government after lord Carlisle's departure, than he promoted, and in 1681 gave assent to, an act of assembly, "for restraining privateers." The act states, in the preamble, "that all articles concluded, and all treaties of peace agreed upon, with foreign states, should be inviolably kept." This alludes to the treaty just concluded with Spain; and surely is the sentiment of a man of honour and a good citizen, not of a pirate. It sets forth, that "several English subjects had deserted into the service of foreign powers, and sailed under their commission." And it enacts, that "any subject belonging to the island, who should serve in an hostile manner in America, under any foreign prince, state, or potentate, should be deemed a felon, and upon conviction suffer death." This act is still unrepealed, and remains a monument to vindicate this gentleman from the charge of piracy. He was, on the contrary, extremely active in suppressing all those unlicensed rovers who were the real pirates, and still followed the trade of plundering friend and foe; until, by his vigorous measures, many were seized and hanged, and the rest entirely unharboured from Jamaica, and driven for shelter to Hispaniola [d] and Providence.

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[d] They settled in 1688 on the North-west part of that island, and occupied the port and town of Petit-Guava. After some years continuance there, they still retained so much attachment for their mother-country, that they solicited William III. for his protection, tendering their faithful allegiance and dutiful submission to the crown of England. But that monarch, being then in alliance with Spain against France, most unfortunately disregarded their application. Whereupon they thought themselves at liberty to make their address to the French court; which readily took them under protection, and furnished them with every proper assistance. From this obscure and singular beginning has gradually arisen the present powerful French colony, extending over the best part of that fine island, the possession of which has been confirmed to them by the Spaniards, from whom they are supplied with bullion and other articles of commerce. So that, by these means, added to the many wise regulations prescribed for them, low duties, a free trade to the Mediterranean ports, and extensive vent of their produce among foreigners, they are become very formidable rivals to Jamaica in every branch of West-India trade and merchandize. It

I have enlarged upon this head, for the sake of doing some justice to a worthy character, and retrieving it from the prejudice it has received by being grouped with Teache, *alias* Black-beard, and other lawless banditti, by the learned compilers of their heroic deeds. The Spaniards, for many years, would not contract a peace with the English in America, after the latter first began to make settlements there. The English therefore, when they had possessed themselves of Jamaica, betook themselves to privateering, with no other design at first, than, by a continual annoyance of their coasts, and the capture of their trading vessels, to force them into a peace, which was not likely to be obtained by any other means. This business proved successful to them beyond their utmost expectation; and brought this island into so much esteem at home, that copious supplies of provision, arms, and other necessaries, were instantly sent; which contributed greatly to promote those expeditions. Before the silver streams were set a-going from Port Royal, the army laboured here under the severest discouragements possible; such as, want of pay, of provisions, cloathing, and recruits. Yet, under these hardships, and the implacable malice of their Spanish enemies, they patiently and bravely supported themselves, till at length they found out a method of gaining with the point of their sword those aids and resources which England refused them in

was owing, doubtless, to the peculiar juncture of the affairs and politics in Europe, and an attention to preserve the balance of power there against Louis XIV, that the British ministry let slip the favourable moment for getting possession of that noble island: and it was not foreseen at the time, that the French would profit so much by our error, and turn their active spirit from war to colonization. Britain grew powerful and great, without seeming to know by what means. The French perceived the true source of our greatness, and from that moment bent their thoughts to colonize in the West-Indies; which measure, prudently conducted, has laid the foundation of their subsequent competitions with us, in trade, manufactures, and maritime prowess.

From the friendly intercourse which has subsisted between the French and Spaniards ever since the ratification of the Bourbon compact, it is more than probable that by degrees they will exchange their antient animosities for a mutual course of amity, and become incorporated as one people; so as to fall easily under subjection to the French monarchy. How fatal the neighbourhood of so potent an alliance may grow, in time, to the interest of our settlements, which do not thrive in a proportionate degree, may justly be apprehended. Yet this danger may be set very remote, if the British parliament and government would apply those timely practicable remedies which of themselves will rise into view, whenever the state of our insular colonies, their laws, police, and manner of administration, shall be fully and fairly examined and discussed. Something more should be known of them, than that they manufacture sugar, and furnish a yearly quota in aid of land-tax towards the British revenues.

their

their adversity. It was the Spanish treasure that procured them the friendly protection of government at home. Hence is evident, not only the fact that England encouraged their privateering, but the reason of giving that encouragement. How ill then does it become our writers to style these people pirates, since, not only in this respect, but in others, they differed essentially from the distinguishing character of pirates, who are rightly defined, *hostes humani generis*, rovers, who levy war upon mankind, and plunder all nations indiscriminately ! Whereas the Bucaniers (I speak of those preceding the treaty with Spain) attacked only their declared enemies, the Spaniards, who had done their utmost to extirpate the English from this and all the other islands in the West-Indies.

The proceedings of government against them were highly infamous and mean. When sir Thomas Lynch was appointed governor in 1671, he was directed to publish the treaty then concluded with Spain within eight months, to be computed from the 10th of October, 1670, viz. between that time and the 10th of June, 1671 ; and, at the time of such publication, to revoke all commissions, and letters of reprisal or marque, that had been granted to privateers. He was further instructed to endeavour, by every means, to prevail on the captains, officers, and seamen, belonging to these vessels, to apply themselves to planting, or to merchandize ; and, by way of greater inducement, thirty-five acres of land were to be assigned to all those who might be willing to plant ; and, for the rest, they were allowed to trade freely in their vessels, as if they were English-built, or admitted to serve on board any of his majesty's ships of war. Lastly, he was ordered " to proclaim " a general pardon and indemnity for all crimes and offences committed by them since the month of June, 1660, and previous to " the notification of the treaty of peace."

This was intended as a lure to engage them all to come into port with their effects ; where the same governor was directed to take from them the tenths and fifteenths of their booty, which the crown had reserved for its own share, as the condition of granting them commissions. Thus it appears, beyond doubt, that government derived an emolument from the privateers, and that the latter had failed under regular authority. But the conduct of our court  
seems

seems inconsistent, in thus proclaiming a pardon for the crime of rifling the Spaniards, and at the same time becoming itself a *particeps criminis*, by exacting a share of the plunder. If there was any guilt, either in acting under such commissions, or in the depredation carried on by the privateers against the Spanish settlements, the government, which empowered them and partook of the spoil, was certainly the more culpable of the two.

The current of wealth which had diffused itself throughout this island enabled the inhabitants to subsist without the eleemosynary grants of the mother-country. They soon became able to settle a revenue by an impost on spirituous liquors; and this, together with a general cess or poll-tax levied occasionally, was a fund to support their government; so that, from the time that it was first established in a regular form, no colony within the British dominion has cost the nation less for maintenance and protection, on a fair balance of account.

Having frequently made mention of the famous American treaty ratified with Spain in the year 1670, it may not be unacceptable to state the principal covenants in it, with some few remarks.

By articles 1. and 2. it is agreed, that there shall be an universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship in America, between the two nations.

3. and 4. That all enmities and hostilities, &c. shall henceforth cease between the two kings and their subjects; and for this end both sides are to forbear all acts of violence, and to call in all commissions, letters of marque, &c. and declare them null and void.

6. Prisoners on both sides, detained by reason of acts of hostility hitherto committed in America, to be set at liberty.

7. Offences, injuries, and losses, suffered by either party in America, shall be wholly buried in oblivion.

8. The king of Great-Britain, his heirs and successors, shall always possess, in full-right of sovereignty and propriety, all the countries, islands, colonies, &c. lying and situated in the West-Indies, or in any part of America, which he and his subjects now hold and possess; insomuch, that they neither can nor ought hereafter to be contested, under any pretence whatsoever.

9. The subjects, merchants, captains, masters, and mariners, of each ally respectively, shall forbear and abstain from sailing to, and trafficking in, the ports and havens that have fortifications or magazines, and in all other places possessed by either party in the West-Indies.

15. And it is always to be understood, that the freedom of navigation ought by no manner of means to be interrupted, when there is nothing committed contrary to the true sense and meaning of these articles.

By the 3d and 4th articles of this treaty it appears, in confirmation of what has before been repeatedly urged, that both the Spaniards and English were engaged in an open American war before the treaty took place, in virtue and under authority of commissions, letters of marque, &c. granted by the respective governments; and that the Jamaica privateers are here considered by both governments as having acted under legitimate authority.

Hence, in the 6th article, the treaty provides for the rendition of prisoners of war, taken by either party in their conflicts.

That the injuries, losses, and hostilities, had been reciprocal, is implied in the 7th article.

By the 8th article, the possession of the following places, viz. Jamaica; the Caymana isles; the dry and salt Tortugas; the Logwood Creeks, in the bay of Campeachy; the island of Sancta Catalina, near the Musquito shore; Isle Vache, off the West coast of Hispaniola; and Providence, among the Bahamas (all of which were held by the English at the time this treaty was signed); is virtually conceded, although our claim to all of them has not been maintained by a constant occupancy.

In respect to the 9th article it must be allowed, that the Spanish government hath a right to exclude English subjects from trading to such of their ports and places as are inhabited and settled by Spaniards; but no pretence is implied under this article to interrupt the freedom of our trade with other places not so inhabited, and that are occupied by native Indians, who own no subjection whatever, either by force of conquest, or any other colourable claim, to the Spanish crown.

But,

But, in the nature of things, that government can no more put an absolute stop to all interloping traffic with foreign subjects, than England can utterly restrain smuggling with France.

If we (for argument's sake) grant, that, by the spirit of this treaty, and to keep good-faith, we ought not to encourage, by public authority, any English subjects in carrying on trade at any coast or place claimed by the Spaniards; still we must admit, that such English subjects, as may incline to run the hazard of such a trade, ought not to be restrained by penal laws and coercions of our framing; because they voluntarily resign themselves to the peril of losing not only their vessel and cargo, but their personal liberty, if caught by the Spaniards, and are out of protection of the treaty; all which surely were penalty sufficient.

They offend only the political ordinances of Spain, respecting her own commerce and products. Accordingly, we find it provided by the treaty (Art. 13, 14), "that particular offences shall no way prejudice it; but every one shall respectively answer for what he has done, and be prosecuted for contravening it." It is our business, neither to countenance, nor absolutely prohibit, a trade with the Spanish inhabitants, by public authority: I say Spanish inhabitants; for the free Indians are out of the question, and have no concern with the treaty.

To prevent the trade, is the proper care of the Spaniards, not of the English. But (as if we servilely meant to aid the Spanish government in the execution of their selfish maxims) we, at the close of the late war, drove away every Spanish smuggler, or betrayed them to the severe punishment of their own laws. If we had been alcades and guarda-costas in his Catholic majesty's pay, we could not have done more. If English interlopers went to the Spanish coasts, they were seized by the Spaniards; if Spanish interlopers came to our territories, they were seized by the English. Such has been our wretched policy; and the effects of it are too well known. But every British market is a shop, at which all the rest of the world, or so much of it as is within reach, should be invited to buy freely. The private and partial inhibitions of some other states to their own subjects are intended to operate against our vital interests. It is beneath our dignity, as a great and potent



nation, to throw ourselves under the circumscriptions of their policy; and it is clearly the very quintessence of folly in us, to assist them in obstructing the free current of any beneficial commerce we enjoy.

It was a shrewd remark of the Spanish governor of St. Domingo, Don Manuel Azlor, during the last war with France. At that time the Spanish vessels were not allowed to trade with the French; but a sloop, having, contrary to her register, deviated to a French port, and there received a loading of French produce, was afterwards intercepted by one of our cruisers, and carried into Jamaica for condemnation. The Spanish governor immediately sent to reclaim her; insisting, that, the Spanish commerce in the West-Indies being restrained by their law to the subjects of the king of Spain, all their vessels, which had registers to shew that they were dispatched from a Spanish port, ought to navigate freely, and not be stopped under pretence of search; but their lading should be suffered to pass untouched, even though belonging to the French. "If our vessels (added he) carried French effects to the British ports, or to their ships, I should not oppose their being seized, and the effects confiscated, if the crews and vessels were returned to us, as being Spanish, that we might chastize our own subjects for transgression of our laws. But the ships of his Britannic majesty are not guarda-costas of the king of Spain; nor ought they to watch his vessels, if they enter into an illicit trade: it belongs to me, and others the respective governors of the king my master, to prohibit it, to guard against and to punish it, as we do upon all occasions. And the bad use which any Spaniard may make of his licences and passports cannot give a right, nor legal authority, to subjects of your nation, to seize and carry them into your ports, and commence processes against them; by which they are ruined, even when the cause is decided in their favour." This lecture would have been pertinent to the ever-memorable statesmen who converted the British navy, after a series of conquest and renown unequalled by any former period, into a parcel of smuggling cutters, for the service of his Catholic majesty.

## C H A P. XII.

*Dependences of Jamaica.*

SOME of my readers, I fear, will think me rather too digressive; but, as things and places, nearly connected with the interests of Jamaica, ought not to be left unnoticed, I must beg leave, before I enter particularly into an account of that island, to say something of its several dependencies. And first of,

## S E C T. I.

## The C A Y M A N A S.

THESE are three small islands, situated in about latitude  $19^{\circ} 20' N$ . The largest is called Grand Cayman; the next in size, Cayman Braque; and the third, Little Cayman. They lie at 30 to 40 leagues distance, N. N. W. from Point Nègril, on the West end of Jamaica, the Grand Cayman being the most remote. The first account we have of them is, that Columbus fell in with these islands on his return from Porto-Bello to Hispaniola. He observed, that they were covered with turtle, which swarmed also on their coast in such multitudes as to look like ridges of rocks; for which reason he called them Las Tortugas; or the turtles.

They were never occupied by the Spaniards; but, after other European adventurers found the way into America, they became much frequented by rovers of different nations, and chiefly by the French, for the sake of their turtle. These animals, coming from the gulph of Honduras, bay of Mexico, and the adjacent coasts of *terra firma*, rendezvoused here at a certain time of the year, in order to lay their eggs in the sand. At such seasons [e] the fisher-

[e] June, July, August, and September.

men came hither to catch them, and were sure of returning with full-loaded vessels.

In 1655, when Jamaica was subdued by the English, they were still uninhabited. Admiral Penn, whose fleet was in great want of provisions, having intelligence that some Frenchmen were employed there in the fishery, dispatched three of his ships, with orders to seize them and their cargoes; but, before these ships arrived at the Caymanas, the French were gone; so that they caught only a very few turtle, which they salted, and carried to the admiral. After this, it was the constant usage for Goodson, Sedgewick, and other commanders on the Jamaica station, to send victualers to these isles, for the like supply. We are not informed at what time precisely the Great Cayman began to be inhabited; but it is allowed on all hands to have been first inhabited by the English. Brayne mentions, that he fixed a governor in an island which he calls Tortuda; but it is not clear, whether he means one of these islands, or one of that name situated about ten leagues N. E. from Cape Nicola, in Hispaniola, or the Dry Tortugas, in the gulph of Mexico, ceded to Great-Britain by the treaty of Utrecht[f]. This, however, is not very material; for the reduction of Jamaica necessarily extended the English dominion over these little spots, at so small a distance from it. The possession and enjoyment of the fishery followed that conquest; and, having continued to us ever since, without the participation of any foreigners in these seas, they are rightly deemed original dependencies of Jamaica, from whence the Grand Cayman was peopled.

The instinct which directs the turtle to find these islands, and to make this annual visitation with so much regularity, is truly wonderful. The greater part of them emigrate from the gulph

[f] It probably was the Tortuga, or Tortua (the second-mentioned), which lies off Port Paix, on the North part of Hispaniola, and was much resorted to by the Bucaniers after they were driven from Jamaica. It is many miles in circumference, and has a safe harbour on the Western side, called Le Port, which is difficult of access. What strengthens this conjecture is, the petition which, in the year 1660, was presented to the council of state by captain Gregory Butler (one of the commissioners sent with Penn and Venables in 1655); who, after pleading his losses and disbursements in that service, requests "a commission for the government of Tortuga, on the North-west part of Hispaniola, with authority to depute and grant commissions to men of war against the enemies of the state."

of Honduras, at the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues; and, without the aid of chart or compass, perform this tedious navigation with an accuracy superior to the best efforts of human skill; insomuch that it is affirmed, that vessels, which have lost their latitude in hazy weather, have steered entirely by the noise which these creatures make in swimming, to attain the Caymanas isles. The females are said to lay no less than nine hundred eggs; which circumstance, if true, may account for the constant amazing multiplication of their species in these seas. When the season for hatching is past, they withdraw to the shores of Cuba, and other large islands in the neighbourhood; where they recruit, and in about the space of a month acquire that delicious fat for which they are so much in esteem. In these annual peregrinations across the ocean they resemble the herring shoals: which, by an equally providential agency, are guided every year to the European seas, and become the exhaustless source of profit to the British empire. The shore of the Caymanas, being very low and sandy, is perfectly well adapted to receive and hatch their eggs; and the rich submarine pastures around the larger islands afford a sufficient plenty of nourishing herbage, to repair the waste which they necessarily have undergone. Thus the inhabitants of all these islands are, by the gracious dispensation of the Almighty, benefited in their turn; so that, when the fruits of the earth are deficient, an ample sustenance may still be drawn from this never-failing resource of turtle, or their eggs, conducted annually as it were into their very hands.

Cayman Braque, and Little Cayman, lie within about four or five miles of each other, and about fourteen leagues distant N. from Grand Cayman. They are generally seen by navigators, who make their voyage homewards from Jamaica through the gulph of Florida, passing either to the N. or S. of them; and sometimes coming to an anchor at Cayman Braque, from which they take a departure for the isle of Pines, or Cape Crientes.

Of these islands, the Grand Cayman is the only one constantly inhabited. The land is so low, that, four or five leagues off, it cannot be seen from a ship's quarter-deck; but is generally known by the trees upon it, which are lofty, and appear at that distance

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like a grove of masts emerging out of the ocean. This island is about one mile and a half in length, and about one mile in breadth. It has no harbour for vessels of burthen; but the anchorage on its S. W. coast is moderately good. On the other, or N. E. side, it is fortified with reefs of rocks, between which and the shore, in smooth water, the inhabitants have their craals [g] for keeping turtle. The present race of inhabitants are said to be descendents from the English Bucaniers; and in all amount to about one hundred and sixty, white men, women, and children. Although the island is an appenage of Jamaica, and so understood by the law of 1711, which enacts, "that no person shall destroy any turtle-eggs upon any island or quays belonging to Jamaica;" the people upon it have never been an object of the legislature of that colony: they have a chief, or governor, of their own choosing, and regulations of their own framing; they have some justices of the peace among them, appointed by commission from the governor of Jamaica; and live very happily, without scarcely any form of civil government. Their poverty and smallness of number secure them effectually from those animosities that disturb the peace of larger societies; yet they are not without a sense of decorum in their manner of living. Their tranquillity depends much on a due preservation of good order. Their governor and magistrates decide any matter of controversy arising among them, without appeal. Their single men and women, who intend cohabiting together, for the most part, take a voyage to Jamaica, which is only a short and agreeable tour on the water, get themselves married with proper solemnity, dispose of their turtle, and then return home to their friends. No part of the world, perhaps, is more healthful than this spot: the air, coming to them over a large tract of sea, is extremely pure; the long lives and vigour of the inhabitants are certain proofs of its salubrity. The element that surrounds them affords the greatest abundance of fish and turtle, the latter esteemed the most wholesome of all West-India foods, and best agreeing with the climate. The soil towards the middle range of the island is very fertile, producing corn and vegetables in plenty; so that the

[g] Craals are inclosures commonly either square or circular, and made by driving a number of stakes close together in shallow water. They answer the purpose of the well-boats, used for keeping live fish.

inhabitants are able to breed hogs and poultry more than sufficient for their own use. The sugar-canes planted here are remarkably fine; which shews the land well adapted to the cultivation of that plant; but as yet no sugar-work has been erected; the canes are either used in fattening their hogs, or distilling a spirit of the inferior sort. As the whole island does not contain one thousand acres, it seems not capable of affording more than two or three small settlements of this kind at most. Formerly it yielded large quantities of mahogany; but most of it has been cut down. They have nevertheless several sorts of timber and other trees common to Jamaica, and some springs of tolerable water. Their principal occupation is the turtle-fishery; in which article they carry on a traffic with Port Royal, and supply some to such of the homeward-bound merchant-ships as touch here in their way to the Gulph. The Bermuda sloops have a pretty regular intercourse with them; their crews are attentive to two points, turtling and plundering of wrecks. The people of Cayman have now and then benefited likewise by such unhappy accidents; for in dark, hazy weather, not only their own territories, but the isle of Peises, and that cluster of little quays called the Jardines, lying off the South coast of Cuba, have been fatal to homeward-bound merchant-ships. Yet, to do them justice, they have generally shewn equal activity and humanity upon these occasions, in saving the lives of mariners and passengers, and preserving the cargoes, making free with a moderate share only of booty, by way of salvage. The chief advantages drawn from the inhabitants of Cayman are, that they are of great use in such cases of distress; that they furnish a very wholesome article of food, chiefly for the Jamaica markets; and the shells of the Hawksbill species form a commodity for export to Great-Britain. They also consume some share of British wares and manufactures for their cloathing, tools, netts, and other necessities. Their men, being inured to the sea and well acquainted with all the neighbouring coasts, are excellent pilots. And thus a spot so small and insignificant is, nevertheless, productive of not a few benefits to Jamaica and the mother country. Perhaps, it might become still more so, if the legislature of Jamaica, after a strict examination of the place, should take it under their notice;

and, by exciting a spirit of industry in the cultivation of new materials, encourage the population of it, and promote a further consumption of British goods.

## S E C T. II.

### *Mosquito Shore.*

THAT part of the South-American continent, included in what is called by the Spaniards Costa Rica, and occupied by the Mosquito and other Indians in alliance with, or subject to, the crown of Great-Britain, extends from Cape Gracias a Dios South-erly to Punta Gorda, and St. Juan's river; N.W. and Westerly, to Romain river; and South-Easterly beyond Boco del Toro to Coclee, or Cocoli, near the river Chagre and Porto-bello. Between Cape Gracias a Dios and the Golfo Dolce, the Spaniards have one fortress at Omoa; where there is a good harbour, in which a guarda costa within these few years has been generally stationed. The territory belonging to the Mosquito Indians (properly so called) extends from St. Juan's river, a little to the Southward of Punta Gorda, to Cape Honduras, or, as the Spaniards call it, Punta Castillo, running about five hundred miles or upwards uninterrupted by any Spanish settlement.

The Nicaragua lake, which is said to be more than two hundred miles in length, and sixty in breadth, supplies the river St. Juan to the East, and the river Bealeajeo and Leon to the South-west. The river St. Juan is near ninety miles in length, and has several falls or cataracts, and shoals, which render the passage through it to or from the lake extremely difficult: it is, however, effected by the Indians, who are expert in this kind of navigation. The usual method with traders is to transport their goods upon mules by land above the falls; and the Indians either draw their canoes to them, or hire others, till they have passed all the falls and reached the lake, which is navigable for large vessels, contains several small islands, and has many opulent Spanish cities and towns in its environs. The rivers Realejeo and Leon, flowing from

from the lake to cities of those names, are only navigable by small craft. But the water-carriage from it to the Southern or Pacific ocean is no more than twelve miles. On the opposite side it disembogues by three mouths into the North or Carribean sea. At the entrance into it, and on the South-west point, where it is about two miles across from bank to bank, the Spaniards have their castle of St. Juan, for commanding the channel up the river, and preventing access into the lake. It is built upon a rock of easy ascent, surrounded with a dry ditch, near six feet deep, and the height from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the wall is about sixteen. It is mounted with eighteen brass and seven iron cannon, from eight to eighteen pounders; and the garrison generally consists of one hundred men. The North side of the lake forms the boundary to the Mosquito shore, the Spaniards not daring to cross over to the free Indians inhabiting on that side, who are still able to assert their liberty against those pretended conquerors of the other parts of this extensive continent. In the year 1671, a body of the buccaniers, having taken Panama on the South Sea, marched from thence to the lake, plundering the cities of Grenada, Leon, Realejeo, and others, in their way; but, being hard pressed by the Spaniards, they retreated down by the river Wanks or Wallis to Cape Gracias a Dios, where they met with a most hospitable reception from the Mosquito Indians, among whom many of these rovers remained, and taught them the use of fire-arms, at which they are now become remarkably expert.

The Nicaragua has a flux and reflux like the sea, and abounds with a great variety of excellent fish. The Spaniards have been cautious of remedying the natural impediments which obstruct the navigation from it to the North Sea, lest their enemies might be invited to penetrate by this way into their rich provinces of Nicaragua. For this reason, the governor of fort St. Juan has strict orders not to permit any British subject to pass either to or from it; for the Spaniards say, that, if once the English come to gain a thorough knowledge of the great value and importance of it, they will soon make themselves masters of the interior parts of the country. The Spanish government, therefore, have been extremely attentive to guard every communication with it, knowing the facility of carrying on a very large and profitable traffic with the Indians, and others under their jurisdiction, or inhabiting in



the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, both the Spanish and Indian inhabitants spare no pains to encounter every risque, and travel a prodigious distance, to meet the traders; by whom they are supplied with such necessaries and manufactures, as they could not otherwise procure, except at the most exorbitant rates. This fully points out the vast advantages of extending our intercourse, by means of these friendly Indians, to the confines of the Nicaragua lake, which opens to us a most lucrative trade, in which we can have no rival, and from which all the power of Spain cannot exclude us, secured as it would be by the natural barriers of the country, and the support of so numerous a body of the native Indians, who are implacable enemies to the Spaniards, and fast allies to the English. The Mosquito territory is defended every way on the land-side by mountains and morasses. The Indians here are said to have from six to seven thousand fighting men; so that the whole number possibly amounts to between twenty and thirty thousand, including a variety of tribes who pass under the general name of Mosquitos [*a*]. There are other distinct tribes also bordering on their country; who, we are told, are no less disposed to cultivate the friendship of the English. The Mosquitos, a great many years ago (some say a hundred), put themselves voluntarily under protection of the crown of Great Britain. When the duke of Albemarle was governor of Jamaica, in 1687, their king received a commission from him, under the broad seal of the island. On the death of their monarch, the next heir repairs to Jamaica, with a few principal men, to certify his claim; and he is then invested with a commission to be king of the Mosquitos: until this is obtained, he is not acknowledged by his subjects; so dependent do they hold themselves on the British government. When these inaugurations happen, it is usual for the governor to bestow some present on the new sovereign, and a few trifles on his attendants; to which his majesty always makes some return. This custom is extremely politic on our side, and serves to promote a mutual exchange of civility and good offices; which may strengthen their partial attachment towards the English.

[*a*] Among them is a mixed race, called *Samboes*, supposed to derive their origin from a Guiney ship; which, tradition says, was wrecked on the coast above a century ago; certain it is, that their hair, complexion, features, and make, clearly denote an African ancestry; from whom they have also inherited some of the true characteristics of the African mind; for they are generally false, designing, treacherous, knavish, impudent, and revengeful.

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These Indians were never in any manner subject to the Spaniards; but have bravely maintained their independence, and keep alive an inveterate abhorrence of them, by reciting, at their public councils and meetings, examples of the horrid cruelty practised upon their brethren of the continent. The English freebooters and privateers, who in the year 1630 found it convenient to harbour in the rivers and among the islands on this coast, were readily assisted by these Indians in their expeditions both by sea and land; and from this early league against the Spaniards grew up the very strong prepossession which these people entertain for the English. But such is their detestation of the Spaniards, that in their wars they will neither give nor receive any quarter. This spirit of barbarity has of late years been greatly softened by the humane remonstrances of Mr. Pitt, who has resided in their country above forty years, with the highest reputation for his singularly good qualities. This worthy gentleman has laudably exerted himself in rescuing numbers of the Spaniards from execution, and often prevailed on the Indians to accept a ransom for a part of their prisoners, when he was unable to procure the liberty of the whole number: some few, even his warmest intercessions could not induce them to spare; these they killed by way of exercising their young men, who oblige the victim to run before them, and strike at him with their lances till he dies. These actions are not the effect of an innate cruelty (for their disposition is naturally generous and humane), but of their policy; and are intended to perpetuate the national odium against the common enemy, and to secure possession of that freedom, which will probably never be destroyed by any other means than their total extirpation: the Spaniards have always had this in view; but their efforts were attended only with loss and defeat. These Indians gratify the English most willingly with tracts of land for establishing settlements, and make themselves extremely servicable by the commodities they procure for barter, and by their adroitness in fishing and hunting. Their territory is full of large rivers, that run some hundred miles up into a fine and fertile country, the soil capable of producing the most valuable plants and other things that are cultivated in the West-Indies, and spontaneously yielding such as are peculiar to the South-American

rican continent. Cattle and horses are cheap. The beef of the savannahs, near Cape Gracias a Dios, is superior to the North-American, and takes salt well. On the coast are some good and secure harbours, which might be fortified with very little expence; and there are several islands lying off the coast, which afford excellent anchorage for small vessels. This is one of the finest and healthiest tracts in the world, and free from those distempers which in some other parts of the West-Indies are so fatal to Europeans on the change of climate. Whether this may be attributed to the turtle and fish, which are here the most favourite articles of food, or to the happy temperature of the air; certain it is, that the European as well as Indian inhabitants usually attain to greater ages than are common in Europe. There are, I am informed, about thirty English families residing here, who possess lands granted to them by the Indians, and have begun to settle sugar plantations; but the quantity of that produce they have hitherto manufactured has not been considerable enough for exportation. Of other commodities sufficient is collected to load a large annual ship for Great-Britain; besides several small vessels belonging to Jamaica. The planters have about one hundred Negroes, and will probably soon increase their number, the settlements being in a very promising train of improvement. The lands which they possess are said to be peculiarly adapted to the cane. There is no doubt that indigo might likewise be cultivated to great perfection in the marshy tracts. But, however extensively these articles may be attended to by the European settlers, I think that more capital advantages might be obtained by striking out such employments for the native Indians as they would willingly enter into, and pursue to the mutual gain of themselves and Great-Britain. Preparatory to this, some degree of civilization is necessary; without which, their consumption of British manufactures cannot reach to any great extent. They are rather of an indolent temper; and will not labour, unless when indigent and compelled to it by want. Yet this indolence by no means attends them in every circumstance of life; for war, fishing, and hunting, which require much vigour, activity, and patience, have always been their favourite occupations. Nothing then seems more expedient than to give these qualities

qualities a direction into walks of industry. All labours of agriculture and planting are not equally severe; and they, who might shrink from the task of cultivating indigo or the canes, would probably deem it no hardship to apply to the culture of rice, cacao, sarsaparilla, tobacco, silk grass, corn, and the like. The better to attract these Indians to such objects, it is necessary to open a market, where their crops might find a ready price, and yield a quick return. None lies more convenient for them in this respect than Jamaica. If a few of the better sort could be prevailed on to make the experiment, the returns acquired in articles of dress and other necessaries would encourage these beginners, and naturally engage others in similar undertakings. It is probable, there would be little difficulty in effecting this; for already they aspire to live and to cloath themselves in the English manner: and, in order to obtain many things which are necessary to their convenience and comfort, they work at different occupations; some in cutting wood for exportation; others in the turtle, fishery, or hunting; and many in the inland traffic. The plain result of this is, that they perfectly well understand some pains must be taken before they can be supplied with such necessaries as they covet or want.

Their wants will undoubtedly increase in proportion as they grow more civilized; and, in order to gain the costlier articles of dress and convenience, they may soon be taught, that nothing more is requisite on their part, than an advancement of skill, and redoubled diligence in selecting and procuring commodities of superior value; or larger collections of the same kind, for carrying on their barter, and due payment of their annual balance. At present, our trade hither is limited chiefly to a number of small merchant-vessels, which supply the Mosquitos with various articles of British manufacture, cloathing and tools, and some North-American produce. They load in return with hides, tiger and deer skins, mahogany, cedar, nicaragua, sastic and logwood, cacao, coffee, cotton, sarsaparilla, silk grass, indigo, china root, gums, balsams, cochineal, tortoise-shell, a little bullion, and some few other commodities; from the number and value of all which we are warranted to infer, that here is a noble field for carrying on a very extensive and most profitable commerce. It is difficult to say  
with

with exactness what proportion of this traffic is properly English or Indian. The English settlers on the shore, I believe, are the chief managers of it; and the Indians are principally employed in collecting the several articles; and, if this is the case, we may easily guess in whose hands the chief share of profit rests. It must not be imagined, that, if it be found impracticable to turn the attention of these Indians towards agriculture and planting, they can be of little other use to us; for, in fact, it is to them alone that we owe the having any settlement on this part of the continent. They have always been, and still are, in the place of a standing army; which, without receiving pay, or being in any shape burthensome to Great-Britain, maintains the English in firm and secure possession, protects their trade, and forms an impenetrable barrier against the Spaniards, whom they keep under constant awe. Considered therefore as a British colony, it is superior to every other; as having within itself sufficient means of defence, without requiring troops or fleets from the mother-state, and possessing a greater fund and variety of materials for an advantageous commerce. Under the friendship of these Indians (to support which no proper measures ought to be neglected), we might with facility establish many profitable settlements on their coast, and conduct a beneficial trade among all the neighbouring Indian tribes, of the interior country, who are not subject to the Spanish yoke; for, besides the Mosquitos who inhabit near the sea, there are many little communities dispersed over the mountains, vales, and plains, of the adjacent districts, namely, the Pawyers, Panamakaws, Twakas, Muffues, Woolvas, Ramas, Cuckeras, &c. These people, having very little connection with the Spaniards, might, with right management, be allured strongly to our interest, and rendered extremely useful. The English settlers are not insensible of this, from the experienced fidelity and attachment of the Panamakaws up Wanks river, the Ramas at Punta Gorda, and others, who have behaved in the most amicable manner towards them, and gladly would hold a friendly correspondence with them. It is a matter of astonishment, that, notwithstanding the Mosquitos have for upwards of a century past addressed themselves to our friendship, and owned a willing subjection to the British crown, our government

ment has been supinely inattentive both to them and to the English settlements founded within, and near to their territory. It is true, the parliament, from a regard to commercial principles, and prescriptive claims of the nation, have taken care to secure by the last treaty with Spain our right of logwood-cutting. Our ministry have all along shewn a disposition to militate for that right: but no thought has been bestowed upon the logwood-cutters, or other settlers; nor regulations provided for their better conduct and prosperity. All that is necessary might perhaps have been accomplished by appointing a regular governor, with a moderate salary, armed with all fitting powers and authorities; and to reside constantly at the Mosquito shore, with a small guard of soldiers, to be paid by the white inhabitants. His province might be, to keep a strict eye over all the English settlers, and to prevent their ill-treating any of the Indians within his jurisdiction; which should comprehend all the settlements of Englishmen in those parts. He should conciliate the friendship of the head men among the Indian tribes by every art, encourage them to a civilized manner of living, cause their children to be brought to school, and instructed in the English language and religion; and he should correspond regularly with the governor of Jamaica, who, in the judgement of many considerate persons, ought to have instructions from the ministry relative to these affairs. Had the Indians thrown themselves in the same manner into the arms of the Dutch or French, these active, enterprising people would most certainly have omitted no means of acquiring their confidence, and forming the best correspondence with them; securing their affections by little yearly presents of no great cost, and fixing a civil government over their own settlers and logwood-cutters, to prevent all abuses tending to an alienation of the native inhabitants. It surely deserves the attention even of the Jamaica legislature, to consider this matter attentively, and assert their jurisdiction over our fellow-subjects in these settlements; recommending strongly at the same time this object to the supervision of the governor. A well-regulated and extensive inland trade, carried on by the aid and under the guardianship of the Mosquitos and their allies, would highly benefit the commercial towns of this island, and of course augment its population and wealth; for none

other of our present colonies is so well calculated to serve as a factory for intermediately supplying the Indian demand, and making regular returns to Great-Britain for various assortments of goods necessary to the purpose. The legislature of Jamaica should reflect, that every merchant resident among them, supported by his trade with the Mosquito shore, necessarily must add somewhat to the general strength, wealth, and revenues, of the island. These will all be more or less considerably promoted, in proportion as the trade is either conducted on by prudent measures to a flourishing state, or suffered by mismanagement, or utter neglect, to continue unprogressive. What is particularly important to us (because it prevents all the ill consequences attending disputed titles), we have here a vast tract of country freely devoted to our use by the Aborigines, the real and undoubted owners of it; a title which is superior to all others, as it excludes every other European claimant; which justifies, and indeed calls upon us to avow it openly, unless our dread of Spanish jealousy has so besotted our minds as to deprive us entirely of the spirit of Englishmen. To acknowledge the Indians publicly for British subjects, is but giving them a warranty for the confidence they have reposed in us: and, should we be tempted to disclaim them, through the base motive of fear, they would not fail to despise us, even more than they do the Spaniards, and transfer their dependence to some other European power better disposed to set a just value on their friendship. Many of the British subjects, settled in the neighbourhood of the Mosquitos, were men of loose, debauched principles; and having no certain laws nor other competent authority to restrain their conduct, some among them have greatly hurt the British interest with the Indian tribes. The inhuman wretches insinuated to the Mosquitos, that the Panamakaws and Ramas designed to make war upon them. Instigated by their remonstrances, the Mosquitos too readily joined in taking every opportunity to trepan and sell them for slaves to the Dutch, the North-Americans, and even to our own West-India islanders. The profits acquired from this traffic induced both parties to pursue it, notwithstanding all that the superintendant could do to put a stop to it. Several of the persecuted Indians, rather than be enslaved by this treacherous proceeding, even betook themselves for refuge among

among the Spaniards, their natural foes ; and many others will doubtless follow their example, so long as such atrocious rogues are unrestrained from these unjustifiable practices. These poor Indians, having ever shewn a most faithful, steady attachment to the English, and relied upon them as their best friends, had no reason to look for so base a return, and were therefore unprepared to oppose or to elude it.

Although the Mosquitos inhabit from Cape Honduras to the Nicaragua lake ; yet they are most numerous near Cape Gracias a Dios, especially up Wanks river, and about Sandy bay, where their king resides. The Panamakaw Indians live about one hundred and sixty miles up Wanks river, are very friendly to the English, and might be extremely serviceable to them in carrying on the inland trade. Terms of agreement were actually entered into by the Mosquitos in the year 1761, on condition that the inland traders should not come below the falls (about one hundred and fifty miles from Cape Gracias a Dios), and that they should pay a tribute of twenty head of cattle annually, for permission to negotiate with the English through their country. The principal harbour belonging to the Mosquitos is Bluefields river, whose mouth is at the bottom of Hone sound. The entrance into the sound is over a bar, having not more than two fathom at low-water, and from fourteen to fifteen feet water at high tides ; so that it seems not capable of admitting very large ships. But there are some commodious anchoring grounds on the neighbouring coast, proper for ships of great burthen. On the Western side of the sound the land gradually rises into a fine, healthy country, an excellent soil, and entirely free from those troublesome flies and insects, so common to swampy places in the West-Indies. The river Bluefields, which falls into it at the N. W. angle, is navigable for a considerable distance through the interior country [b] ; and near its mouth

[b] Bluefields is formed by a high bluff of about fifteen hundred acres, flat at top, and inaccessible, except at two places, which might be easily guarded. This bluff is joined to the continent Northwards by an isthmus of sandy beach on the outside, and morassy ground overgrown with mangroves. The channel into the harbour runs in about N. N. W. On the left side is a high quay, on the West of which is another shallow channel. The main channel has from fifteen to sixteen feet at high-water, and twelve to thirteen at low ; consequently, the tide rises



mouth is an excellent situation for founding a town and colony, to manage a trade with the Indians inhabiting the back country. Upon its banks there is great abundance of large mahogany, cedar, and other timbers, fit for building or for merchandize. On the adjacent sea-coast are caught vast numbers of turtle, and in the sound great plenty of fish and oysters. So that here is no want of any materials requisite, either for the structure of houses, the sustenance and accommodation of inhabitants, or the convenient dispatch of mercantile affairs; and it seems as it were destined, by so many natural advantages, to be the most eligible seat for an English colony, to extend our commerce through every district of the free Indian territory, in this division of the continent. A few miles up the main river live the Woolvas and Cuckeras Indians. Mr. Henry Corrin, of Jamaica, settled here in 1752, and acquired a large fortune from the luxuriant productions of this district. He exported great quantities of mahogany, tortoise-shell, &c. to Jamaica, and the Northern colonies. He likewise took some pains to civilize the neighbouring Indians; for, on his first coming to reside here, they lived in a savage state, and had very little commerce either with the Spaniards or English. This example of success, from the endeavours of a private person, may lead us to conclude on the proportionately greater advantages to be gained by establishing a regular colony in these parts, who might labour to gain the good-will of the Indian tribes, and by fair dealing and a generous communication wean them from a state of barbarism to civility and industry. It seems, I think, probable, that they might soon become reconciled to much of the English manners in their dress and habitations, and gradually induced to take large imports of cloathing, furniture, implements, and food, from us. In order to purchase these, they would necessarily apply themselves to procure such commodities of value, for the exchange, as they might find to be most in request. Thus, by a discreet management, it is reasonable to believe, that our British wares and manufactures might be dispersed to many thousands of

here about three feet. Within the harbour is four-fathom water close to the bluff. Several rivers discharge themselves into it, the banks of which are high. From the top of the bluff there is the most extensive prospect imaginable of the ocean and country to the Southward.

people

people on this continent, and so many solid emoluments reaped from the intercourse, as would amply overpay our utmost affluities in the prosecution of it [1].

## S E C T. III.

## B L A C K R I V E R.

THIS place is situated within the Mosquito territories, in latitude 16 N. and has been the rendezvous of several logwoodcutters for near fifty years past. When driven by the Spaniards from the bay of Honduras, many of them chose this asylum, where they might lead a lawless, abandoned life with impunity, till they got information from their scouts, employed for this purpose, that the Spaniards had retired from their old quarters at the bay; and then they returned. As these temporary expulsions often happened, numbers of ships bound for the bay usually stopped here in their way, for intelligence. If the masters found there was any probability of getting a lading, they proceeded; if not, those possessed of any degree of honesty altered their voyage; but others ran the hazard of sinking, or designedly cast away their vessels in some convenient place, and appropriated the cargoes to the use of themselves and their associates; which enabled them to set up for baymen. This piratical business for a time succeeding, others of the same stamp were encouraged to send for considerable cargoes on credit, under the fair pretence of selling them by commission for the owner's benefit; whereby some merchants of Jamaica and North-America have been capital sufferers. By these means greater quantities of European goods were brought hither than the inhabitants had occasion for; which induced them to open an inland trade. This trade has been carried on to a large amount, and proved highly advantageous to the undertakers, especially those who are of different principles from the first settlers, and who live with some

[1] A very large and, as I am told, the most correct chart of the Mosquito shore was published in 1771 by captain Speers, who resided many years in these parts. It is sold by S. Hooper, printer, on Ludgate-hill, London.—I must here acknowledge, that I have been greatly indebted to the publications of the gentleman first-mentioned for many particulars relative to this subject.

decency: time, however, and an encrease of inhabitants, may eradicate their pernicious customs. The soil for half a mile from the sea is for the most part sandy, though in some places low and swampy, with mangroves. Up the rivers and lagoons it is more fertile, and produces plenty of Indian corn, plantanes, yams, cocoas, potatoes, and other vegetables; likewise sugar-canes, of which the inhabitants propose making rum. The rivers and lagoons are well stocked with fish. In the woods are deer, swine, and wild fowl. On the sea-coast, in the months of March, April, May, June, and again in August and September, are found abundance of the finest turtle. The dry season sets in generally in September, and continues till June, and is then succeeded by wet squally weather till the middle of July, at which time the settled rains continue till the latter end of August or beginning of September. The North winds begin early in November, and blow at intervals till February: they are generally most violent about the full and change of the moon, and in the months of December and January; during which time, no person chuses to go to Black river with vessels that draw above five feet water, it being difficult to pass over the bar. On the outside it is an open and dangerous road, a lee shore; and with a North wind there runs a very high sea. There is no harbour or shelter for a vessel to the Eastward nearer than Cape Gracias a Dios; nor to the Westward, than Rattan or Bonacca. The country from Black river to Cape Gracias a Dios, and from thence to the Southward as far as Bluefields, is chiefly inhabited by the Mosquito Indians, not above twenty white men residing on that long tract of land; though much better places are to be found, either for settlements or trade, than Black river. About the savannahs up Black river live the Pawyer Indians, who once were numerous, but are now greatly decreased, occasioned by the ill treatment they for many years received from the Mosquitos, who conquered them in a pitched battle about fifty years ago, and ever since (till lately) exacted such large contributions of cattle and other things, that they were obliged, at the risque of their lives, to enter the Spanish territories, and there by stealth provide the number demanded, in order to save their families from being carried away and sold into slavery. During these excursions, the

the Mosquitos kept possession of the houses, wives, and children of the Pawyers, till their unreasonable demands were complied with. This practice, being continued for many years, caused numbers of them to fly to the Spaniards for protection. Those that now remain are so industrious and useful to the English, that without their assistance a great part of the inland trade would be at an end. In 1742 a merchant projected the cutting of a road from this river into the province of Camyagua, which would afford a ready passage to and from the South sea, and be a means of the merchants going and coming with safety; thereby preventing the Dutch from carrying on their valuable trade at Truxillo bay, which they had so long monopolized. The Popya Indians accordingly cut the road, and drew the trade as was intended to Black river; which has increased the profits of our commerce there to a prodigious degree.

## S E C T. IV.

## H O N D U R A S.

THE bay of Honduras lies Westward of the Mosquito shore. The country about the river Balise (latitude 17 to 17 30" N.), where the best logwood grows, is low, marshy, and intersected with lagoons; and in some places it is annually, or at least every other year, overflowed with four or five feet depth of water. In the dry seasons, the baymen (or logwood-cutters), on finding a number of trees conveniently situated, erect huts near them; and, after cutting them down, they strip the bark, chop the trees into logs, and pile them on the ground, where they remain until the land-floods favour their removal; thence they are transported in canoes to the nearest stream, or river, and so conveyed to their principal store-house at the Barquadier. The huts in which the baymen reside at other times are built upon high banks, to secure themselves from the floods, till the traders arrive to purchase their wood, which is generally sold at 5/. Jamaica currency (equal to 3/. 11s. 6d. sterling) per ton. The traders use flat-bottomed boats to convey the  
logwood

logwood to their vessels, which lie at the distance of forty or fifty miles down the river. Here are some tracts of fine land, which afford good pasturage for cattle; and, as these tracts are never drowned with water, they would, if properly cultivated, yield plenty of American fruits, plants, and vegetables. In the rivers and creeks are found great numbers of alligators, guanoes, and fish. Here are also guams, consos [k], several sorts of ducks, cockatoos, mackaws, parrots, curlews, &c. likewise deer, but small and lean, tigers, and monkies; and, in the bay, abundance of turtle, some manatti, and that delicious fish called the jew-fish.

The remarks, offered respecting our inattention to the Mosquito shore, are equally applicable to the bay of Honduras. Our settlement at this place would have become infinitely more advantageous to Great-Britain, if it had been regarded as an English colony, and established by government under such regulations as were to be put in use, with but very little trouble or expence. Some measures of this nature are absolutely proper to be taken, if we hope to reap much benefit from it. The Dutch, who love to monopolize, and endeavour to filch away the trade of all around them, have been hitherto the principal gainers by our settlement here, and carried on the chief part of the trade, to the very great injury of Great-Britain. There is nothing wonderful in this; for, with respect to these possessions, our mother-state has for the most part been asleep. The Dutch, ever vigilant to seize what they could, embraced those occasions which we either despised or overlooked; and, without the expences of making either conquest or treaty, drain away very much of the profits which could be expected from both. Their ships and vessels, freighted from Holland to the little island of Curacoa, deliver part of their cargoes there, and then run down to the bay with various assortments of goods, such as hollands, stripes, checks, callicoes, cambrics, muslins, osnaburghs, sail-cloth, cordage, powder, shot, small-arms, cutlasses, and other hard-ware, brandy, geneva, arrack, wine, refined sugars, earthen and china ware, &c. in short, such wares and manufactures as Great-Britain usually supplies her other colonies with, and ought to supply to this. Nothing,

[k] They are not known to naturalists by these names, but are probably aquatic birds, and their true appellations guanoes and ganfos.

therefore,

therefore, can be more prejudicial than such an interloperment, especially as they can overstock the market so copiously, and afford to sell at such low prices, that our manufactures, transmitted by the way of Jamaica, can find but little vent in opposition to them; nay, I believe, our export from thence to the baymen is, by this means, reduced almost wholly to such articles as the Dutch cannot conveniently send; such as, some species of hard-ware, Irish beef and butter, North-American bread, flour, tar, and the like. The preference which they have gained is obvious, from their vessels being always the first-loaded, and with the choicest wood; of which large quantities have been sent every year to Holland upon freight, on advantageous terms to the Dutch, one half of the cargo being allowed for the freight alone; whereby the property of the chief baymen is lodged in Holland, and the Dutch enabled to supply the foreign European markets with logwood far cheaper than the British merchant is able to do, great part of the remittances being made in Dutch goods; so that they have the market in their own hands. That some idea may be formed of the loss sustained by the nation in this way, I shall state the yearly export from the bay at 20,000 tons of wood, which I am informed by a very intelligent person is the amount now shipped. If we suppose three fourths of this quantity to be shipped on Dutch bottoms, the prime-cost of 15,000 tons is 53,625*l*.

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
They gain by freight one half of that sum, or	268	12	10
By profits on the Dutch merchant's sale of that half, at 5 <i>l.</i> per ton, which is moderate, considering it is all picked and choice wood, ————	375	00	00
By ditto's commission and charges on the bayman's half, on sale thereof to foreigners, at least 10 <i>l.</i> per cent on 37500 <i>l.</i>	375	00	00

General gain, ———— sterling *£* 68062 10 0  
 To this we may add, that, as the bayman lays out again the most part of his clear profit in Dutch goods, which he buys at an enhanced price of near *cent per cent*, the total general gain to the Dutch is perhaps not much short of 100,000*l.* per annum, which

might, and undoubtedly ought to be gained by Great-Britain. To put a stop to this detrimental traffic of the Dutch to our settlements, the act of navigation should be strictly enforced here; some proper form of civil government should be maintained with competent authorities, a superintendant or governor, and an office of customs; lastly, one or more frigates might be stationed, with other smaller armed vessels, to oppose any attempts which might be made by these intruders to force or re-possess this trade: by such means, I conceive, they would be effectually excluded from so valuable a branch. If the expences attending such an arrangement are objected to, it should be considered, on the other hand, how much will be gained by it; for, whenever such regulations are effected, our own merchants will employ ships with suitable cargoes to purchase part, or carry the whole on freight in the manner practised by the Dutch. We should find, moreover, that logwood would not be the only article to be depended on for a homeward lading. The settlers cut likewise large quantities of mahogany, fustic, and other dying woods; and a brisk trade would necessarily encourage them to search for many other commodities of light freight, with which the adjacent country so much abounds. The logwood, received by the North-American traders for their provisions and hard-ware (which form no inconsiderable part of their commerce), is sent mostly either to Holland or Hamburgh, very little of it being either consumed by themselves, or remitted to Great-Britain. Thus the North-Americans become likewise our rivals in the sale of their hardware, which is chiefly their own manufacture, and easily smuggled into a place that has not a single port officer; and, so far as they trade with the baymen, they are wholly uninterested with this nation, though connected at the same time in an unnatural intercourse with foreign states, to whom it is in no small degree beneficial: but whatever may be their gain is clearly Britain's loss. It is said, the number of British subjects settled here, including Negroes, amounts to about three thousand. Their emoluments may be conjectured, from the gains on logwood alone; by which, supposing every man to gain equally, each person has an annual dividend of about 27*l.* sterling. But, as they deal in other commodities besides logwood, and the one half of

their number may be deducted for servants, the general profit of the other half may be rated without any exaggeration at 50*l.* *per head per annum*. The importance of this trade was clearly seen by the ministry in the year 1717: at which time, the lords of trade and plantations traced out a deduction of our right to cut log-wood in South America, and demonstrated the many national benefits arising from it. They shewed, that Great-Britain imported,

	Tons	Cwt.
In the year — 1713 —	2189	15
1714 —	4878	14
1715 —	5863	12
1716 —	2032	17

This, *communibus annis*, makes — 3741, which they computed at 60,000*l.* *per annum* value, although the price was then fallen from 40*l.* to 16*l.* *per ton*; whereas, before the English settled in these parts, it was bought from foreigners at 100*l.* *per ton*. They remarked, that this trade was not less necessary than lucrative and beneficial to the British dominions, by reason of the great encouragement it gives to our seamen and shipping. All this we owe to the Bucaniers, who first established a settlement here, and maintained their ground against a continual annoyance of the Spaniards, though unsupported all the time by any assistance from Great-Britain. It must be owned, that she is greatly wanting to herself, if she is not at present the ultimate gainer by their bravery and labour.

The modern settlers, as well as their predecessors, have lived hitherto in a kind of republican state, having no governor appointed over them; but, being left to themselves, they have enacted certain bye-laws by general consent, and pay obedience to them. But, as some further police was necessary, magistratical commissions have been transmitted occasionally from Jamaica; and, by virtue of these, they are enabled to maintain some forms of justice. The like commissions have been sent also to the white inhabitants on the Mosquito shore. Still there needs the addition of a supreme executive authority, to enforce these or other fit laws against delinquents, and more especially to confine their trade within its proper, natural channel. For want of a civil esta-



blishment, they are subject to a multitude of inconveniences and abuses that ought to be rectified; some of them I have already noticed. Last wills are sent from hence to be proved in the court of ordinary at Jamaica; after which, they are returned to the settlements, to confirm the rights of an heir, or the powers of an executor; and then again remitted to Jamaica, to be recorded in the secretary's office; thus undergoing the risque of three voyages, and an injurious delay. This hardship might easily be relieved, if the governor would (as ordinary) appoint a surrogate, and the secretary a deputy, to reside constantly at the principal settlement. These officers, I believe, have already a power to make such appointments: if not, it ought to be granted to them by an act of assembly. If they already possess it, no reason can be given for the non-exertion of it, except, that their fees on such wills are collected with more certainty by the necessity which the parties are under of bringing them to Jamaica; but this objection is removeable, by their taking adequate security from the persons they may substitute. These valuable dependences ought surely to become objects of some concern to the Jamaica legislature, if not to parliament. It may be foreseen, that various advantages would be gained by drawing them into a closer connection with Jamaica; by entitling them to send annually, or triennially, one or more representatives, to sit in the house of assembly; by which means, a more perfect knowledge of their condition and trade might be obtained, and all abuses the sooner and more effectually corrected. Should a governor be appointed to reside among them, I apprehend that his establishment might be so ordered as to become neither a load upon the crown, nor the inhabitants. His salary might be raised by a trifling impost of sixpence *per* ton on all their logwood exported; which, with fines, forfeitures, and amerciaments, could not fall much short, probably, of 500*l.* sterling a year, which seems no mean provision for the office, and must in course increase in proportion as the governor, by his care and ability, might effect such improvements, and kindle such a spirit of industry among the settlers, as would be productive of an augmenting export.

## S E C T. V.

## R U A T T A N, or R A T T A N.

THIS island is in latitude  $16^{\circ} 21'$  N. situated within the bay of Honduras, about one hundred and forty-eight leagues W. S. W. distant from the West end of Jamaica; thirteen from Cape Honduras, the N. W. boundary of the Mosquito shore; and eleven from Truxillo bay, on the continent. It is about thirty miles long, and thirteen broad, containing in loose measurement two hundred and forty-nine thousand six hundred acres, the range trending about N. E. and S. W.; towards the sea, on both sides, it is woody and mountainous. The Northern side is defended by a reef of rocks, continuing the whole length, except a few narrow passages, which are navigable only by canoes, and frequented by the turtlers. The Southern side is very convenient for shipping, as it is full of harbours, none of which (unless in excessively dry seasons) are unsupplied with streams of fresh water. The principal is called New Port-Royal; a noble, capacious, and secure port, guarded by rocks and shoals, and the narrowness of its entrance, which is covered by two little isles, named Cusack's and George's: These, if properly fortified, might be made capable of hindering almost any naval armament from passing the inlet. As the sea breeze meets with no great obstruction, the island is so well ventilated, that every quarter of it is healthy, and its air esteemed more cool and temperate than most parts of the West-Indies. The soil is extremely fertile, and with industry capable of yielding any of the usual articles of the tropical produce. It abounds with wild hogs, deer, Indian conies, and wild fowl; its coast is enriched with plenty of fine turtle and the choicest fish. Towards the West end, the land is reputed the best, being not so hilly as the other districts, and containing extensive savannahs of many hundred acres. It is here that two Jamaica traders have patents for grazing their mules, which they purchase at a very easy rate at Truxillo, to dispose of at the Jamaica market. It possesses all the varieties of

of West-India woods in common with Jamaica; and, in addition to them, is adorned likewise with white oaks and pine trees, of sufficient fullness and diameter to make masts and yards for merchantmen; a circumstance not a little extraordinary, if we consider its latitude so far South of Jamaica, where that genus of trees is not to be found: and hence it seems adapted to the culture of a greater diversity of plants than any other of the West-Indian islands. These advantages, and its excellent situation for profitable commerce with the Indian tribes, and inhabitants scattered along the coast of Honduras, especially about Truxillo, recommend it as a very eligible acquisition to Great-Britain, in case of any future rupture with Spain. The possession of it would be a most effectual protection to our logwood-cutters, as well as the sure foundation of a firm and permanent friendship with the Mosquitos, to whom it might be rendered a convenient mark for every species of British manufacture vendible among them. It might be subsidiary to Jamaica for this end, and for gaining in return innumerable articles proper for European consumption, particularly gold, silver, indigo, wax, cacao, and Vigonia wool. The province of Guatimala, so near to it, produced in 1742 no less than four hundred thousand pounds weight of fine indigo. The coinage of that province was then estimated at two hundred thousand pieces of eight *per annum*. It yielded, besides, very large quantities of uncoined gold and silver, and various kinds of the best dying woods.

No argument can be required to prove the advantages which are attainable by Great-Britain from a well-managed alliance with the Indians living in a country blessed with such abundant resources of an invaluable traffic. Nor need I labour to shew the importance of forming a chain of settlements from Jamaica to the continent, each supporting and strengthening the other, so contiguously linked, as to be with the greatest ease superintended by the chief establishment, and duly visited and watched by the squadron usually stationed there, the ships of which, by a proper rotation, might be always near at hand to aid and guard our commerce in its passage from the different smaller rivulets into the main stream, whose current should uninterruptedly flow from Jamaica to the mother-state. As the situation of Rattan accommodates it to these views, and renders it  
a proper

a proper guarantee to our logwood-cutters on the one side, and our Mosquito brethren on the other; so its natural strength seems to render artificial bulwarks almost unnecessary. The principal harbour might be fortified with very little expence; and there is no doubt, but in British hands so desirable an island would soon be stocked with inhabitants capable of defending it against the attempts of any enemy to be expected in these seas. I do not strictly rank it among the present dependences of Jamaica; but, considering it as having once been in our possession, and as it incidentally falls in our way in treating of Honduras, I should have held myself inexcusable to have passed it by unnoticed.

In the year 1742, lieutenant Hodgson was sent by admiral Vernon and general Wentworth to consult with the Mosquito Indians and baymen about the settlement of this island; a measure which promised great benefits to the people of Jamaica. Two hundred soldiers of the American regiment, joined by fifty marines, were detached, under convoy of the Litchfield man of war and Bonetta sloop, to Rattan, with an engineer, arms, ammunition, cannon for a fortification, six months provision, and all other necessaries. The Mosquitos readily came into the scheme, and lent all their assistance in the prosecution of it. The settlement was begun with great rapidity, a small town built between two streams of fresh water, a fortress erected at the mouth of New Port-Royal harbour, and the government of the whole conferred on Mr. Pitt before-mentioned; a gentleman every way worthy of the trust, and whose long residence with the Indians had given him a very considerable influence over them. In 1744, the British government was so apparently convinced of its importance, as to seem very seriously intent upon keeping it; for the parliament, in this year, prepared an estimate of charges for the garrison, fortifications, stores, and other articles requisite to a complete establishment. But, at the conclusion of the war, the Spanish ministry, who foresaw what a thorn it might prove in their side, contended so strongly for its evacuation, that, in consequence of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, this promising settlement was broken up, the fortresses demolished, and the inhabitants removed. The Spanish court immediately issued several placarts, inviting their subjects to go and settle there; but the Spaniards on  
the

the neighbouring continent were truly sensible, that, if they were to remove thither, they could not expect any effectual assistance or protection from their unwieldy government, and therefore must be left defenceless, and exposed to the insult and plunder of every freebooter. It was their general opinion, that, so long as they could enjoy more secure settlements upon the *terra firma*, it would never be worth their while to go and take up a precarious residence in any of the little islands which swarm on their coast, however specious the offers of their court might be, that were thrown out to allure them. For these reasons, the island remained uninhabited, and probably may continue in this state until it is possessed by some other foreign power, who, knowing its value, will not part with it again so easily as we have done. It is apparent on the first glance, that it is capable of maintaining great numbers of people; fifty thousand might live on it with the utmost comfort, and still have a vast deal of uncultivated land. The salubrity of the air makes it reasonable to suppose, that a small number planted here might, in the ordinary course of increase, become in a few generations a populous colony. Astonishing it is, that Great-Britain, whose navy rides triumphant in the ocean, whose subjects are bold and enterprising, and exceed most other people in the spirit and success of their colonizations, should suffer so many excellent islands, distinguished by the redundancy of their natural riches, to remain unexplored, unpossessed, uninhabited. Surely, it betrays a miserable servility of complaisance, a disgraceful imbecillity in our politics, that we do not occupy those jewels which their pretended owners are neither able nor willing to make any use of. What is a greater reproach to us, we seem not to dare even to cherish the acquisitions which we have already formed. The growing and united power of France and Spain in these seas should persuade us into the expediency of strengthening ourselves against them: this is best to be effected by colonizing and trade; they, in truth, are the only solid foundations on which we can build a successful opposition in this part of the world. The governments, whom no treaty binds, whom no strains of politeness on our part dissuade from a constant repetition of hostility and ill usage, are to be awed into more amicable demeanor only by the rise of our power up to a superiority over

over their own. A further benefit, we might hope to reap from well-established colonies and a regulated compact trade in these parts, is the putting a stop to much of that naval smuggling traffic which has been the cause of many bickerings between the British and Spanish courts, and affords the Spanish government a pretence for maintaining in time of peace a squadron of guarda-costas to suppress it. The commanders, I am confident, do frequently exceed their orders; and, being prompted by the same savage principles which influence all freebooters, they make prize of many fair traders when they cannot meet with others. The loose manner in which the Spanish American officers conduct themselves, and the want of due energy in their system of administration, are perhaps the reasons why these piccaroons are not better regulated, or the offenders among them rigidly chastised. I have heard it asserted on good authority, that in the several Spanish galls in America are seldom fewer than one thousand British subjects, who, under the pretended charge of illicit trade, have been made prisoners by these guarda-costas, and kept in hard confinement. Many of them are compelled to severe labour on their fortifications and other public works, together with the fugitive and kidnapped Negroes collected from our sugar islands; by which a great saving is made to their government. It is a cheap method of procuring labourers without imposing a burthen upon their own subjects; but, were we to practise the like injustice towards them, no peace could subsist between the two nations in America; a perpetual war would ensue, as heretofore was the case; or, at least, it would continue until one or the other gained the ascendancy by a superior maritime force. Between our logwood-cutters at Honduras and the Mosquito country, the Spaniards have a very good port, called Omoa. They built a town here in 1751, erected a fortification, and stationed a guarda-costa brig of 16 guns for the sole purpose of interrupting our trade. This brig seized and plundered every British vessel that fell in her way, though in the time of peace. In short, these Capers are now, with respect to us, what the Jamaica privateers anciently were to the Spaniards; differing only in this point, that we had then no peace with them. They are equipped for fighting, and, under cloak of being necessary for prevention of

illicit commerce, they continually harrafs our trade, and plunder our effects; for, by reason of the shoal water near the Mosquito coast, our trade is confined almost entirely to small sloops and schooners incapable of making resistance. The Dutch trading to these parts usually employ little fleets well-accountred, whose number and strength protect them from any interruption. Our trade might certainly be secured from capture and robbery, if government would license a certain number of armed vessels to be employed in guarding the coasts of our settlements, "and for preventing illicit commerce:" the Spaniards are an example to us for the measure. But at present, if our traders should arm themselves in time of peace, and resist the Spanish freebooters, their crews would be liable to suffer as pirates, for fighting without a lawful commission. The Spanish armed vessels sailing under a commission have herein greatly the advantage of us, and ravage with impunity. Our countrymen will much rather turn their adventures to an established colony well situated at the Mosquito shore or other dependances, than run the hazard of capture by trading to Cuba or Carthagea. Besides, an established colony will not only employ larger vessels, but be in better condition to protect them from all unlawful annoyance. To hope that the Spaniards will suffer us to enlarge our territory in these seas, if possibly they can hinder us, is a vain expectation: so far from it, they will not let us enjoy peaceably what we already possess. Yet this consideration, instead of deterring, should excite us to shew at least as much vigor and alacrity in the defence and promotion of our colonies and trade, as they manifest in seeking to circumscribe and to destroy them.

The sentiments of queen Elizabeth ought never to be forgotten. After Sir Francis Drake's return in 1578 from his South-sea expedition, that glorious princess replied to the Spanish ambassador's complaint in the following animated style: "That the Spaniards, by their hard dealing with the English, whom they had prohibited commerce, contrary to the law of nations, had drawn these mischiefs upon themselves; moreover, that she understood not, why her, or any prince's, subjects should be debarred from the trade of the Indies, which she could not persuade herself the Spaniard had any just title to by the donation of the bishop of Rome (in whom

“ whom she acknowledged no prerogative, much less any authority  
 “ in such cases); nor yet by any other claim, than as they had  
 “ touched here and there upon the coasts, built cottages, and given  
 “ name to a river or a cape; which things could not entitle them to  
 “ a propriety: so that this donation of what is another man’s  
 “ (which is of no validity in law), and this imaginary propriety,  
 “ cannot hinder other princes from trading into those countries,  
 “ and (without breach of the law of nations) from transporting  
 “ colonies into those parts thereof where the Spaniards do not in-  
 “ habit; neither from freely navigating.” In fine, however much  
 we may resent the cowardly outrages committed under sanction of  
 their government, we ought ever to distinguish the guilty from the  
 innocent; we should cultivate, by all means, the friendship and  
 esteem of the more industrious Spanish subjects in these parts, and,  
 by a friendly, honourable behaviour, beget a mutual interchange  
 of good offices. In time of open rupture in America, it will be  
 our wisest policy to wage war only against the selfish maxims of  
 the Spanish court, and against those who are employed to support  
 and enforce them. But, as for all those peaceable, industrious in-  
 habitants, who are not the immediate agents of the state, we should  
 esteem them as our real friends, who are as much disposed to live  
 on good terms with us, as we are in respect to them. At the  
 breaking out of the war with Spain in 1739, admiral Vernon was  
 ordered, “ to distress and annoy the Spaniards in the most effectual  
 “ manner, by taking their ships, and possessing himself of such of  
 “ their places and settlements as he should think it practicable to  
 “ attempt; and in convoying and protecting the British subjects in  
 “ carrying on an open and advantageous trade with the Spaniards  
 “ in America.” This instruction shewed much wisdom, and a  
 perfect knowledge of what will always be our best interest upon  
 these occasions.

## S E C T. VI.

## C A M P E A C H E.

ALTHOUGH the English have, for the present, deserted their  
 settlement at this bay, it will not be improper to give an account of



it, at least so far as may serve to vindicate our right of cutting logwood upon it. The bay lies within the province of Yucatan, so much celebrated by Spanish writers for its wholesome air and fecundity of soil. The centre of this province is under the same parallel of North-latitude as Jamaica; and the bay, about three hundred leagues distant from the latter island, almost due West. This distance in the voyage is occasioned by Cape Catoche, which projecting to North-latitude  $20^{\circ} 17'$  far into the bay of Mexico, and having several small capes bearing Northwards from the coast, the navigation to it is thereby rendered very indirect. The country affords plenty of corn, and cattle of all sorts; but its chief commodity is logwood. At the bottom of the bay are two little islands, called Trieste and Port Royal, which are divided from each other by a small salt creek, named Boca Incisa, navigable only by boats and canoes. From the adjacent main land these islands are separated to the Eastward by Fort Royal, or East mouth; to the Westward, by Boca de Sal, or West mouth; and, to the Southward, by a large bason, called Port Royal Laguna, or Laguna de Terminos, which is ten leagues in length, and about four in breadth. The bar at the Boca de Sal makes this bason very difficult of ingress or egress, as it has only twelve feet water at highest; and, when the sea is not extremely smooth, it is dangerous for vessels of burthen to attempt the passage. This bason used formerly to be called the Logwood-creek. At the South-west angle of it are two narrow inlets, which open into two smaller Lagunas, called the East and West, and communicating with one another. The Spaniards not having been able to form settlements in this division of Yucatan, the only inhabitants are Indians, who, according to all accounts, would be very glad to enter into a hearty alliance with the English, if they were properly armed and supported. In the year 1662, the English first began to cut down the logwood-trees growing in infinite quantities on this coast, inhabited by none but Indians, who freely gave them permission; and they made a settlement at Campeche, which at first was near Cape Catoche, but afterwards (for greater conveniency in carrying on their business) removed to the Laguna de Terminos. Here some of the Bucaniers secreted themselves, when the treaty of 1667 put a stop to their privateering.

By the year 1669, this settlement was considerably increased, and much logwood exported both to Jamaica and North-America. In the year 1670 was concluded with Spain the American treaty, which confirmed the then possessions of both nations in America. This gave encouragement to many more of the English to associate in the same place. It was not until the year 1672 that the Spaniards first began to interrupt the cutters: but, soon after, they grew so uneasy at the progress of our settlement, although in this desolate and unplanted region, that they actually made prize of every English vessel they met with in the American seas laden with logwood. This piratical violation of the treaty occasioned many sharp remonstrances from our court; but, nevertheless, in the year 1680, the Spaniards, having collected a body of forces, suddenly invaded the settlement, and dislodged the English, who in the space of two or three months returned again, and fell to their business so vigorously, that in 1682 our trade was greater than ever it had been before. I do not find that the Spaniards made any attempt upon them again with equal success, but were content to cut them off by piece-meal in skirmishes and ambuscades, which being incessantly repeated, the settlers, receiving in the mean while no protection or assistance from their own government against these treacherous breaches of faith, thought it more for their advantage and security to withdraw themselves into the neighbourhood of the Mosquito Indians. By the treaty of Versailles (1763) it was stipulated, that all fortifications, erected by his Britannic majesty's subjects at the bay of Honduras and other places within the territory of Spain in America, should be destroyed; and, in return for this, that his catholic majesty should not for the future suffer the British subjects, or other workmen, to be disturbed or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood; but that they might build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines necessary for them, their families, and effects: and his catholic majesty assures them by this treaty the entire enjoyment of these stipulations. These articles, it is true, confirmed the American treaty, and established the British right of logwood-cutting both at Honduras, and Campeche,

peache, where we had so long followed that occupation: but, at the same time, we were insidiously drawn in, by the terms of description, to acknowledge these places to be within the territory of the crown of Spain; a concession which ought to have been most cautiously avoided, as it weakens our title, and implies that we hold settlements in these parts as mere tenants at sufferance and will of that crown. So that the Spanish ministry seem clearly to have over-reached us in this material point; and, no doubt, so construe their words, as to believe that they have gained from us much more than they gave up. In respect to ourselves, we greatly over-acted our parts by recalling the troops we had posted at the Mosquito shore, and razing our fortifications there, although that district was undeniably not comprehended within the Spanish American territory, but still continues the property of its Indian Aborigines, or rather a part of the British empire, as they have so long been under a voluntary subjection to the British crown. The Indians looked on this proceeding with the utmost astonishment; nor are even yet able to reconcile it with their ideas of sound policy and prudence. In consequence of this punctuality in disarming our settlers on the coast, they have, ever since the ratification of the treaty, been insulted, plundered, murdered, and enslaved, by the Spaniards in their neighbourhood. All which is no more than consistent with their ancient uniform practices, and the unvaried maxims of their government; upon which I have already enlarged sufficiently.

END OF BOOK I.

THE

## THE SECOND BOOK.

## C H A P. I.

*Of the Spanish Settlements in Jamaica.*

**T**HE name Jamaica, given to this island, has been supposed an English corruption from the word James; the original name given to it by its discoverer being, as some say, St. Jago: but the *aica* final has not been accounted for. It is not improbable, that Jamaica is a name of Indian extraction, perhaps derived from Jamacaru, the Brazilian name for the prickly-pear, which over-spreads the maritime parts of the South side, where the Aboriginal Indian discoverers of this island might have first landed.

So the name Cagua, given by the Indians to the district adjacent to Port Royal harbour, was probably from Caragua, the Brazilian name of the Coratœ, or great American Aloe, which is found in such abundance throughout that district.

The *aica* does not appear to be of English extraction; for the Spaniards, long before the English became possessed of this island, called and wrote it Xamayca.

Columbus is said to have first discovered it on the 5th of May, 1494, and to have anchored in Puerto-bueno on the North side. We are told, that he was captivated with the face of the country, and pronounced it to be the most beautiful of any he had then seen in the new world.

The compliment was by no means trivial, as he had before touched at the two fine islands of Cuba and Hispaniola. Nor was it, perhaps, improperly bestowed; for the romantic scenery of mountains, the multitude of rivers and harbours, the varied verdure of the woods and savannahs, afford a succession of elegant objects, equalled by few parts of the West-Indies.

His stay upon this occasion was but short, as he was bent on circum-navigating Cuba, and taking a view of the South-west continent. He did not re-visit Jamaica till May, 1503; when, after a series of stormy weather, and a narrow escape from ship-wreck:

among the Jardin reefs, which lie off the South coast of Cuba, he conducted his two shattered vessels into Dry-harbour. His crews were ready to perish, for want of water, of which this place did not afford any supply; for which reason, he stood further to the Eastward, keeping the ships above water with the utmost difficulty, till at length he found a convenient harbour inclosed by rocks. Here he ran them aground, close along-side each other, and gave it the name of *Santa Gloria*. He remained here till the month of June, 1504, before he could meet with an opportunity of returning to Europe. The difficulties and distresses which he encountered from the treachery of his crew, and the malice of the commanding officer at St. Domingo, the means by which he procured hospitable treatment from the Indian natives, his wonderful patience and presence of mind, have been mentioned in so many publications, that I need not spin out my narrative with the particulars. It would be a gratification to curiosity, if we could ascertain the identical spot which that great man so long honoured with his residence, distinguished no less as the theatre of his adversities, than by the fortitude and address which he displayed in the endurance and termination of them.

There is at present no harbour on the coast which bears the same name; but it is supposed, I know not upon what grounds, to have been what is now called Port Sancta Maria. Three years elapsed, from the time of his death, before a Spanish colony was settled in the island. About the year 1509, Juan de Esquivello took possession and the command of it, as *locum tenens* under Diego Columbus, the admiral's son. From that governor, what is now called Old Harbour received its antient name of Esquivel. After this commandery was established, great numbers are said to have emigrated hither from Old Spain, or to have been sent into banishment, who built three cities, or rather, I should suppose, the rudiments of intended cities. These were Sevilla-Nueva and Mellila, on the North coast, and Oristan on the South. St. Jago de la Vega was founded, it is said, by the same Diego, but not till several years afterwards; when, the situation being thought more healthy and eligible in other respects, so many persons removed to it from the other towns, that the latter were almost desolated.

desolated. Mellila, which had its name from a town on the coast of Barbary, taken by the Spaniards in 1497, was built, as supposed, at Port Maria before mentioned. It is said the inhabitants deserted it chiefly on account of prodigious swarms of black stinging ants, which infested their houses night and day, and occasioned the death of several infants, by eating holes in their flesh. This is not improbable; for they are known to reduce the carcases of lizards, snakes, and even very large birds, very speedily to skeletons. Upon quitting Mellila, they built Sevilla-Nueva, at St. Ann's bay, and after this Oristan; which latter was so called after another town in Barbary. Oristan is supposed to have stood at Bluefields bay, in Westmoreland parish. Blome says, it was on the South-West part of the island, having the little isles of Servavilla, Quitosvena, and Serrana, due South. Some Spanish prisoners in 1657 reported, that it was distant a day's journey from Guatibocoa, near the river Alcovan [1], about sixty-three miles from Hibanal river, and eighteen from the (North) sea. The situation of Bluefields seems to correspond with these descriptions; but, although the town was well known to the English soldiers, who in that year dislodged a party of Spaniards from it, the name of rivers and districts have undergone such changes in process of time, that we can only use conjecture; but it seems most probable that this location is the true one. These Spaniards represented Hibanal river to be about ten leagues distant from Port Antonio, having at its mouth a small creek, not easily discovered at sea, nor capable of receiving any vessel of burthen. The inlet best answering this account is Down's Cove, at the mouth of Spanish-Craal river, in St. Mary's. A party of Negroes lived in a provision plantation, near the Hibanal; who gave the Spaniards at Oristan notice upon the arrival of any piragua, or small craft, from Cuba, with supplies or intelligence. From this circumstance, it is not improbable, that the river afterwards took its name of the Spanish-Craal, the word Craal being commonly used in the West-Indies to signify a place where provisions are planted, and hogs bred.

[1] Black-River (in St. Elizabeth's) was called by the Spaniards El Caovana, or the Mahogany river.

The Spaniards had five principal roads of communication; which, however, were no better than bridle-paths, and almost impassable, except on foot, or with a mule.

The roads from East to West ran along the Southern coast from Old Harbour to Bluefields; and, on the Northern, from St. George's, or perhaps Port Antonio, to St. Ann's bay, and Point-Pedro at the West end. Three other roads lead across from South to North; one from Bluefields bay to Marthabrac, by the head of Great river; another from Old Harbour through Old Woman's Savannah and Pedro's Cock-pits to Port St. Anne and Sevilla; and the third, from St. Jago de la Vega over Monte Diablo and Monique Savannah to the same port.

The variety, extent, and greater importance, of the other Spanish settlements in this part of the world necessarily engaged most of the adventurers from Old Spain, and left but very few recruits for peopling Jamaica. Hence, perhaps, for want of fresh supplies, as well as its becoming a proprietary government vested in the dukes de la Vega, who gave but little attention to the improvement of it, their towns were abandoned one after another, as the first race of settlers diminished, until the remnant of the people was not too numerous to be contained in St. Jago alone; or, otherwise, what idea sufficiently insignificant must we form of their cities said to have been founded here, when it appears, that at the time of our conquest there were no more than fifteen hundred Spaniards, or whites, in the whole island, the greater part of whom resided in St. Jago.

The Spaniards who first colonized here seem to have disposed their towns so as to enjoy the readiest communication with their countrymen and neighbours on every side, without scattering themselves at too great a distance from the different stations in the island. Thus their port of Cagua, afterwards called by the English Caguay (or Port-Royal), was conveniently enough situated for the vessels bound from St. Domingo to the Westward; Oristan, for an intercourse with Carthagená; Mellila and Sevilla-Nueva, for the Southern parts of Cuba. They had, besides, some other settlements originally at Spanish river (in St. George's); Paratee, or Pavatee, St.

(St. Elizabeth's); Rio-Nuevo, and Ocho Rios (Chireñas), in St. Anne's; but these were inconsiderable.

Among their first settlers were several Portuguese: whence we find a variety in the names given to mountains, rivers, and headlands; some being of Spanish, and others of Portuguese and Moorish origin; which makes it difficult to explain the meaning of several. However, that I may not leave them wholly unexplained, I subjoin a Glossary, for the satisfaction of those readers who may be desirous of tracing them; for although many of the old names of places are now worn out, yet many others have been retained, and will probably continue as a memorial that this island was once in the possession of Spaniards.

Spanish Names of Places.	Supposed Derivation, and Import.
Auracabeza, — — — — —	{ Aura, air or breeze; Cabeza, head or high land.
Alta Mela, — — — — —	{ Deep Gap (Alta Mela Savannah, St. James).
Agua Alta Bahia, — — — — —	{ Deep-water Bay, corruptly Wag- water.
Los Angeles, — — — — —	The Angels.
Rio Bonito, — — — — —	The Pretty River.
Cabo Bonito, — — — — —	The Pretty Cape.
Cabarita Punta, — — — — —	Kid, or Goat Point.
Rio de Camarones, — — — — —	{ Perhaps from Gambaro, a crab; from the abundance of black crabs hereabouts.
Cobre Rio, — — — — —	{ Copper River, or Cobra Port, Snake River.
Caborido, — — — — —	{ Quasi Cabo Arido, the dry or wi- thered Cape (part of Healthshire highlands).
Carvil, or Caravel Bahia, — — — — —	{ Caravela signifies a light, round kind of ship, formerly used by the Spaniards.
Diablo Monte, — — — — —	Devil's Mount.
Escondido Puerto, — — — — —	The Hidden Harbour.
Flora Rio, — — — — —	Flower River.



Spanish Names of Places.			Supposed Derivation, and Import.
Fortaleza Punta,	—	—	Fort Point.
Gallina Punta,	—	—	Hen Point.
Guada Bocoa,	—	—	{ Guada, brook of water, Boca- mouth.
Hoja Rio,	—	—	{ River of Leaves, now corruptly Riho Hoa.
Jarife Punta,	—	—	{ Cross-bow, or arrow, probably re- fers to some action with the In- dians.
Javareen,	—	—	{ Rustic expression, signifying a wild boar.
Lacovia,	—	—	{ <i>Quasi</i> Lago-via, or the way by the lake.
Liguanea,	—	—	{ Lia-withe-guana, name of an ani- mal, probably once frequent in that part of the island.
Moneque, or Monefca Savannah,	—	—	Savannah of monks.
Mari-bona,	—	—	Maria-buena, Mary the good.
Multi-bezon Rio,	—	—	Multi, many, buzon, conduit.
Macari Bahia,	—	—	{ Macari [ <i>m</i> ], a tile, such as is made for floors, which the Spaniards universally used here, and proba- bly manufactured them near this bay, the soil being proper for that purpose.
Mantica Bahia,	—	—	{ Butter (now Montego bay). This part abounding formerly with wild hogs, the Spaniards proba- bly made here what they called hog's butter (lard) for exporta- tion.

[*m*] Or perhaps it may derive more properly from the Indian word Macarij (which signifies bitter), and allude to the tree commonly called the Majoe, or Macary-bitter, which grows in great abundance along this part of the coast; and with whose leaves, bark, and root, which are all of them extremely bitter, some very notable cures, in cases of inveterate ulcers, the yaws, and venereal distempers, were some years ago performed by an old Negroes, named Majoe, in commemoration of whom it took its name.

Spanish Names of Places.	Supposed Derivation, and Import.
Ocho Rios, — — —	Eight rivers.
Perexil Infula, — — —	Samphire island.
Sombrio Rio, — — —	Shady river.
Yalos, — — —	{ Frosts (whence, perhaps corruptly, Yallows), the high white cliffs having the appearance of a frosty covering.
Luidas, — — —	
Martha Brea, — — —	{ Perhaps from Luzida; gay, fine. Martha, a woman's name; Brea, tar; perhaps, a nick-name of some Spanish sailor's <i>Dulcinea</i> , like the English vulgar appellation, <i>Jack Tar</i> .

There are some others, probably of Moorish extraction, whose etymology I am unable to discover.

## C H A P. II.

## S E C T. I.

*General Description of Jamaica.*

**J**AMAICA is situated about thirty-five leagues W. S. W. from Cape Tiberon, the West end of Hispaniola, and about thirty leagues from the island of Cuba, measuring from St. Lucia harbour on the North side of Jamaica to Cape Cruz on the South side of Cuba; from Carthagena one hundred and forty-five leagues; one hundred and sixty from Rio del Hache; and about one hundred and fifty from the Mosquito shore.

	Long. W. from Lond	Lat. North.
The Easternmost part of the island } lies in about — — —	70° 53'	17° 56'
The Westernmost, — — —	78 22½	18 16
The South Cape of Portland, — — —		17 43½
The Northernmost part, — — —		18 33
Centre of the island, — — —	77 8	18 19½
According		

According to Sir Henry Moore's map, which is the most correct of any hitherto published, it measures in extreme length about one hundred and fifty miles, and in breadth about  $49\frac{1}{2}$  or 50. But even this is not to be entirely depended upon for grounding with exactness a calculation of the number of square acres comprized in it; since the prodigious quantity of mountainous tract, and the vast multitude of harbours, bays, and creeks, occasioning many irregularities in the outline of the coast, make an accurate reduction impracticable. Besides, the mountains here in some parts rise an astonishing height, to which the diameter of their base bears but a small proportion. According to the best calculation I can make, it contains about three million and a half of acres, or near four times as much land as all the other British sugar islands put together. Some authors have affirmed, that not more than three hundred and fifty-thousand acres are open and in cultivation; and, if this is meant of land cultivated every year, it is far above the truth; but, if it means land opened, cleared of its wood, and applied either to pasturage or cultivation of some sort, the whole may be rated at six hundred thousand acres, without including the savannahs, which may be reckoned to add about two hundred and fifty thousand, and the rocky, unplatable parts, roads, river-courses, and gullies, about three hundred thousand. Bringing therefore the whole into one view, I suppose,

For opened land, unplatable and	} square acres, 1,150,000 [n]
waste altogether, about ———	
Remains therefore for cultivation about	2,350,000

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3,500,000

If this computation is near the truth, there is room sufficient in it for more than double the number of settlements it now contains. But, perhaps, the allowance for unplatable land may be thought too small, considering the cragginess and natural inconveniencies of a great part of the mountainous tracts, and the very large extent of soil on the South side, which, by the failure of their rains

[n] In 1752, it appeared, by an exact account taken of the quit-rents paid, that the quantity of land then patented was one million five hundred thousand acres. What merits enquiry is, what number of these acres are as yet cleared, or cultivated?

for many years past, cannot be brought to answer the pains and expence of cultivation for the articles usually attended to here, though capable perhaps of producing others that are better adapted to bear the dry weather. Yet, after the largest allowance possible, there must still appear a vast tract of country, whose soil is highly fruitful, and convertible to almost every species of West-India produce, and which at present lies in a state of nature, entirely useless, for want of people to occupy it. The situation of this island is such, as exposes it to the attacks and insults of very powerful neighbours; but at the same time it is enabled, by means of that situation, and with the aid of a British squadron, to give them infinite annoyance. In other respects, it seems so happily placed, as to be thoroughly screened by the larger islands of Cuba and Hispaniola from those tempestuous winds that harraßs the Atlantic ocean; and, by the number and disposition of its excellent ports, it is peculiarly calculated for an extensive and advantageous commerce with the adjacent islands and continent. The face of the country is diversified with vast plains, high mountains, and small hills, vales, and rivers. But we rarely meet here with those gentle inequalities, easy swells, and gradual sweeps of descent, so remarkable in England, and which add much to the beauty and convenience of any country. In the large vale of Sixteen-mile-walk there is more of this appearance than in any other part of the island that I have seen; but, in general, the hills are of such a sharp ascent, as to make the view, when among them, extremely confined; and this continues till some over-topping ridge is gained, from which the eye admits all at once an unbounded prospect. The passage into the mountainous region is not by an easy slope: these huge masses meet the lowlands by an almost perpendicular fall in many places; this facilitates the discharge of rain-water from them, but at the same time produces much inconvenience to travellers, and to the inland carriage of goods. It is owing to this acclivity, that the rivers here, for the most part, are hurried in their descent with so rapid a current as to be unnavigable to any very great distance from their mouths, more especially as several of them are interrupted in their course by vast rocks, occasioning falls and cataracts. The island is intersected with these mountains in every direction;

direction; though there is evidently a superior principal range of them, which extends from East to West, and is crossed by others of less magnitude and height, diverging North and South. These massive piles, distributed through the country, must necessarily produce very extraordinary effects upon the atmosphere. Accordingly, we find they occasion a great variety of climate in the different parts, whether in respect of rain or dry weather, heat or coolness; and tower up as so many bulwarks, to break the force of violent winds: but, at the same time, they are conductors of refreshing air and fertilizing showers. Lofty church-steeple are known to collect and transmit air. Perhaps this fluid, when its horizontal current is impeded, descends spirally down their sides, till it reaches the base, and so forms those eddies which are frequently remarked in the near neighbourhood of such structures. Our higher mountains, especially such as grow contracted and acute towards their summits, probably convey wind in a similar manner to the vales and lowlands lying near their bases: so the parts below the foot of the blue mountains are not precluded from their share of wind, even when it bears against the opposite slope of those mountains, but are sufficiently ventilated night and day. The soil of the island is various. The savannah lands are for the most part clayey, or intermixed with sandy spaces, some of which are of great extent and depth. These are called sand-galls, and are wholly unproductive of trees, or any other vegetable than a small wire-grass, unfit for pasturage, but applicable to many other uses; for, when dried, it is used instead of hair to mix with plaister for cieling, stuffing for saddles, chairs, &c. and for thatching the Negroe cottages. Much of the hills, especially those situated near the South coast, are covered with rocks of a sort of shell-marble, which makes an excellent lime, and is likewise much used for building. The interstices of these rocks are filled with a fine black mould, accumulated perhaps from rotten vegetable substances: this is extremely fertile, and proper for maize and ground provisions, such as yams, potatoes, and cocos. The rocks having also many little reservoirs, wherein the rain-water, percolating through various crevices, is lodged from time to time beyond reach of the sun's action, the roots of innumerable trees and plants, which cover the surface, are thereby

thereby constantly supplied. By this means, the disagreeable aspect of naked rocks is secluded from view; and those parts, which, when cleared and laid open, exhibit all the appearance of ruggedness and sterility, are in their natural state overspread with perennial verdure. Many of the trees, which shoot the fibres of their root through these almost imperceptible crevices, seem to grow out of the very rocks themselves, and furnish a curious scene, especially to an European eye. In the interior parts of the island the hills, and even mountains, are covered to their summit with a vast depth of soil, and of various sorts; among the principal are,

A red clay, on a white marle;

A ditto, on a grit;

A reddish brown ditto, on marle;

A yellowish clay, mixed with common mould;

A red grit;

A loose conchaceous mould;

A black mould, on a clay or other substrate;

A loose black vegetable mould, on rock;

A fine sand;

And their varieties.

The black mould is thought much the best for culture of any of the hilly land, and produces the finest canes. The mountain land in general, when first cleared of its wood, possesses more or less a surface of black mould, for the most part mixed with shells; and in some places it is of a considerable depth. The soil of the vallies is more various, as it is compounded partly from the washings of surrounding eminences, or of the sediment deposited by rivers and floods. The rivers have, in many places, destroyed the fertility of the land adjacent to them, by superinducing vast quantities of rubble and sand; but, in general, they have left a compound of very fine particles of clay, sand, and black mould, in many places to an amazing depth; and thus formed what is called here improperly the brick mould, by far the best soil in Jamaica for cultivation, as it is always easily laboured; so inexhaustible, as to require no manure; in very dry seasons it retains a moisture sufficient to preserve the cane-root from perishing; and in very wet it suffers the superfluous water to percolate, so as that

the roots are never in danger of being drowned. Next to this is the shelly black mould, which owes its fecundity in no small degree to the animal salts and *exuvia* intermingled with it. The stiff clayey land, which abounds in some of the Northside parishes, and is also found in some districts of the Southern lowlands, has many disadvantages: the chief are, that it is laboured with infinite difficulty; requires continual showers, to keep the surface soluble, and pervious to the cane-plants; it is apt to retain puddles of water about the stools of the canes so long, as frequently to destroy them; in very dry seasons the hardness of the surface compresses and choaks the stems; it is also of so chilly a nature, as to check their growth, or fill them with crude, poor juices. Much of this kind of land might possibly be improved by constantly manuring with sand, especially the sea-sand, mixed with fragments of shells and weed: the coast furnishes this in abundance; and it might be cheaply laid on places contiguous. I do not know if the experiment has ever been tried in Jamaica; but in many parts of England, particularly the Western, it is attended with wonderful success. Lime, ashes, and hog's dung, are probably well-adapted manures, and within reach of the interior settlers, who cannot so easily procure sea-sand. The former has been found to answer well on the stiff clays in England, and may be procured in Jamaica in any quantity with very little labour, and at a moderate expence. The noble woods which decorate most parts of the island are filled with trees whose bulk and tallness exceed any in England, many of them being from one hundred to one hundred and thirty feet in height, and for a considerable part of their height entirely disencumbered of branches; which gives them a most stately and majestic appearance. Cotton and cedar trees have been cut here which measured ninety feet from the base to the limbs; and several mahoganies, little inferior. It is difficult to conjecture the age of some of these trees; but it is probable they do not attain to their full growth and dimensions in less than a century. The largest I have seen are found in the middle region of the island, at the greatest distance from the sea-coast; and, from their apparent antiquity, it is not probable that they have ever been affected by the most violent hurricanes known here. These storms are most destructive

structive on the coast; and even here the thickness of the woods is a protection to the trees, and saves them from being torn up by the root. As these storms are always preceded by a series of dry weather, during which the leaves are shriveled up and parched, it is not surprizing that the force of the wind should disrobe the woods of their foliage: this has been almost uniformly the consequence; and, when the leaves were swept off, the gale could make but little impresson upon the naked boughs. In some parts near the coast I have observed detached trees bent almost to the earth; others entirely blown down, which have afterwards sent up fresh shoots perpendicular to the old trunk, and thus enjoyed a resurrection from their overthrow. There is a remarkable difference between the woods of the North and South sides. On the South, and near the sea, the trees are short, of small diameter; and the forests full of underwood and small withes, insomuch that it is very difficult to penetrate them by any other paths than what are formed by the wild cattle and hogs. In proceeding towards the North side, the trees are found to increase in bulk and height; about the centre of the island, and on the North side hills and mountains, they stand wider asunder, grow beautifully tall, strait, large, and free from underwood; so that it would be very easy to ride among them on horseback, if it were not for the numerous withes or vines, some of which are as large as a ship's cable, hanging perpendicularly like bell-ropes, or transversely from tree to tree, which might chance to hoist a rider, not very circumspect, out of his saddle.

It is a general rule here, that a rocky and indifferent soil is always to be known by stunted, crooked trees; as, on the contrary, a deep, good mould is distinguished by their being of large diameter, strait, and tall. Greater heat on the South side is, doubtless, the cause of more luxuriant vegetation observed there; and this indeed is so extraordinary, that lands in pasture, as well as in culture, require an unremitted attention to free them from weeds and young trees, which would otherwise infallibly spring up, and multiply in all parts like the hydra's heads. A large cotton tree, having been felled on the South side of the island, and left to rot on the ground, was a long time in mouldering. The limbs had been all cut away;



but there remained a very small twig, of two or three inches length, growing on the middle of the trunk; this, as the under part of the trunk next the earth decayed more and more, seemed to be recruited with a copious supply of nutriment, and in three years time grew up into a fine young tree, several feet in height; rising like a phoenix from the parent-dust, it became an absolute re-production. On the North side, the coolness of the atmosphere and frequent rains check the vegetation, like a frost; and, when combined with the North-east winds, are sometimes known to destroy the grass, and even the sugar-cane, though it is one of the hardiest plants in America. The parts on this side, which have been well cleared of wood, and the stumps burnt to the root, preserve a fine sod of natural grass, which is longer or shorter, according to the goodness or poverty of the soil. Timber-trees do not often re-generate in these places; but, when neglected for any considerable time, they become over-run with guava-bushes, propagated by the birds and other animals who feed on the fruit, and disperse the seeds in their dung: these, however, are much easier eradicated than the opopanax, cashaw, and logwood, which encumber the South side; yet the superior yielding of the South side land makes some amends for the incessant care and labour requisite to maintain it in proper order. This island contains about two hundred rivers, with their branches and smaller streams. During the rainy seasons, traveling is extremely dangerous: every gulley is then swollen into a river; and the water rushes down so violently, as to carry all before it: so that many persons, who have ventured in a wheel-carriage upon perceiving no rise of water, and imagining no danger, have been surprized all at once, before they have got half-over, with a sudden flood coming upon them, with such impetuosity, that they have been obliged to put on their horses at full-gallop, and narrowly escaped drowning before they could reach the opposite bank. The rivers at these times are loaded with mud and sand, which add to their weight; and, the bottom being entirely concealed from view, they are crossed with great uncertainty; for, in the space of a few hours, large holes are often worked in the usual fording-place, or quick-sands formed, into which a horse may plunge all on a sudden up to his belly. In this case, if the flood has risen to any considerable

derable height, the rider has very little chance of safety; as the depth is every moment increasing, and the torrent impossible to be stemmed.

The quick-sands are most commonly met with on crossing the mouths of rivers and gullies at the coast where the junction happens of the sea with the fresher: and a hollow, being caused by the whirling of an eddy-stream, is filled with loose sand, kept suspended as it were in a state of fluidity, and prevented, by the constant agitation of water, from subsiding and settling firmly.

The precipitate current of most of the rivers, although it may be thought to detract from their beauty, is nevertheless attended with very happy effects; for, not to mention the conveniency which the height of their fall admits for the better taking up and conducting their water to mechanical uses, the agitation they receive from rocks and other obstacles is one great means of preserving their zest and sprightliness, so essential to their being in a wholesome state for human drink. Besides, the celerity of their motion, and continual change of place, expose them to be less exhale by the solar rays: they consequently waste less by the evaporation which the heat of the atmosphere would otherwise cause, and emit fewer mists, which, if too copious, would make a residence in their neighbourhood constantly damp and unhealthy.

We may reckon about seventy capital rivers, of which several are navigable by small craft to a considerable distance from their mouths. Others are capable, by art and labour, of being rendered so, by means of locks: but the advantages to be gained by such works would not compensate for the expence, in a country where the plantations for the staple commodity are not in general remote from some shipping-place, and where cattle are easily bred, or may be had cheap, and in sufficient abundance to support an inland carriage. Of harbours we count sixteen principal, besides thirty bays, roads, or shipping-places, which have good anchorage. The climate of the island is in many, if not in most, parts of it undoubtedly much altered from what it was at the first settlement by the English. That the seasons are so is manifest, from the number of old indigo vats, most of which are said to have been constructed by the Spaniards; and the ruins of English sugar-works, which are found

found in many parts of the lowlands, where it is now impossible to cultivate those plants, for want of rain. The clearing of the mountainous tracts has much contributed to this alteration; and it is reasonable to imagine, that the island owes its present healthfulness in a great measure to this cause. From the like reason it may hereafter happen, that the parts adjacent to the South coast, which were the first in cultivation, but are now destitute of regular seasons, and therefore uncultivated and deserted, will, by the new growth of thick woods, become the sources of unwholesomeness. In a country of this extent, and whose interior district is so elevated, heat and cold are relative qualities, there being perhaps not two places, two miles distant from each other, where the sensations of heat and coolness are precisely alike. In advancing from the sea-coast towards the mountains, every mile produces a sensible change towards a cooler temperature; and, after arriving among the mountains, there is seldom any cause to complain of too great heat. In the month of August, and in the evening of a day that was thought excessively sultry in the lowlands, I have found a fire very comfortable in Pedro's Cockpits, in St. Ann's. On the summit of Guy's Hill, *Monte Diablo*, Carpenter's Mountains, and others, I never experienced a troublesome heat even at noon under a vertical sun. The sea-coast is likewise marked with this irregularity; and is more or less hot, according as it is more or less open to the free perfusion of the sea-breeze. The greatest degree of heat on the higher mountains rarely, I believe, exceeds seventy-five on Fahrenheit's scale; but the general station of the thermometer there is from sixty to sixty-nine or seventy. The North-side of the island is in general cool, pleasant, and very healthy, except on the flat, low parts bordering upon the coast. The difference of atmosphere here from the South side is very evident from the less power of the sun in forwarding maturity. The canes on the South side are ripe and fit to cut in the beginning of January; but the North side crops do not commence till about the latter end of March, or sometimes later. The greater frequency of rain, and cloudiness of the atmosphere, with other corresponding causes, obstruct the solar influence, retard vegetation, and prevent the canes from coming earlier to maturity. It is likewise to be considered, that, when the sun

sun is moving in the Southern tropic, the mountains cast a shade over a very large tract of this side of the country, till he has attained to some height above the horizon; and this is repeated before he sets: so that these parts have not near so much of his genial warmth as their opposites in the Southern district. So the altitude of the Blue Mountains causes, every morning during the hotter months, a very agreeable shade to a large part of Liguanea, stretching Westward from their foot. At such times of the year, the sun's disk continues, unperceived by the inhabitants, on that part for a considerable time; the view of it being intercepted by that immense wall of high land. From this variety of climate it must appear, that heat and cold are here entirely local and relative; depending on situation, whether low and level ground, or elevated and mountainous; on the propinquity or distance of hills, open to a free current of air, or barricadoed round; deep vales encircled by hills, being liable to collect the heat as it were into a focus, and in some degree screened from a steady wind; on the nature of the soil, whether clay, sand, marshy, chalk, or marle, rocky or other mixtures. This shews the absurdity of conveying an idea of the climate of any country in general, by a description which is only applicable to certain parts of it. The breadth of the island, and great elevation of the mountainous ridges towards its centre, give it advantages that none of the smaller isles possess. The atmosphere, being much heated and rarified near the sea-coast during the day-time, is, according to the obvious laws of nature, succeeded by the denser air of the mountains, which rushes in constant streams from sun-set till an hour or two after sun-rise; whence it happens, that every part of the coast is ventilated by this land-wind, as it is called, flowing towards all the points of the compass; and that, in the middle of the mountainous region, there is often no sensible motion of the air, though at the very same time a fresh land-breeze, proceeding from that quarter, is felt by the inhabitants on the lowlands, near the coast, and on both sides the island.

This wind is not only agreeable from its coolness, but highly salutary, by preventing the stagnation which must otherwise happen over the heated parts, after the departure and previous to the return of the sea-breeze; and it is also extremely subservient to navigation,

by

by carrying ships and vessels out of every harbour round the island; from most of which they cannot stir whilst the sea-breeze is blowing. It continues till the approach of the sea-breeze, which, as it gathers strength, overcomes the land-current: the interval between the dying-away of the one, and the sensible impulse of the other, is commonly a few minutes duration; but the sea-breeze is felt much sooner in the highlands than below. In fact, the natural cause of the sea-breeze is, perhaps, also the natural cause of the land; the air seems always struggling to maintain an equilibrium. When therefore the sea-breeze ceases, we find a land-breeze necessarily in its stead, which blows gently or with violence, according as the lower parts of the island adjacent to the sea are more or less heated: so aptly is every thing, in all climates and countries, regulated by the stated laws of that unerring and eternal Wisdom which we improperly call Nature.

For the most part, the sea-breeze sets in upon the Easternmost point of the island, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, reaching Kingston about eight: but there are many and frequent variations in this respect; for, when the North-easters are gaining ground, it arrives sometimes an hour or two later; and the like near the approach of the rainy seasons in May and October, at which times are frequent calms and light airs, occasioned by the shifting of the wind; and the heat is then more sensibly felt and oppressive, because there is then a moisture in the atmosphere, that occasions a relaxation and languor, not felt at other times. The general state of heat in the lowlands is very tolerable; enlivening, not smothering, the spirits, like some of the suffocating days in the Northern summers. In the month of June, the sea-breeze blows violently for some time night and day, with little or no intermission. The hottest hours of the day are from one to four o'clock in the afternoon; but many circumstances happen to alleviate it. The sun not continuing the longest days more than thirteen hours above the horizon, and night following a very short *crepusculum*, the night is nearly equal to the day at such seasons, and affords the earth a sufficient respite for growing cool before the next returning day. This length of the nights gives, during the greater part of the year, a certain elasticity to the air, which enlivens and invigorates.

orates. About the dawn of day the air is most agreeable : this is the time for pleasurable exercise, and it is generally taken here either in wheel-carriages or on horse-back ; but the latter is preferred in the morning ; for which the inhabitants have excellent pacers, whose easy motion is well suited to the climate. I speak chiefly of the town inhabitants, who are invited to this wholesome recreation by the delightful serenity of the mornings and evenings. They who reside in the country seem equally indifferent to all hours of the day, and travel from place to place, or ride about their plantations, without any dread of sun-shine. In the hotter months, it is usual to see the clouds assemble over the mountains about noon, which form a very comfortable skreen to all the places within the line of their shade ; at other times, after a rain of one or two hours, they are driven over the lowlands, and render the afternoons there extremely serene and pleasant. When any considerable thunder happens in the mountains, the sound has such effect on the atmosphere, as by degrees to subdue the sea-breeze : the vapours then take their course across the lowlands towards the sea without interruption ; sometimes bringing showers, more frequently not, but always casting a veil over them. This almost uniformly happens during the months of July and August, except when the sea-breeze blows with so much strength, as to confine the clouds and rain to the mountainous district ; but at such times the freshness of the wind makes a skreen the less necessary ; the interposition of a clouded atmosphere occasions an almost immediate and very sensible change in the temperature of the air, so as even to sink the thermometer several degrees. After thunder showers, whether in the mountains or lowlands, there is frequently observed a mist spread through the higher region, of sufficient density to hide the sun's disk ; which produces the like consequence [o]. From the beginning of November till March, the sea-breeze is very irregular, sometimes ceasing entirely for a fortnight or three weeks, but is succeeded by Northerly winds, veering from N. E. to N. N. W. always coldest the more they recede towards the West. These winds generally come on with some fury, and often attended with rain, especially on the North side ; but, unless the rains are un-

[o] I have known the like change to happen during a total eclipse of the sun.

commonly heavy, and wind violent, they rarely pass the mountains, or produce any other than transient drizzling showers on the South side. The air at this season of the year, being thus tempered, is exceedingly agreeable; the elements seem hushed into a state of tranquillity; every day from its mildness resembles the vernal season of England, only improved with a more enlivening warmth; perhaps, it is then more like the climate of Brasil, said to be the most delightful in the world. Aged persons on coming hither find themselves renewed as it were in youth; their exhausted vessels fill again; the wrinkles become less conspicuous; and the emaciated form of their bodies is changed to plumpness. I should think it far more advisable here to hold an annuity on sixty than sixteen. Old age contracts the fibres; this climate relaxes; the foods peculiar to it nourish much, and are of easy digestion; and the weather not subject to sudden and violent changes. These circumstances prove more or less favourable to persons advanced in years, and may serve to account for the metamorphosis they undergo from decrepitude to vigour, as well as for the longevity observable here of those who have passed about the age of fifty, and do not labour under any inveterate chronic disorder. A free and constant perspiration, and the dilatation of all the bodily tubes, enabling the circulation to be carried on with ease and regularity, are effects naturally produced by the temperature of this atmosphere, and contribute chiefly to cause that lively flow of spirits so remarkable here even in those persons, natives of Europe, who before their arrival never shewed any symptom of extraordinary sprightliness. To this vivacity we may attribute those singular turns of mind and eccentric flights remarked of many West-Indians, which provoke the wonder or the mirth of sedate persons in Britain. The gay scenes of nature too, almost incessantly presented here to view, may probably conduce to a liveliness of imagination and temper. The cane-pieces too, which spread through the vales, and climb the hills till they blend with the deep-green forests, enliven every where the view with tints unspeakably beautiful. When first planted, the face of the ground wears the appearance of the ploughed land in England; afterwards, as the young plants spring up, it assumes a delicately light verdure; in their

their last stage, they appear of a stronger green; and, as they approach towards maturity, their complexion changes to a sweet mixture of white and yellow, resembling the European corn in time of harvest. Sometimes they are seen at once in all these different stages. Last of all appear the busy slaves, like reapers, armed with bills instead of sickles, to cut the ripened stems; and teams of oxen in the field, to bring the treasure home; whilst the labourers cheer their toil with rude songs, or whistle in wild chorus their unpolished melody. Before the discovery of America, the romantic genius of a poet alone could expatiate on some Utopian island, blessed with perennial verdure and unfading spring. In Jamaica we find the idea realized; although the face of nature undergoes a very visible alteration here once a year, in the autumnal season [p]; at which time the deciduous trees shed their foliage; yet this change of dress is so expeditiously performed, that, whilst the old garments are dropping off, the new and more elegant attire is exhibited to view, the buds shoot out, the blossoms unfold, the fruits grow turgid, the seed-vessels unlock their cells, and pour forth their inexhaustible treasure. Every month in the year presents a fresh collation of various fruits; and some species are to be had in perfection throughout the year.

## S E C T. II.

IN the countries situated near the equator, there seems little or no diversity of seasons similar to what prevails in the higher latitudes. The summer, as they call it, is distinguished from the rest of the year only by drier weather and greater heat; and the winter, by copious and violent rains. On receding from hence, either towards the North or South poles, there are observed to be gradual deviations from this state of weather, until we arrive at those latitudes where the year is naturally divided into spring, summer, autumn, and winter. In Jamaica some slight rudiments may be perceived of this quadrature. In the beginning of January are generally expected about five or six days of moderate showery weather;

[p] So distinguished in England.



from this time, till towards the latter end of April, it continues dry and extremely pleasant on the South side; this weather sometimes ends with heavy rain for seven or eight days, which is called the May season; from this period the weather grows dry again, the sea-breeze more regular and strong, and the heat increases until the middle of August, about which time thunder-showers are frequent, which help to cool the air, and are very serviceable to the young cane-plants. September has generally some heavy thunder-showers. In October, the sea-breeze beginning to decline as the wind veers towards the Northern points, the air is sometimes very close, moist, and disagreeable, till about the latter end; at which time the heaviest rain in the year is expected, and commonly lasts, with little intervals, during eight or ten days, occasioning great floods, and accompanied sometimes, on its first setting in, with powerful gusts, either from the North-east, the South, or South-west; most often from the latter: the seasons also vary; and, in general, the heaviest rains have fallen of late years in September. It is at this time of the year those destructive storms, called hurricanes, are most apprehended. Indeed, from the month of July, to the latter end of October, is usually reckoned by navigators the hurricane-season, because these tempests have fallen within that period on some or other of the islands, or in the track of homeward-bound ships crossing the Atlantic. The last violent one known in Jamaica happened in the year 1744, for the gale in 1751 was too insignificant to deserve the name. And if we consider, that, during these one hundred and seventeen years past, in which this island has been in our possession, only five of these storms [g] are on record, and only two earthquakes [r] attended with damage, this island cannot be said to have been often visited with these calamities. The English, from their first settlement in 1655 to 1689, a space of thirty-four years, never were afflicted with any of these terrible winds; nor had any vessel been lost or cast-away upon the coast: yet there were three very furious hurricanes during that time at the Windward Caribbee-islands. From October to January, the North-east wind chiefly prevailing, the weather is serene and pleasant, and so continues till April or May. On the North side of the island the

[g] 1689. 1712. 1722. 1726. 1744.

[r] 1687. 1692.

climate and seasons are very different; it being dry weather in general on this side, when there is rain on the South side; and vice versa. Although the rains in this district do not fall so heavily, and in such torrents, as on the South side; yet it has a larger supply of wet, but distributed in smaller and more frequent showers during great part of the year. I have already spoken of its greater comparative coolness, and the backwardness of vegetation, observed here; which restrains the planters from beginning their crop until the South-side planters have half-finished theirs. On the other hand, showers and even very heavy rains often fall on the mountains, whilst the lowlands are parched, and have not a drop; the vapours are drawn towards the highlands, and there accumulated and confined by the power of the sea-breeze, setting in upon the North and South coasts at once and the same time; every bay, inlet, and promontory, serve as so many in-draughts and conductors. When this wind is strong, it effectually prevents the rain from expanding over the champaign country adjacent to the coast; the congeries of clouds passes from East to West with their rain along the high ridges the whole length of the island, and in the wet months I have known them pour away their contents with such violence, as to increase the water of a large mountain river thirty perpendicular feet in twenty-four hours. In the month of November, during which the Norths blow with some impetuosity, the cashou and other deciduous trees shed their old leaves, like our English trees in October. The nother trees, which may be ranked among the ever-greens, retain their foliage; or, if any fall, the succession of new ones is so quick, that the fresh leaves are only to be distinguished by a fainter, paler green, which, combined with the deeper tint of the older ones, occasions a most pleasing effect, more especially if, at the same time, the tree is disclosing some remains of fruit still undecayed. Was I to divide the year systematically into parts for the South side of this island, I should dedicate the months of November, December, January, February, March, and April, to the spring; to the summer I should allow May, June, July, and August; and assign to winter the months of September and October. I could find no room for autumn, since Pomona holds, during the whole year, the cornucopia of various fruits, some ripened, others in

in progression to maturity. On the North side, my division would quadrate more with the Northern climates; for here I must admit winter to exercise his reign from October to March; in which space, instead of frost and snow, he deals out from his stores to this region, cold Northerly winds, clouded skies, and watery deluges. The approach of the Norths is known on the South side by the collection of vapours brooding on the mountain tops every morning and evening; when the wind blows sufficiently strong to detach them from their seat, they are then perceived to hurry from the mountains to the Southwards; the clouds they form are small, remarkably opaque for the most part, and in scattered bodies; whilst others are tinged with a faint red, or lively white. In February and March these winds are sometimes productive of fevers and belly-ake. Europeans newly arrived are generally fond of these winds for their coolness, and embrace them with open arms and open bosoms. But they frequently operate like the North-Easters in England, shutting up the pores, and obstructing perspiration, that fountain of health in hot countries; whilst the sun still darts his rays with increasing activity and fervour, as he tends towards the Northern tropic; and thus both together may unite to generate a dry febrile heat, and noxious fermentations in the human body. It is for this bad quality, that the natives who have never been out of the island are not very fond of the Norths when violent, and take necessary precautions to keep up a due perspiration by warmer cloathing, and by not exposing themselves to them in the evening. But any evil effects from these winds must be chiefly restricted to the South side, which receives them after passing across the country over a large extent of mountains and woods, from which they are thought to bring down a large portion of unwholesome vapours. At the North side, upon which they set immediately from the sea, they feel more open, and of a healthy keenness, which occasions no inconvenience to the inhabitants of that side, but is rather held to be salubrious. They produce on the South side somewhat like the effects of an European winter, not only on the leaves of trees and plants before noticed, but on the earth, on animals, and other subjects. I have known the roads on the South side, though extremely wet and muddy from a heavy season of rain immediately before;

before, grow dry and firm on the surface not many hours after the first impression of the Norths, and very soon dusty. The like drying effect may be observed in regard to the unusual shrinking of doors, window-shutters, pannels, and other wood-work about dwelling-houses.

The horses imported from North America acquire, on the setting-in of the Norths, a very thick rough coat of long hair; and, if much exercised at such times, are subject to colds, and great inflammation of their blood, productive of fevers. Bleeding is the most successful remedy on these occasions; and the buffy complexion of their blood is a certain indication of obstructed pores, and a high febrile heat. On the return of the sea-breeze, or trade-wind, and warmer weather, they exchange their heavy covering for one more fine and sleek, and with it get rid of the symptoms before-mentioned. The hair of sheep, goats, cattle, and other animals, exposed night and day to the air, I have likewise observed to be longer and thicker-set at this time of the year than in the hot months. All which are evident proofs of a very great difference in the state of the air between one part of the year and another. Reasoning from these effects, and applying our conclusions to the human body, it seems probable, that, during the hot months, the blood is deprived, by a continual reek of perspiration, of much of its serous, watery parts, and consequently becomes thick, grumous, and viscid; nor does the plentiful dilution at this season, perhaps, supply the waste occasioned by this incessant elimination of the thinner fluids by the pores and other outlets. In the cooler months, the pores being closed by the Norths, the perspiration is greatly diminished, and the blood in a more diluted state. Now, at bleeding drains away the serous part of the blood, it is reasonable to conclude, that the lancet may be used with good effect in fevers occasioned by the Norths, but very cautiously handled during the hot months. Experience justifies this practice. The blood, in the hot season of the year, shows a tendency to putrefaction. The fevers then prevailing are generally rendered mortal in this climate by copious venesection. The most experienced and most successful physicians in the country endeavour to cool, dilute, and attenuate the bloody and then administer the bark: but practitioners newly arrived from Britain, and who

who come full-fraught with a theory adapted to the British climate, have generally made too free with the lancet at that time of the year when to bleed is almost as criminal as to murder the patient. The heavy rains, which (if the seasons are regular) should fall in May and October, seem to owe their origin entirely to the shifting of the wind from N. E. to S. or S. E. in the former month, and from S. E. to N. or N. E. in the latter. During this contention for the mastery, the light airs, which then gently agitate, are variable and unsteady; by which means, the vapours are exhaled in great abundance from the sea, and accumulated from all points, till the force of the victorious current, always violent at first, condenses, and impels them down in deluges. The irregularity of the seasons, or failure of them in May, I apprehend, is to be ascribed to an unusual feebleness and short duration of the North in particular years, as well as to the uncommon vigour and permanency of the sea-breeze in those years; by which means, the vapours are not suffered to accumulate, but are continually driven on, in one direct track, without opposition, and therefore do not fall upon the land. For some time preceding the rainy season, its approach is announced by several prognostics. Conspicuous of lightning are seen towards night in all parts of the horizon, though not a cloud then perceptible: at other times, thunder-clouds are observed to continue hovering near the coasts, or over the mountains; and the scintillations of a faint lightning playing round their edges very beautifully, in a thousand different figures and directions, during almost the whole night. As the season draws nearer, a black bank of vapours is beheld, for several days, rising a few degrees above the Southern horizon. The sea-breeze at this time is light and fluttering. In a few days time the rain comes on, ushered in with strong gusts of wind, and hollow thunder at intervals. Nothing can be more awful and majestic than the slow and solemn advance of these gloomy vapours, which darken the air, and obscure the sun for several days. The thunder is soon silenced; and then the rain, after spending its fury in cataracts (for I cannot call them showers), drops softly down in a kind of drizzle during the remainder of the season. The rain goes off generally as it came on with some thunder; after which, the regular wind, whether breeze or North, sets in with a steady current.

current. The air, thus purified and restored to its elasticity, is then inexpressibly agreeable; the sun resumes his accustomed splendor; and all nature seems enlivened. Lightning and thunder, though frequent here, are not very mischievous: from the beginning of November to the middle of April there is rarely any on the South side; but, for two or three weeks preceding the May rains, and occasionally during the five succeeding months, they happen often, particularly in the mountains. At Kingston they are uncommon; more frequent at Spanish Town; and seldom violent in the low lands. In the leeward part of the island they are most frequent and most violent; for the whole mass of vapours, driven along the range of mountains from East to West by the sea-breeze, is here collected into an heap; and, if the clouds are obstructed by the dying-away of the breeze towards evening, and a contrary current springing up from the Westward, which often happens, they are precipitated here in copious showers. I have often remarked that clouds, which, if not impeded in their progress, would probably have passed silently away, have, on the repulsion of a contrary stream of wind, stagnated for some time, grown denser, and then broke with these explosions and heavy showers. Every example I have either seen or heard of, in this part of the world, of the effects produced by lightning, has justified and corroborated the ingenious Dr. Franklin's theory and experiments. It every year destroys many trees in the woods, and particularly the cocoa and cabbage-trees, multitudes of which rise from eighty to one hundred feet in height; and from their top springs upwards the spatha, or sheath, tapering to a fine point, and adapted to attraction. These trees may therefore be regarded as so many natural conductors of the electric fluid; and for this reason ought not to be planted too contiguous to buildings. By a measurement taken of the quantity of rain which fell in the parish of Westmoreland in 1761, the whole amounted to 63 inches and about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch, in the following proportions:

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B b b

Inches.

## J A M A I C A.

	Inches.	100th Parts.
June, ——— ——— ——— 1 ———	and	18
February, ——— ——— ——— 1 ———		19
January, ——— ——— ——— 1 ———		75
March, ——— ——— ——— 1 ———		99
		————— .6 $\frac{11}{100}$
December, ——— ——— ——— 2 ———		84
November, ——— ——— ——— 3 ———		52
July, ——— ——— ——— 4 ———		50
October, ——— ——— ——— 7 ———		64
		————— 18 $\frac{50}{100}$
May, ——— ——— ——— 8 ———		62
September, ——— ——— ——— 8 ———		48
August, ——— ——— ——— 10 ———		24
April, ——— ——— ——— 11 ———		77
		————— 39 $\frac{11}{100}$

Total Inches, 63  $\frac{75}{100}$

The smallest quantity therefore fell in January, February, March, and June; and the largest, in April, May, August, and September. It must be remarked, that this is to be taken as a standard-table of the greatest quantity of rain that fell in the island, Westmoreland being supposed one of the wettest parishes. I have no table for the drier parishes, from whence to form a medium; but I think the error cannot be great, if we take two thirds as a medium for the whole island. Mr. Muschenbrock found, by experiments during ten years, that the height of rain at Utrecht in that time was at a medium twenty-four inches. The medium of rain therefore in one year at Jamaica is three fourths more than the rain during the same space at Utrecht. At Surinam, the greatest quantity was observed to fall in April, May, June, and July; at Bengal, from June to October; at Carthage and Porto Bello, from April to the middle of December; during which there is at those places a succession of rain and tempests. The climate of Jamaica seems, from these observations, to differ materially with those parts of the world. On the longest day the sun rises about thirty minutes after five, and sets about thirty minutes after six; on the shortest, it rises about thirty minutes after six, and sets about

about thirty minutes after five. The longest day is therefore about thirteen hours, the shortest about eleven; the twilight may be estimated thus: thirty minutes after sun-set to the appearance of stars of the first magnitude; and near as much from this point of time to the general muster of stars, of the night's usual obscurity. The first appearance or dawn of the day is an arched belt, which gradually widens; and the morning crepuscle is about one hour and an half from the first glimmering to sun-rise. From the first dawn of the morning to about eight o'clock, and from half an hour before sun-set to the end of evening twilight, is the most agreeable time of exercise for the town inhabitants: this allows full five hours to exercise abroad for health or pleasure, on the longest and hottest days. The mornings are serene, cool, and very pleasant. In the afternoons, the sun is no sooner dipped, than a sensible change in the air to coolness is immediately felt; which is increased with the evening by the gentle fanning of the land-wind. This coolness, however, is not so disproportionate as to be unwholesome. The nights are never cloudy on the South side, except during the rainy seasons; and rarely on the North. When the sun is retired, the clouds soon move away, and shortly disappear below the horizon, or waste into the atmosphere. The beautiful azure canopy then opens to view, studded with innumerable twinkling orbs: the moonlight nights are particularly fine, the clearness of the æther assisting her lustre, and constituting her the parent of a second day; which, though less dazzling to the eye, is, from its greater coolness and placidity, more grateful to the mind, and soothing to the spirits, than the splendid irradiations of the sovereign luminary. In the moon's absence, her function is not ill supplied by the brightness of the milky way (which in this part of the world is transcendently beautiful), and by that glorious planet Venus, which appears here like a little moon, and glitters with so refulgent a beam, as to cast a shade from trees, buildings, and other objects: so that the nights are very seldom so obscure as to puzzle a traveler.

No object of nature, I think, can be more pleasing and picturesque, than the appearance of the heavens about sun-set, at the close of almost every day; when that majestic orb seems perched



for awhile on the summit of a mountain: its circumference is dilated by the interposing vapours; and here, detained in view by the refraction of rays, it looks as if resting some moments from its career, and in suspense before its departure: on a sudden it vanishes, leaving a trail of splendor aloft, which streaks the clouds, according to their different positions and distances, with the most lovely and variegated tints that the happiest fancy can imagine. I have often wished, upon these occasions, for some capital painter, with his pencil and apparatus at hand, to copy from so perfect and elegant an original. Scenes of this kind are so frequently exhibited here, that they cease to attract the admiration of the inhabitants in general; for novelties are apt to strike the eye much more than the most beautiful objects constantly seen. Yet Mr. James Dawkins, well-known for his taste and endowments, after having visited the most celebrated countries of the East, used to declare, that he thought this island one of the loveliest spots he had ever beheld. Nor do I think him partial to his *natale solum* in this testimony of approbation; for the gentlemen of this island are not accused of entertaining such prejudices; and other traveled connoisseurs have concurred in the like opinion.

It has been a sensible remark, that the alternate succession of the morning and evening breezes, and the greater force with which the air is agitated in the West-Indies than in Europe, seem to be gracious dispensations of the Ruler of the universe, indispensably necessary for maintaining a stated and frequent return of that cool temperature, whose effects are so salutary, that the plague, the most dreadful of all visitations, never has been known in those climates. The heat in this island is so mitigated with almost unremitted breezes from sea or land, and interposing clouds, as to be seldom very inconvenient; nor does the thermometer ever rise here to that height at any time of the year, that it is found to do in countries much further removed towards the North. In the South side lowlands it is very rarely so high as ninety degrees; but among the South side mountains there is a difference of six to eight degrees in general coolness; and on the higher mountains and North side still much more. The air in all parts is remarkably light and enlivening to the sense, and so equal in its pressure, that I rarely knew it vary  
more

more than one inch at a time in the year, except at the approach of a heavy gulf of wind during the rainy season, when it sunk about two inches in the lowlands. The heat is certainly far more tolerable in the hottest months than in Northern climates. In South-Carolina, which lies near fourteen degrees further Northwards, a thermometer (of Fahrenheit's scale) was observed to rise every year in the hot months to ninety-six, and sometimes to one hundred, though kept in the shade, where the air had free access. What is more insupportable, the nights are then very little cooler than the days; and there is often a difference of twenty degrees in the space of a few hours. In the month of July, 1752, the thermometer was observed for several days successively to reach ninety-nine and one hundred degrees at Charles town, in that province. So at New York, which lies still further North, the thermometer is frequently at this time of the year so high as ninety-six and even one hundred. At Surat, in the East-Indies, latitude  $21^{\circ} 30''$  N. it has been known for two days together within doors at one hundred and five, or nine degrees above human heat. At Senegal, the most Northern extremity of Guiney, latitude between  $16^{\circ}$  and  $17^{\circ}$  N. the heat, by an observation in December, 1763, was at ninety-three; and at Sierra Leon (N. latitude  $7^{\circ}$ ), at ninety-eight. Compared therefore with these observations, the heat of the climate in Jamaica, during the hottest month, and in the hottest parts of it, will appear more tolerable than many have supposed. The length of the nights, which are generally mild and cool, furnishes another reason why the heat is at no time so violent and melting as in those more Northern countries, where, from the little descent of the sun beneath the horizon, about Midsummer, there is scarcely any night at all, and consequently but little respite from the sun's action. Add to this the want of refreshing winds at that season of the year and during the dog-days; by which means, the atmosphere is rendered so stagnant, as to make the heat very distressing to the human body.

Nor is the climate of Jamaica subject to those sudden transitions from severe heat to extreme cold, as in some places; South-Carolina, for example; which, it is reasonable to think, cannot fail of producing effects very noxious to health. Even in the Northern provinces

provinces of North-America; Mr. Kalm remarks, that it is almost an unheard-of thing, that a person born there should live to be eighty or ninety years of age; and he attributes it to these abrupt and violent changes. But in Jamaica this is far from being uncommon. Sir Hans Sloane says, that, when he was there in 1688, he knew Blacks of one hundred and twenty years old; and that one hundred years was very common among such of them as were temperate livers. In a small tract, giving an account of this island in the year 1747, mention is made of a Greek inhabitant, who was then one hundred and thirteen years old, and had lived in the island great part of that time. I can remember three white inhabitants, each of whom exceeded one hundred years. I know others, now living, beyond ninety; and, about five years ago, I conversed with a Negroe man, who remembered perfectly well the great earthquake at Port Royal in 1692; and, by his account, he could not have been much under eighteen or twenty when that event happened. These persons were not, as in Northern countries, decrepid, or bed-ridden; but lively, and able to stir about, their appetite good, and their faculties moderately sound. The more usual periods of life here are from fifty to seventy-five or eighty. Good constitutions, with an easy mind, and a reasonable care of health, will hold out for a surprising term: nay, many who, after being very debauched in their youth, have grown prudent and abstemious as they advanced in age, have retained their vigour and health to seventy and eighty. The general equality of the climate, and the purity of the air, together with the great pressure of the atmosphere, which sometimes raises the barometer to near thirty-two inches; all concur, one would suppose, in adapting it to health, cheerfulness, and longevity. One reason, I am persuaded, must be given as the primary cause why these are not more frequently the lot of the white inhabitants. In regard to the Europeans, it is not so much to be attributed to the change from a cold to a hot climate, as to their unthinkingly persisting in those habits of life to which they were long used in Europe, and chuse not to leave off, although by no means proper in the West-Indies. And, in respect to the natives, their fond ambition of imitating the manners of these Europeans in every point, indiscriminately, betrays them into excesses

and hurtful customs. The European keeps late hours at night; lounges a-bed in the morning; gormandizes at dinner and supper on loads of flesh, fish, and fruits; loves poignant sauces; dilutes with ale, porter, punch, claret, and madeira, frequently jumbling all together; and continues this mode of living till, by constantly manuring his stomach with such an heterogeneous compost, he has laid the foundation for a plentiful crop of ailments. Not that this portrait serves for all of them: there are many who act on a more rational plan; though almost all transgress in some point or other. They who have attained to the greatest age here were always early risers, temperate livers in general, inured to moderate exercise, and avoiders of excess in eating. Thus much may suffice to convey some transient idea of the climate. I propose in the sequel to enlarge on this subject; as I consider it particularly interesting to all those who have any intention of settling in the island.

## S E C T. III.

ALTHOUGH it is not an easy matter to rate the number of white inhabitants in this island with exactness, for want of the necessary lights and helps which only a commander in chief can well obtain, and which none that I know of have given themselves the trouble to obtain; it may be at least curious to trace this subject from the infancy of the settlements to the present time, by the assistance of such details as I have been able to procure, connecting with it the progressive increase of settlements in the different parts of the island. I begin with the state of population during the government of Sir Thomas Modiford, viz. from 1664 to 1671, the island then comprehending only twelve parishes.

In 1658 there were about four thousand five hundred whites and one thousand four hundred Negroes; but little or no progress was made in planting, or furnishing articles for an exportation to the mother-country, until about the year 1665.

Port

Parish.	Families, including Negroe Servants.	Inhabitants of all Complexions.	Totals in each Division.
Port Royal, —	500	3500	7002
St. Andrew, —	194	1552	
St. Thomas in the East, —	59	590	
St. David, —	80	960	
St. George, —	44	400	
St. Catharine, —	658	6270	9496
Clarendon, —	143	1430	
St. John, —	83	996	
* St. Mary, —	44	400	
* St. Anne, —	44	400	
* St. James, —	44	400	800
* St. Elizabeth, —	44	400	
	1717	17298	17298

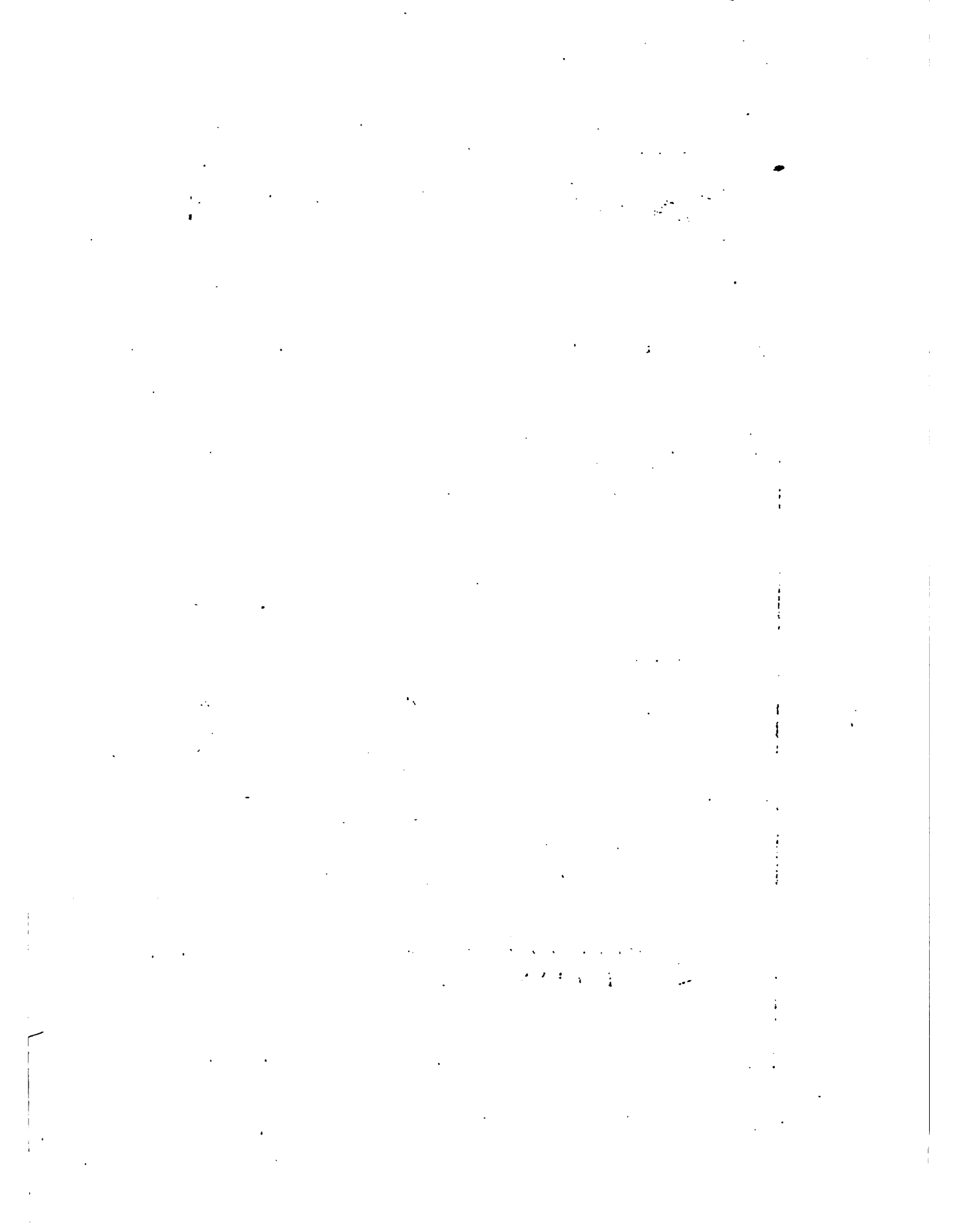
\* *N.B.* These four parishes were computed to have about one hundred and seventy-six families, and sixteen hundred inhabitants; the greater number was probably settled in St. Elizabeth's: but, not being able to discover their respective proportions, I have in the table assigned them equal shares.

## STATE OF POPULATION in 1673.

Parish.	White			Negroes,	Totals,	Grand Totals in each Division.
	Men,	Women,	Children,			
Port Royal, —	714	525	426	312	1977	8241
St. Andrew, —	565	274	430	1408	2677	
St. Thomas in the East, —	475	166	171	1570	2382	
St. David, —	173	84	105	725	1087	
St. George, —	60	17	21	20	118	
St. Catharine, —	834	569	110	2679	4192	7709
Clarendon, —	460	169	235	1133	1997	
St. John, —	246	82	100	745	1173	
St. Mary, —	78	15	13	79	185	
St. Anne, —	86	24	25	27	162	
St. James, —	89	20	15	22	146	1318
St. Elizabeth, —	270	57	61	784	1172	
	4050	2002	1712	9504	17268	
Seamen belonging to privateers, }	800				800	
Total inhabitants, —					18068	
Of whom there were 9504 Blacks, — 8564 Whites.						



T. Kitchen Sculp.



It may be observed on this table, that, of the white persons settled and resident upon the island, the men were more than one half of the whole number; and that, allowing at the rate of one child to each woman, there were two hundred and ninety women who had no child. This over-proportion of men to women, I am apt to think, has all along subsisted in the island; and, together with the several causes which tend to encourage celibacy, may be a principal reason assigned why this colony has not increased much in its population by inter-marriages of the whites.

	Whites.	Negroes, servants.
In 1734, according to a representation of the lords of trade, in which some think it probable they were misinformed, _____	7644	86546
1739. White servants 3360; and, taking these as one third of the whole, the num- ber was _____	10080	99239
1746. _____	10000	112428
1761. _____		146000
1768. White servants 5983; and, accord- ing to the above rate of calculation, the whole number of white inhabitants was _____	17949	166914

It is to be wished, that we could obtain a more exact account, formed upon a general census of the people; especially as nothing is more practicable to a man in the highest office: but, for want of such a scheme, I have been obliged to try various modes of calculation, and could not find upon the result that they reached to eighteen thousand, men, women, and children. Taking it then for granted that this is near the truth, we may proceed to a general estimate; viz.

Given number of settled and resident white inhabitants,	
at medium, _____	17000
Transients, or unsettled whites, _____	500
Soldiers and seamen resident, at an average, about _____	3000

20500



	Brought over,	20500
Annuitants and proprietors non-resident	— — —	2000
		<hr/> 22500
Maroon Negroes in the free towns, about	— — —	500
Free Blacks and Mulattoes,	— — —	3700
Mulattoe slaves about	— — —	1700
		<hr/> 28400

Deducting the 1700 Mulattoe-servants, there remain 165214 black servants; which number consists of able men, able women, invalids, boys, and girls. It is found that the women, boys, girls, and invalids, compose about two-thirds of the complement upon most estates: adopting therefore this for a general ground, the whole number of able black men-servants is about 55000. In order therefore to form a probable conjecture of the internal balance of power between the free and unfree in this island, we may suppose about one half of the resident whites, including soldiers, seamen, and transients, to be able or fencible men; and one-third of the Maroons, free Blacks, and Mulattoes: these will amount to about twelve thousand; which, being opposed to fifty-five thousand, the fencible unfree Blacks, the proportion will turn out as near five of the latter to one of the former. But the essential difference between a small body of men, disciplined and armed, and a much larger body kept in subjection and unarmed, seems greatly to overpoise the natural superiority of the latter, and throws the weight of power into the hands of those who are enabled to maintain it by force of arms; whilst, the others being habituated from infancy to an uniform system of servitude and allegiance, custom renders it a second nature, and adds much to the security of the lesser number which holds them in subordination. The progressive population having been examined by such lights as I have been able to procure, I come next in order to trace the progress of settlements. On this head, as on the other, I must confess myself not sufficiently informed to give a satisfactory detail; and I may lament, but in vain, that want of curiosity, both in our governors and assemblies, which has left us destitute of materials whereby we might investigate

investigate and pursue a subject so very essential as this is; for, to judge truly of the present state of improvement in any colony, we ought to know its condition successively from its earliest establishment. Having no better *criteria* to offer, the reader must be satisfied with this apology, and frame the best idea he can from what follows. In 1670, the island contained seventy sugar-plantations, which produced one thousand three hundred and thirty-three hogheads, of fifteen Cwt. each.

1731. It employed this year twelve thousand tons of English-  
shipping.

1732. The imports from thence into Great-Bri-  
tain *per annum*, at a medium of four years,  
from Christmas 1728, to Christmas 1732, } 539,499 18 3½  
in sterling value, ————

1752. ———— 762,200 0 9,

1764. Ditto, for one year, viz. from 1763 to 1764, — 1,076,155 1 9

	Sugar-plantations.	Hhds. of Sugar.	Punchons of Rum.
1739,	429	33000	13200
1746, about	455	35000	14000
1768,	651	68160	27200

But these articles shall have a fuller discussion hereafter under the head of Trade.

A Scale of Property in the respective Parishes, appearing on an Assessment made in the Year 1693, for levying the Sum of 450*l*. to support Agents in Great-Britain, the island then containing sixteen Parishes.

		£	s.	d.	
Port Royal, ————	} Now comprehended in the county of Surry,	49	10	10	
St. Andrew, ————		52	17	5	
St. Thomas in the East,		27	10	0	
St. David, ————		16	11	0	
St. George, ————		3	15	6	
Kingston, ————		19	5	0	£ s d 169 9 9

			£	s.	d.			
St. Catharine, —	—	Now Middlesex,	56	16	3			
St. Dorothy, —	—		25	3	1			
Vere, —	—		47	1	8			
Clarendon, —	—		42	1	8			
St. Thomas in the Vale,	—		29	9	0			
St. John, —	—		15	8	3			
St. Mary, —	—	Now in Cornwall,	11	13	7		£	s. d.
St. Anne, —	—		7	2	6	—	234	16 0
St. Elizabeth, —	—		51	6	8			
St. James, —	—		2	16	8	—	54	3 4

A Scale of Property in the different Counties, containing nineteen Parishes, in the three Divisions as above described, taken in the Year 1768.

County of	Sugar Estates.	Hog- heads.	Pun- cheons.	N <sup>o</sup> of Negroes.	Horned Cattle, Mules, &c.	Poll-tax raised.		
						£	s.	d.
Surry,	146	15010	6000	39542	21465	8000	0	0
Middlesex,	239	24050	9600	66746	59512	10535	18	10½
Cornwall,	266	29100	11600	60616	54776	8756	12	6

Totals, — 651 68160 27200 166904 135753 27292 11 4½

It is evident, I think, that the island is rather getting forward than declining in its most valuable settlements. Some have imagined, that the sugar-estates have increased at the expence of sacrificing many of the farms or penns: but that this has not been the case is manifest from the great increase in the number of Negroes; which would not have happened, if the settlers had done no more than remove their Negroes from penns to form sugar-estates. It is more probable, that the augmentation of sugar-estates has been the means of increasing the number of penns, by enlarging the demand for pasturage and stock. The number of white inhabitants has not increased in any fit degree of proportion. The legislature of the island, sensible of this failure, endeavoured to remedy it by two methods; the one was, by passing what is called, The Deficiency-law; the other, by several acts, giving encouragement to Europeans, and planters of the other islands, to come and settle here.

The

The deficiency-law required a certain number of hired or indentured white servants to be kept, in proportion to a certain number of Negroes; and most usually it has been regulated after the following manner:

One to every thirty slaves.

One to every hundred and fifty head of cattle.

One to every tavern or retail shop.

A like proportion for every boat, wherry, and canoe; and three-fourths of the crews on board of droguers or coasting-vessels are directed to be white men: and, in failure of complying with this ordinance, certain penalties are imposed on the delinquents, according to their respective class; which penalties are fluctuating, as this is an annual law; so that they are greater or less, according to the pleasure of the assembly for the time being. Thus, for example, the penalty on not keeping one such white servant to every thirty slaves has been, in one year, 13*l.* for each deficiency; in the next year, 6*l.* 10*s.* in the next, 26*l.* and so on; which uncertainty has been one means of defeating the original design of the law. By an act passed in 1703, the proportion of white servants was rated so largely, that the owner of three hundred Negroes was obliged to maintain fourteen, besides one to every sixty head of cattle, &c. According to this proportion, if it now subsisted, we should have upwards of ten thousand, to counter-balance the Negroes. When the deficiency-law was in force as an act of policy and population, and not, as it is now, a mere annual money-bill, every plantation was well-stocked with white servants, consisting chiefly of artificers; so that, in the year 1720, no less than twenty were employed upon an estate, which now has only four; and, as the prevailing fashion seems at present, I doubt there may be several found in the island that do not maintain more than two. The planters urge, that the contingencies of a sugar-work were, some years ago, much smaller than they now are; that the wages and maintenance of a white-servant were very inconsiderable; but that, by taxes, duties, and other means, every contingent supply and necessary required for their estates, and imported from Britain, North-America, and Ireland, have risen to an amazing excess; that the price of Negroes has extravagantly got up; for that

twenty

twenty years ago a Negroe might have been bought for 25*l.* who would now sell for 60*l.* at least, which is equal to 140*l. per cent* advance; that the article of rum, not being able to withstand the French brandies, and British distilled spirits so largely consumed, and being charged with very exorbitant duties, has now become a drug at the British market, and frequently brings the planter in debt; lastly, that the extensive cultivation of the sugar-cane, as well in the British as in Foreign colonies, and which is still increasing, cannot fail of making sugar itself every year less profitable to the growers. To this remonstrance it is replied, that sugar has proportionably risen in its price and profits; the same sugar, which in the year 1693 would have been sold for six shillings the hundred weight, would in 1768 have produced thirty at the Jamaica market. So the best cotton, which then sold at ten-pence *per* pound, now sells for one shilling and three-pence; the like advance will appear to have grown upon most other articles, except rum, which is depreciated solely to favour the home-distillery. Sugar being therefore as five to one of its former price, this is equal to four hundred *per cent* advance, which exceeds the advanced price of many contingencies; and even the advance on cotton is forty *per cent*. But, admitting the justness of the plea in general, what is there more obviously suggested on such an occasion, than the necessity of practising a right measure of oeconomy, in proportion as the incomes of their plantations, by one means or other, may happen to grow less than they have been in times past; considering, at the same time, that, whatever disadvantages they may labour under from high duties, dearness of Negroes, and European or North-American supplies, are equally, if not more oppressive on their competitors in the smaller islands, who are in want of numberless resources which the more extensive island of Jamaica furnishes? When the deficiency law imposes only a penalty of 13*l.* or at most 26*l.* for every default of not keeping up the allotment of white servants required, the major part of the planters judge it a great saving to pay the penalty, rather than disburse 40*l.* or 50*l.* for the wages and maintainance of every servant; and therefore hire only an overseer and distiller, and sometimes only an overseer, supplying all the other departments on their estate with Negroes.

But,

But, if they consulted their true interest, they would learn, that there is as little of genuine frugality as of discretion in this practice; and this they may one day fatally experience, when the regiments stationed here shall happen to be withdrawn. The support of these troops costs them a very heavy annual sum; and they persuade themselves into opinion, that government will never leave them unprotected by a less regular force than they have at present: but events may possibly occur, to draw away this defence for other foreign operations; as happened, during the last war, at the siege of the Havannah. Another such draught of the troops on any future occasion may encourage such of their slaves as are discontented to a revolt. Without enquiring into what would probably be the extent of such an insurrection, where it would end, or what force of militia might in such an event be employed to reduce them; I can easily foresee, recollecting past occurrences of the like nature, that the usual inconveniencies will follow, of martial law and embargoes, a stagnation given to the course of justice, industry, and trade; that the inhabitants will be harrassed with military duties, the more grievous in proportion to the small number of people on whom they fall; that the credit of the island will be impaired, and the people subjected to heavy taxes for some time after, to defray the expence attending this intestine war. The product of the deficiency-tax, as well as of two other annual funds, and not seldom part of a fourth or extraordinary one, is applied to support the establishment of regular troops, which, all together, do not amount to one thousand men, including officers. Upon these considerations, therefore, we should not applaud that œconomy, which, to save five shillings, spends fifteen or twenty. However, since they must have troops, and as one thousand men are scarcely sufficient to garrison the island, we should suppose the planters might well afford to keep one able white man for every fifty Negroes; which would add somewhat to their security, stand in place of more regiments, and be maintained with greater ease.

If the tax for every default, instead of 13% was raised to 40% or 50% [s], the planters, I believe, in general would find means to keep up their quota, as well as subsist them on better terms; for

[s] I am informed the penalty is 40% in the Windward islands.

in a few years, by some prudent acts of the legislature, and a small advance of money, they might so greatly multiply the number of small inland settlements, as to make provisions cheap, wages reasonable, and be never in want of seasoned men for their plantations. At the same time, they should not discourage the natives, as they long have done, and still do, by requiring Europeans, or imported servants, to save their deficiency, excluding those born and bred up in the country, who are inured to the climate. They might, by an act of assembly, encourage the binding out young Creole lads apprentices to the estates, where they would grow up in habits of industry, instead of turning hog-hunters and idle vagabonds, for want of other employment. The planters have it entirely in their power to reverse their present system of frugality, and by a prudent application of five shillings gain twenty. Gentlemen of the largest property are the most violent opponents of the deficiency-tax; and, as it is now levied, they in fact pay more than a just share; which furnishes us with a very substantial reason for their opposition. The owner of two hundred Negroes (for example) must provide six white servants, or pay for as many as are deficient; whereas the proprietor of five times the number, or one thousand, who in just proportion should keep only thirty white servants, is obliged to provide thirty-three, or pay the deficiency: and this happens from the rate, fixed by the act, of one to thirty, instead of twenty, or other aliquot part of one hundred. The absentees living in Britain, whose incomes are abridged by the commission of 6*l. per cent.* paid to their agents in Jamaica, for managing their affairs, are for this reason solicitous to compensate for the loss, by reducing every contingent charge on their plantations as low as possible; and maintain no more white servants than are absolutely indispensable: these gentlemen, therefore, readily unite their influence to keep the deficiency-tax from being raised. But, methinks; on a candid consideration of this subject, they might bring themselves to be of opinion, that a somewhat smaller income, arising from a property well-guarded, would be, upon the whole, far preferable to one ostensibly larger, but liable continually to a diminution by internal disasters and heavier taxes. The more secure their property is rendered in the island, the more will the value of that property.

property increase; the credit of the island will rest on a firmer basis; and the stronger will be the inducement for adventurers to settle there, as well as for moneyed men to lend out at interest, or realize their capitals in purchase. If public property was well fortified by a more extensive population of the inland parts, and some other politic regulations, tending to strengthen it against domestic and foreign enemies; is it to be supposed, that, in this state of security, there would not be a much greater confidence and alacrity among the merchants and money-holders of Great-Britain, than at present appears in making advancements to the planters? The now-flourishing condition of the most considerable estates in the island had its origin in the credit and support of the British merchants. As many of the greatest fortunes among the mercantile gentlemen derive their splendor from this connection, the interest, the attachment, and benefit, have been reciprocal. The like union, properly harmonized, may still be productive of equally good success to both parties; it seems, therefore, incumbent on the planters to conciliate a solid credit with the merchants of the mother-country, and endeavour to render it perpetual by amendments to their credit-law, and their laws for recovery of debts; by regulations in the provost marshal's office; by fair and just provisions; by maintaining inviolable honour and good faith; by strengthening the colony; and, lastly, by convincing the merchants, in consequence of this general reformation, that their money and credit can be employed no where abroad with greater safety and advantage than in their island.

## S E C T. IV.

In the year 1720 there were computed to be about sixty thousand whites in the island. Twenty years afterwards their number was supposed to be about the same; and that one fourth of the whole, or fifteen thousand, were fencible men. These accounts were certainly exaggerated beyond measure; yet, as the deficiency-law was then very religiously complied with, as a law of population, and considering the low wages of servants, and the facility of



procuring them at that time, the planters rather exceeded than fell short of their respective allotments. The deficiency-law brought in nothing to the treasury; but, after the pacification with the wild Negroes in 1739, the planters, beginning to think themselves perfectly secure from any further disturbances of the like nature, and desirous of being relieved from the burthen of supporting so many servants, discharged numbers; and, this practice growing more and more confirmed, the policy of this law fell gradually into neglect, till at length the multitude of defaults every year made the penalties, all together, amount to so considerable a sum, as to establish it into a regular supply or money-bill. From that period we may trace a diminution of white inhabitants in this island; which, although by no means so enormous as some have imagined, has nevertheless been very considerable. The planters at this moment employ between three and four thousand white servants fewer than they ought to employ, if the law was strictly enforced agreeably to its spirit and original intention. There can be no doubt, but the want of that constant number, most of whom after serving their indentures would have entered upon small settlements, has been attended with a diminution of inhabitants; and, with this, other events have unfortunately concurred. The number of sugar-plantations and penns has, it is true, very much increased; yet, as several of them, and particularly the more capital ones, have grown progressively from small beginnings to their present magnitude, and swallowed up by degrees all the little settlements around; which, from their contiguity, and being ready cleared for canes or pasturage, the lordly planter has found convenient to be purchased, and added to his territory; it is evident, that this extrusion of poorer settlers from their small possessions of thirty to one hundred acres has operated like the demolition of many small farms in Britain, to build up one capital farm, and may justly be considered as another cause of depopulating this island.

The emigration of many owners of property, who of late years have flocked to Britain and North-America, beyond the example of former times, and drained those incomes from the island which formerly used to be spent there in subsisting various artificers, shopkeepers, and other inhabitants, forms the further cause of a very great

great diminution. A planter's family, resident on the island, necessarily gives maintenance to several white inhabitants on one account or other. Formerly the custom was with many to send for private tutors, and female teachers, to instruct their children at their own houses, instead of hazarding their lives in voyaging to and from Great-Britain. This produced likewise other good consequences. It is certain, that Great-Britain gains much more from the planter who lives in Jamaica, and disperses his income there, than she can possibly gain if he spends it in Great-Britain. The reason is obvious; for, while it circulates in Jamaica, it becomes the instrument of retaining those settlers, who increase in every way the trade, navigation, and consumption of manufactures; which they would not have done, in any degree so largely, in the mother-state. Thus 1000*l.* spent by a planter's family in Jamaica, will produce in the end infinitely better effects, and greater advantage, to the mother-state, than twice that sum expended by the same family in London or Bath. The residence of the planter necessarily occasioned a better attention to the management of his estate, the cultivation of more land, the increase of produce, and greater security of property in general; the mode of education insured the attachment of the children to their native spot, and led them into an early knowledge of the planting business, and of the means by which their estates, when they should come to the enjoyment of them, might be preserved and improved. Men of fortune, while resident on the island, are generally prompted to employ more white servants than they chuse to afford when removed to another country, where their expensive manner of living not unfrequently obliges them to conduct their plantation-affairs on a too parsimonious scale. It is certain that, from some or other of these preceding causes, or from all combined, the number of servants for plantations only falls short of the due allotment between three or four thousand. The legislature of the island, conceiving that a depopulation was chiefly to be ascribed to the vast number of absentees, not only by their withdrawing their own persons, but at the same time the fund of subsistence for many hundreds, if not thousands, of other inhabitants; that their estates were kept ill-provided with white servants, and the management resigned to one man, who in

many cases acted in several attorneyships, and so became the only representative on the spot of six or eight different proprietors residing in Great-Britain; thought to make some amends, by imposing a heavier tax upon all absentees, and passed a deficiency-act, modeled for that purpose: but the absentees made a vehement opposition to it at the board of trade, where this act came to be considered; and grounded their defence entirely upon the general instruction given to the governor by the crown, directing him not to assent to any act, imposing a tax upon absentees in greater proportion than upon residents, without a suspending clause. The lords of trade therefore, without entering into the question, whether an additional tax upon absentees was in itself a right measure, or whether the increase of white inhabitants ought not to be encouraged by every legal and justifiable method, advised his majesty to disaffirm the act, as being repugnant to a royal instruction. The assembly thought their lordships had in this case judged only one side of the question, and that they ought, in strict impartiality, to have examined the merits of it thoroughly; in consequence of which, they might have seen the matter in a different light, and determined it not repugnant to the spirit of the instruction; because, when fairly and candidly weighed, it would have appeared very far from being an unequal tax, and upon the following principles:

First, That, by the laws and compacts of society, every member of it is equally bound to contribute to its common safety, defence, and support, either by personal or pecuniary service; that no man ought to claim a separate exemption, or immunity, from civil or military duties; that no man owes more than his proportionate quota of public service; and that it is highly just, they, who do not serve in person, should pay their defenders.

Secondly, That when several members of a small society desert it by temporary or continued absence, the service becomes disproportioned and injurious to those who are left behind, by the greater burthen of civil and military duties thereby thrown upon them (which is the case in Jamaica); for a burthen, which to the whole body of the society would be easy and tolerable, must, if any considerable number of the individuals can excuse or exempt themselves

selves from taking a share of it, become oppressive and insupportable to the rest.

Thirdly, that it has of late years been so much the custom for proprietors of estates in the island to emigrate from thence to Europe, that it is left almost destitute of proper persons to supply the exigence of the various duties, civil and military, which are merely honorary, and ought to be executed by men of liberal education, fortune, and experience: and it is greatly to be feared, that, if this practice of dispeopling the settlements should continue much longer, it may proceed so far at length, as to effect the total extirpation of the remaining white inhabitants, together with the loss of the colony itself; a loss, for which the vast sums of money annually drained from thence by the absentees, dissipated for the most part in voluptuous expences, will by no means compensate to the mother country.

Fourthly, That the insurrections and rebellion of slaves, which happened lately in the island, were possibly, among other causes, owing to the absence of the proprietors from those estates where the flames of discontent broke out; and it is highly probable that, if the proprietors had been resident here, these disturbances, and the evils which ensued, might have been seasonably checked and prevented by their influence and authority over their own slaves, and particularly by their attention to hear and redress all just and reasonable complaints among them. Further, it is notorious, that many of these estates are left without a due superintendency, by the practice of employing one attorney to take the management of several different and distant properties; and that, in such a multiplicity of concerns, it is impossible that one person so circumstanced can be a proper and competent representative to support the influence and power of so many different owners; whence it must happen, that the Negroes belonging to such estates are the more exposed to hard usage, and at liberty to form cabals, without prospect of a speedy, effectual redress, or less danger of detection.

Fifthly, That, upon these calamitous occasions, the absentees have borne only a common share in the general expence; but all the other incidental charges, inconveniencies, and hardships, have entirely

entirely fallen upon the fixed inhabitants, who support the whole weight of personal service.

Sixthly, That, as an unequal duty, both in civil and military capacities, is thrown upon residents here, by the desertion and exemption of so many members of the society; it is but reasonable, in order to bring the services of both to a more equal balance, that the absentees should make amends for their default of personal service, by a pecuniary aid; whence it follows, that an additional tax upon absentees, productive of this equality, is in effect a fair and just tax; and that, if the absentees are rated no higher than the residents, the tax is clearly unequal and unjust in respect to the residents. There seems to have been great propriety in this mode of reasoning. The absentees, on the other hand, alledged, that the commission of 6*l. per cent* on their produce, annually retained by their attornies or managers, ought to be deemed a heavy tax upon them, and considered as a compensation to the island for the loss of the remaining part of their incomes spent in other countries. But, abstracted from the nature of this commission (which is nothing more than a salary paid to a man for transacting their mercantile and plantation affairs), it certainly cannot appear in the light of an aid to the island, where it may be spent, or not, at the pleasure of the person to whom it is paid. The case would be very different, if 6*l. per cent* on their produce was to be paid into the publick treasury of the island, and there become a fund for relieving the common expence of defending it. When the safety of Ireland was formerly endangered by the conflux of inhabitants to England, the parliament thought it equally politic and equitable to lay some restraint upon emigration; and accordingly passed a law, which enacted, that all persons, having any lands, tenements, offices, or other living, ecclesiastical or temporal, within that kingdom, should reside or dwell upon the same; and that all such as had any castles, or other forts, should fortify and furnish them with men able for defence, and thereupon also dwell; and that, if at any time they should depart, then they should appoint some able persons to supply their room during absence; otherwise, that the governor of Ireland should dispose of one half of their living, to pay for such defence [1].

[1] 3 Richard II. See Coke's Institutes, Tit. Ireland, Part III. and IV.

I do not know in what manner the Jamaica absentees might relish the heavy penalty imposed by this Irish law : I have only cited it, to shew that, if a precedent was required, the Jamaica legislature had this to urge in point, if they had even carried themselves with far more severity than they did. Ireland was then no more than a colony ; but the handful of English settled in it were, perhaps, not so much out-numbered by the savage natives, as the whites in Jamaica are by the Negroes : consequently, there appears at least equal reason for exerting coercive measures to keep Jamaica in a proper state of internal defence.

But it is to be feared, that the Jamaica legislature will not attend to this important point with sufficient steadiness and energy [u]. Other sources of depopulation spring from unprosperous events or casualties, bad crops, bad management, heavy debts, or a complication of all these evils. It is certain, that as few men (at least in this island) have embarked in the planting-business with capitals sufficient and equal to the design ; so the estates in general have been formed and brought to maturity by an advance of money, labourers, and utensils, from the merchants, and by a credit of much greater latitude than is usually given in England ; for these undertakings come to perfection by slow and gradual progress.

A sugar-estate, settled immediately from wood-land, can hardly be expected to arrive at any tolerable state of perfection in less than

[u] It must be confessed, that the law, which allows a commission of 6*l.* *per cent.* to attornies, guardians, and other managers, stands in need of some explanation and amendment. It has been usual for them to charge this commission upon the gross product of the estates under their direction, valued in general according to their own fancy. The common way is, to value at the highest rate at which any similar produce has been sold at Kingston. It seems more equitable, that the commissions ought to be struck on the nett proceeds, whether the goods are sold in Jamaica or Great-Britain ; and that whatever are otherwise disposed of should be fairly appraised by persons who are not agents for any one, and consequently not interested parties. In the smaller islands, the absent planters do not pay this tax for the management of their properties ; their estates lying so contiguous, as to be very easily superintended by the few gentlemen who remain. It is lucky for them their affairs are thus circumstanced ; for the addition of six pounds *per cent.* made to the four and a half they already pay to government, would be an enormous drawback upon their annual profits. On the other hand, the unconnected and dispersed situation of plantations in Jamaica, as it occasions a great deal of fatigue and trouble to the superintendant, so it renders a commission, or recompence, unavoidable ; and furnishes a just reason (among others), why this island ought never to be subjected to the four and half *per cent.* tax, as the Windward islands are : there is, indeed, no ground to fear that it ever will be, whilst the people of the island retain the liberty of rejecting it.

seven years, unless pushed on by the omnipotence of a full purse; for, the first years, the produce will do little more than subsist the owner, his labourers, and stock, and pay the taxes and contingent charges of the year; while the merchant's advancement for purchasing labourers, stock, and utensils, and erecting works, must remain a debt until the gradual increase of produce may enable the planter to pay for these articles. In nearly the condition of such an infant-settlement is an old plantation, which, by ill luck, mismanagement, or want of timely support, has been thrown back, and reduced to a ruin. It is from these principles, grounded upon experience, that the Jamaica laws have in general been so favourable to the planters. The person of a freeholder, who has assets, cannot be arrested for debt. When sued, he must be duly summoned, and have a copy of the declaration. After a verdict and judgement establishing the debt against him, the writ of execution, returnable three months after, issues merely as a writ of form; and no levy is made until the writ of *venditioni* issues, returnable in three months further time. This delay gives opportunity for the planter's crop to come round again, and afford him the means of making some payment; by which the sinews of his estate may be redeemed from a levy. And, to induce the merchants in Great-Britain to lend their money, and allow a duration of credit, these laws grant them 5 *l. per cent.* on their loan, and the like on their agency: but of late years this credit has much abated; the British merchants found means of employing their money at home with less trouble to themselves, if not with equal advantage. This door being shut against the new beginners of settlements, they turned their application to the people in trade at Jamaica; who, being greatly narrowed in point of credit with their principals at home, have neither been able nor willing to let their money lye out for any length of time: some, indeed, understanding the arts of turning and twisting their demands in this island to the utmost profit, sought to erect the fabric of large fortunes on the ruin of distressed planters. That pernicious law, called the priority-act, greatly facilitated their designs. This act lays a direct obligation on every money-lender to bring actions, and obtain judgement, as soon as he possibly can; and, when thus obtained, it throws the debtor and his

his property very much under the other's power. A more preposterous law could not have been contrived than this, which forces creditors to persecute their debtors, distress and ruin them, without giving an easy mode of possessing their debt, when recovered, and without properly discharging the debtor for so much as he has actually paid by levy upon his effects. On the one hand, is the creditor pressing upon his debtor with all the severity, distress, and rigour, in his power to exercise; on the other, is the indignant debtor practising every wile, every art of corruption, and finesse, to elude the attack; whilst a third person, the marshal, comes like a cuttle-fish, involving every thing in confusion and obscurity, and snatches the prey from both; nothing in short is more clear than that the priority Law, if not purposely contrived for enriching that officer, has contributed more towards it, and to the detriment of the planting interest in this island, than any other instrument could possibly have effected. The system of perpetual warfare, stratagem, and artifice, introduced by this law, can never be supposed advantageous to the credit of any community; it destroys the mutual confidence which ought to connect the planter and merchant. It impairs the merchant's fortune, interrupts his business, and consumes his time, by drawing him away too frequently from his books and warehouse, to consult lawyers, and make searches in the marshal's office. It wounds the planter essentially, first in his credit and character, by the arts of evasion and litigation into which he is naturally seduced; secondly, in his fortune, by the excessive charge of keeping a set of profligate wretches, the under officers, in constant fee, to avoid levies; by the redoubled costs and damages accruing upon every fresh issue of the writs against him; by his incessant avocations from industry to mean tricks and subterfuges, and by the interruption given to his labours, by seizure of his Negroes, cattle, or carriages of burthen; and I think it cannot be doubted, but that under such accumulated distress, he must likewise suffer very severely, in his peace of mind. This law encourages, and tends to multiply the host of pettyfoggers, that generation of vermin, who are bred in knavery, and nourished by corruption; who fatten on the distresses of mankind, and, like stalking horses, delude the unwary into shipwreck, that they may strip and rifle them. The law for extending real estates having been determined in the courts here to be ineffectual,



the merchants were necessarily driven to secure themselves by taking bonds for their demands, which, being once fixed upon judgement, are esteemed rather more eligible than a mortgage security, because they execute equally well upon the debtor's personal estate, and are not clogged with the real. Their objects therefore are the planter's slaves, cattle, implements, furniture, and other goods; which being once swept away by these judgements, the land or real estate is of very little value. But if the land and buildings were made equally extendible with the personalty, the planter's fortune would reach much further in payment of all his just debts; and so many once thriving properties would not be suddenly crushed and ruined, as we too often behold them. It is a prevailing notion (I confess among mercantile persons only) that it matters not if the planter A. is ruined by the creditor B. and dispossessed of his property; nor through how many hands, nor how rapidly the property is shifted, for that the great mass of aggregate wealth in the island remains unaffected by these changes. But this position is extremely fallacious. It would probably not be so, if the real and personal estate both passed together from one hand to another; it might, in that case, not much signify, whether A. or B. was the owner; the only difference would consist in the greater or less ability of the one or the other to manage, and improve; to render the annual product more or less valuable. The fact is, that the Negroes are unsettled, and together with the other personalty dispersed, and scrambled for, by as many of the bond creditors as can come in for a share of the spoil; whilst the buildings and land are the left to return into the primitive state of wilderness. In this interval land has sometimes been contested for, by some of the remaining creditors, who, having no inclination to turn planters, only sought to dispose of it; in which view they have rarely succeeded, until, by the luxuriant vegetation in this climate, it was overgrown with thickets, and saleable only at the low price of woodland, so low frequently, as not to make a dividend of 2 s. 6 d. in the pound. Another bad effect, which must be chiefly ascribed to the mischievous operation of this law, is the custom which many desperate debtors have fallen upon, of *standing marshal*, as it is called. After a series of persecution on the part of the creditor, iniquity in the officer, subterfuge and evasion in the debtor, the latter is driven at length to his intrenchments.

ments. He converts his house (literally speaking) into a castle, prepares to withstand a regular siege, and forms a garrison of armed slaves. Many have held out in this manner till their plantation has been entirely ruined for want of culture, and themselves reduced to a starving condition. It shews a great defect in the system of executive justice, that such severities should be exercised as to drive men into a state of savage hostility ; or that the debtor should be prompted by a dishonest principle encouraged by the law, and the corruption of its ministers, thus to fly to illegal and violent measures for protection, and resist the civil powers with the most daring and criminal outrages, until his hands are imbrued in murder, and his slaves impelled into rebellion ; yet this has often happened, and many have declared that they preferred death to a lingering imprisonment in gaol. Their Negroes have readily enlisted under their banners upon these occasions, regarding the officer who comes to dispossess and carry them to market, as their natural enemy, and adhering to their master's cause as their own, they have shewn a willingness to run every risque, rather than be dragged from their settlements. It seems, I think, to betray a very culpable inattention of the planters to their character, and the prosperity of their families, that they should close their eyes against this train of abuses, and not strive to redeem the friendship and support of honest wealthy merchants in Great Britain by the wisdom and efficacy of new credit laws. In all cases (*cæteris paribus*) they ought to give a preference to the merchants of the mother country ; they are the true fountain-head of credit, and without whose assistance, most of the merchants and petty storekeepers at Jamaica would be in little better than a state of beggary. The planters of Antigua retrieved their credit and fortunes by a spirited application to this object. They passed an act, allowing interest and all charges arising on debts contracted with merchants in Great Britain, sued and recovered in the Antigua court. This was in fact no other than obliging themselves to re-pay the merchant his just debt to the uttermost farthing, upon the Royal Exchange in London. The merchant being thus secured and indemnified under the public faith of the island from every expence attending the prosecution and recovery of his demand, was encouraged by this means to advance his money freely upon such secure grounds. In Jamaica, a debt which has been

contracted in Great Britain, and is transmitted over to be sued and recovered, is, in many cases, unjustly subjected to various expences, and suffered to fall on the creditor to his great damage. He is allowed by one law of the island 5 *l. per cent.* interest on his demand; and by another law he must pay 6 *l. per cent.* commission to a person in the island for receiving and remitting it, besides several charges out of purse, and a total cessation of interest from the time the payment comes into the agent's hands, until it reaches his own, which cannot fall much short of 1  $\frac{1}{4}$  *per cent.* further loss. These are defalcations, from which (if I am rightly informed) the Antigua law has exonerated the merchant, who is in all cases enabled to recover his whole debt, and the lawful interest upon it, free of all expence, and probably with less inconvenience than if it had been an English debt, recovered in any court within the kingdom [a]. Could a measure of this

[a] The Jamaica law (N<sup>o</sup> 184, passed anno 1751) is extremely just in some respects, and with very little alteration might be adapted to the end proposed. It enacts, that in all suits in law and equity for the recovery of monies lent upon mortgage or specialty, *where the defendant opposes or sets up any defence to the same*, and the plaintiff obtains judgement, the defendant shall be liable to the usual taxed costs of suit: to the fees the plaintiff has been obliged to pay his counsel in the prosecution: to the traveling expences of witnesses subpoena'd by the plaintiff to give evidence; and to all such further and other charges as the plaintiff can make appear that he has expended in the cause; all which are to be taxed by the proper officer.

The objections to this, as it stands, are;

First, That in the construction of the act the defendant is not liable to any of these costs and damages, except he should make an opposition or defence to the plaintiff's action; by admitting judgement therefore by a *Nil dicit*, he escapes these, which seem meant only as a penalty upon wanton opposition.

Secondly, The law does not imply a continuation of interest to the plaintiff, after judgement obtained.

By another clause in the same act, in cases where the money lent *has been agreed* to be paid in *Great Britain*, the defendant, upon judgement, shall be liable to pay all the costs before mentioned, as well as all such further costs and charges, as well of *Commission*, as other charges, as the plaintiff, or his agent, &c. shall make appear by affidavit to the taxing officer of the court, that he has sustained, or may sustain, by remitting the money to *Great Britain*, and such costs as are to be taxed as costs of increase.

Objection. Though, according to the construction of this clause, the plaintiff is not entitled to the remedy, except where the contract expressly binds the payment to be made in *Great Britain*; which therefore happens only in the case of mortgages, or bonds, executed to a British merchant under such a limitation; and does not extend to a *Balance of Account current*, which more often becomes the subject of a British merchant's suit. It is clear therefore, that unless the contract between the parties, at the time when the loan of money is advanced, stipulates the payment to be made in *Great Britain*, the plaintiff does not become entitled to recover for the commission or expence of remitting the money.

Secondly,

this kind meet with its fautors in Jamaica, the like good effects would certainly happen; the gentlemen of the island would acquire a degree of credit in the mother country, perhaps even superior to the smaller islands; the planters would become connected with merchants of integrity, and find a steady support in time of need, and an humane indulgence in bad years; which advantages I need not say are not commonly met with in that colony, where public calamities are too eagerly caught at, and turned to selfish and malevolent ends. It might also wonderfully assist the credit of this island, and secure many properties from falling to decay, if the plantations of men much embarrassed with debt (but having a capital in real and personal answerable for what they owe) were committed to the management of honest trustees appointed jointly by the parties interested, and under sanction of the court of chancery, after a fair account being taken of all the debts, which account might be filed in the register's office; a decent and suitable annual provision being reserved and settled by the opinion of the court, on a just consideration of circumstances, and by way of alimony for the proprietor, the trustees should apply the residue of the annual produce by an equitable dividend under direction of the court, towards satisfaction of the respective claimants: the trustees might be made accountable for their receipts and payments once a year, or oftener if requisite, to the court, and be entitled to a reasonable commission for their agency; the debtor might be punishable, if he should disturb or interrupt the management, though left at entire liberty to inform the court of mismanagement; which being made appear, the offenders should be liable to punishment by fine or otherwise, and the estate be committed to new trustees. The

Secondly, The same objection lies here as in the case above mentioned, in regard to a *Cessation of Interest* from the time of obtaining judgement.

In order therefore to make this act perfect, the following amendments seem necessary.

First, That in all cases, where the debt is proved, and judgement given, the defendant ought to pay the reasonable costs.

Secondly, That interest should continue from the time judgement is given, till the debt is finally paid.

Thirdly, That in all cases of debt, or money lent, where the debt or loan has originated in *Great Britain*, the defendant, upon judgement, should be liable to pay, not only the reasonable costs attending the suit, but the subsequent charges of commission, and exchange, upon remitting the sum recovered to *Great Britain*: the very nature of the transaction implying the British merchant's right to receive back his money on the same spot where he advanced it.

creditors being thus made easy by the sanctions and equity of such proceeding, which puts it out of the debtor's power to delay or impede the regular course of payment, I have no doubt but many plantations might, be preserved, by this easy and practicable method to latest posterity. The wisdom and policy of any legislature is testified by the rectitude and efficacy of its provisions; its debility and inattention are clearly manifested by the contrary: but a patriotic legislature will neglect no means offered, by which they may encourage population, by saving mens private properties from being dilapidated, and establishing public credit upon the most respectable foundations. I have seen in the course of a few years no less than four sugar estates in one of the best-settled parishes, all lying within a small distance from each other, utterly dismantled, and fallen to ruin, through some or other of the causes I have touched upon. One of them remains a wilderness, because, the Negroes and other personalty having been torn away by a multitude of implacable creditors, the land could not be sold, there being a claim of legacy upon it, prior in date to the remaining debts. The second, after having been stripped in like manner of its personalty, was sold, and the cane-pieces converted into pasture land. The third and fourth were deprived likewise of their Negroes, cattle, and implements of husbandry, by the rapacity of their creditors; the buildings were left to rot at leisure, and the land soon became unproductive of any thing but weeds and thickets. Examples of a similar nature are to be found in almost every other parish of the island. Futile therefore is the speculative opinion of property shifting hands, and still remaining intire; the contrary is too well proved by facts incapable of refutation. I shall not scruple to aver, that the seizure of Negroes for bond debts is a measure that has brought ruin upon a great many once-flourishing plantations, and that it must, in the nature of things, occasion infinite mischief. If an estate has no greater number of labouring hands than are necessary to sustain it, the loss of twenty or thirty, may even of five or ten able slaves, must necessarily make the remaining number insufficient, and be attended with a fatal reduction in the produce and value of it; by this means the other creditors have the security for their demands very much impaired; and the planter, in the loss of these slaves, loses eventually more than double their value, not merely as to what they might

might have earned for him, but the severer burthen thus entailed on the remaining labourers, and the diminution which must follow their being over-worked. Moreover, the first attack serves as a signal or watch-word for the rest of the creditors to fall on ; who, fearing their security may grow less and less, the longer they keep aloof, rush in a body on the planter, assault him on all sides, and every one gets a bite at him, till he is torn in pieces, or (as the common saying has it) irrecoverably *gone to the dogs*. I do not know any thing in the colony system of slavery so oppressive and detrimental to the Negroes, as this practice of levying upon them, and selling them at vendue. It is by far the highest degree of cruelty annexed to their condition ; It cannot be imagined, but that they have a powerful attachment to the spot where they were born ; to the place which holds the remains of their deceased friends and kindred ; to the little grounds they have cultivated, and the trees they have reared with their own hands ; to the peaceful cottage of their own building, where they were wont to enjoy many little domestic comforts, and participate refreshments with their friends and families, after the toils of the day. Now what severer hardships can befall these poor creatures, than to be suddenly dispossessed of all these comforts and enjoyments, divided from each other, sold into the power of new masters, and carried into distant parts of the country, to settle themselves anew in a situation less agreeable, and less propitious to their health ? Numbers doubtless have perished by these arbitrary removals ; for a Negroe, who has been used to a dry warm air in one part of the island, will soon grow sickly, when removed to the damp and chilly atmosphere of another part : this evil, among others, will be prevented by the scheme I have proposed for putting debtors estates in trust ; and it seems therefore to have humanity as well as policy for its recommendation. I must not here omit taking some notice of an expedient espoused, with great alacrity, by several planters for supplying themselves with those recruits of labourers or slaves, which they were unable or unwilling to purchase at the advanced price and short credit at which they have been sold since the conclusion of the late war. As a leading motive to this advance in the price, we may consider the almost total extinction of our trade with the Spaniards for an annual supply of Negroes ; the transfer of this branch to the French and other islands,

and the small number consequently brought to Jamaica. If there were in the island only 651 sugar estates, which is supposed about the number in 1768, the yearly recruit necessary for them may be computed at an average of seven to each, which amounts to 4,557; and allowing one third as many, or 1,519, for the other settlements, the whole number will be 6,076. We may therefore fix about 6000 as the number required for importation, the expence to the purchasers of 6000 at the late price will be about 360,000 £. The planters who had been largely trusted during the war, and upon a long term of credit, found the case suddenly altered, after peace had given a check to the career of our trade. The merchants called in their money, fewer Negroes were imported, and these were sold at higher prices, and much, shorter credit; the planters, straining every nerve to pay off their old debts, were unable to contract new ones; the monied men therefore and others who had got good credit, first thought of making an advantage by these necessities of the planters. They bought up the major part of the Negroes, and leased them for a term of years, at the rate of from 8 £ to 12 £ *per head per annum*, conditioned that all such as might happen to die, or be deficient, during the lease, should be paid for according to their original value at the time of delivery. By this contract the renter was able to make a most exorbitant interest on his money, with great safety; his Negroes were maintained, seasoned, and trained to labour, without any expence to him; if delivered up to him, he could lease or sell them at an advanced price; and if dead or absent, he received back the money they cost him. A renter, for example, gave for 12 new Negroes (at about 54 £. 3 s. 4 d. *per head round*) 650 £.; the interest on this sum, at the legal rate of 6 £. *per cent.* is only 39 £. But he leased them at 8 £. *per head*, insured, and gained an annual return of 9 £.; which is very near 15 £. *per cent. per annum*. It cannot be supposed the planter gained any thing by such a bargain; the utmost he could do was barely to save himself; and even this could not be effected, without having them on a seven years lease, during which the value of seasoned Negroes so much increased, that, after losing one third of them, the survivors were rated all together at a sum equal to the prime cost of the whole. Many are so blind to their own interest, as still to persevere in these ruinous contracts;

tracts; the nature of which will appear still more obvious by the following example, founded on fact.

A. purchased 20 Negroes for 1,080*l.* (at 54*l.* *per* head) which he rented to B. on a seven years lease, at 8*l.* *per* head; at the expiration of the lease the account stood as follows;

B. paid for rent, at 160*l.* *per annum*, in seven years, — £ 1120

Ditto for physic, cloathing, taxes, maintenance, &c. at 126*l.* *per annum*, — — — — — 882

Ditto for deficiency on the re-valuation of 14 Negroes (the other six having died) when they were surrendered back to A. at the expiration of the lease (at 58*l.* *per* head re-valuation — 268

£ 2270

As these Negroes did but very little work during the two first years of the lease, and the six who died of the yaws did none at all, the utmost he could rate to have gained by them was, at an average, 15 *l.* *per* head *per annum* on the 14 survivors, which in seven years amounted to — — — £ 1470

B. lost clearly therefore the sum of — — — 800

which is more than two thirds of the prime cost of the whole twenty. I am very much mistaken, if most of the contracts of this sort, upon being fairly enquired into, would not be found equally disadvantageous to the planters; and indeed the least reasoning upon the subject is sufficient to prove it; they would be more sensible of it, if they were to borrow money at 15*l.* *per cent.* interest, for purchasing Negroes; yet under such leases they do what is equivalent, although in another mode. There is no method more effectual to annihilate this usury, than by laying a duty equal to a prohibition on all Negroes imported for the space of four or five years, except for re-exportation. Such a law would be attended with the following good consequences. It would put an immediate stop to these extortions; it would enable the planter to retrieve his affairs, by preventing him from running in debt, either by renting or purchasing of Negroes; it would render such recruits less necessary, by the redoubled care he would be obliged to take of his present stock, in the preservation of



their lives, and health; and lastly, it would raise the value of Negroes in the island; a circumstance greatly in favour of all those who might happen to have been unwarily drawn into leases of this kind; and a just retribution and punishment on the usurers, who would by this means be caught in their own trap. A North American province, by this prohibition alone for a few years, from being deeply plunged in debt, has become independent, rich, and flourishing. From the preceding combination of causes with effects it is easy to conceive, how a colony, not well regulated by wise laws, may, so far from encreasing in real wealth of inhabitants and settlements, become gradually deserted and depopulated.

## S E C T. V.

“ I T can hardly be the interest of a country to suffer its people  
 “ to make settlements of several plantations that yield one and the  
 “ same commodity. For inhabitants thus dispersed are neither so  
 “ useful to each other in time of peace, nor strong enough to defend  
 “ themselves in time of war; so that their mother kingdom is usu-  
 “ ally at great charge for their defence; whereas, if they lye in a  
 “ more compact and less extended territory, they could be more  
 “ ready to give each other mutual help, and could not be exposed,  
 “ as they are, to every little strength and insult of an invader\*.” It  
 is not by having a multitude of sugar islands that Great Britain will  
 be either fully supplied with the West India produce, or derive suit-  
 able advantages to her commerce and navigation. Every new settled  
 island in America must labour under a variety of difficulties, and is  
 subject to numberless inconveniencies, to which those that have been  
 long settled, and are furnished with towns, magazines of provision,  
 large stocks of cattle, rich plantations, and convenient shipping places,  
 are not liable. In a society already formed, and well established, are  
 innumerable helps and resources, which are wanting to new colonies.  
 Of the eleven sugar islands, which Great Britain possesses, the single  
 island of Jamaica exports nearly as much sugar and rum as all the

\* Davenant.

other ten, besides a variety of articles, which the others do not produce ; and it is very capable of yielding as much more. If Jamaica can furnish a sufficiency of West India produce for the consumption and trade of the mother country, it would undoubtedly cost far less to defend and support it, than a number of small islands, detached from each other, and scattered over the bosom of the ocean. The saving in short would be so astonishingly great to the nation, that no other argument could be left to shew the propriety of retaining them in our hands, except the probability of their being occupied and cultivated by other states in Europe ; which, for want of a territory in America, are now obliged to buy from us the articles they want of West India growth. Yet, notwithstanding all our endeavours, it must be owned, that the French are such formidable competitors, and our own colonies so ill regulated in many respects, that we draw very little, if any, emoluments at present from exporting any of those articles to foreigners. If Jamaica was once cultivated to the full, it is reasonable to believe, that the scale would preponderate in our favour. We require such a *quantum* of superfluity over and above supplying our own consumption, as may enable us to undersell at the foreign markets. It was this which put it in our power to crush the Portuguese sugar trade, who once monopolized it ; and by the very same means the French have since gained the advantage from us. The French have pushed their interests in the West Indies, not by fewer taxes, the lower price of Negroes, or the greater cheapness of provisions, and implements of husbandry ; but by their ability to furnish double the number of European hands, and by wiser internal regulations. It is in our power to provide against this disparity. In respect to population, we may always obtain supplies from the Protestant states in Europe, when our own country is insufficient ; in regard to the other point, the system of colony government, and the imperfections in their several laws, are objects which never were, but which ought to be, strictly canvassed, examined, and amended by the British Parliament : but as this is an event much more to be wished than expected, I shall endeavour to point out other means, by which the people of Jamaica, if left to themselves, as most probably will continue to be the case, may gradually render it more populous and thriving.

thriving. There is in this island no want of spacious and secure harbours, nor of conveniencies for the shipping that resort to it; there is not finer land in America than is to be found in those interior parts of the island, which as yet are uncultivated; the climate there is exceedingly healthful, if we may judge from the good appearance and longevity of those persons, Whites or Negroes, who are seated nearest to them; their rains are certain, and they abound in most places with fine water; blest with every advantage that nature could well bestow upon them, it has been often a matter of astonishment, that it never occurred to the legislature of the island to form a *central town*, well garrisoned, which would not only serve for a secure retreat in times of danger, but become the seat of retirement to the richer families during the hot months; and where the health and long lives of the inhabitants might compensate in some degree for the mortal or debilitating effects of those putrid diseases, which hold their empire near the Lagoons, and unwholesome spots on the sea coast; the places most adapted to commerce are generally (in the West Indies) the most unsuitable to health; in settling all these islands, the convenience of shipping, and other necessities, obliged the colonists to begin at the outlines, and so gradually proceed towards the center; it had been better, in point of health and population, if the first care had been to traverse the country across with two or three principal roads, and then to have gradually worked from the center to the extremities; for Europeans might be brought directly to the midland parts, and continue to enjoy uninterrupted health so long as they remained there; the air and diseases of the coast are most to be dreaded by an European constitution: these are opinions well established, by observing, that almost all such persons who labour under diseases of the putrid class, contracted near the coast, immediately recover on being carried into the mountains; and that the settlers who live nearest the central region of the island, and their Negroes, are as healthy as a like number in any given part of Great Britain. The inhabitants are closely attached to the interests of their mother country, nor could they ever fall a prey to foreign invaders, if the island was more extensively cultivated and peopled. Their defence would then consist not so much in courage, as in the mountainous fastnesses and impenetrable

erable barriers raised by the hand of nature. These were the muniments which enabled a despicable handful of Negroes to withstand every assault, and weary out their opponents in a war of near fifty years; and although reduced at length to terms, they were subdued not by force of arms, but by treaty. The extension of settlements here is a measure of that kind, which is not only expedient, but very practicable: among the obstacles which present themselves against it, we may consider the monopoly of lands, and ill-regulated state of the quit-rent laws. Douglas, in his History of New England, remarks, that, by the charter of that province, all vacant or unclaimed lands were to be vested in the collective body of the people, or inhabitants, and their representatives in general court assembled, who, with consent of governor and council, should make grants of such lands to a number of private persons to be incorporated on certain conditions into townships. "If, says he, in granting these lands, they had been subject to any easy quit-rent, these lands would have been settled compactly, and improved sooner; whereas at present some proprietors of large tracts do not settle or sell, because, being at no charge of quit-rent, and not in the valuation of rates or taxes for the provincial charge of government, they choose to let them lie unimproved many years for a market." This reasoning is applicable to Jamaica; where, although there is a quit-rent imposed by different laws, nevertheless, from the insufficiency and little observance of them, they have been a meer dead letter, and null in the execution. I speak with reference to the laws passed antecedent to the year 1768; for, in this year, a new quit-rent act was passed by the assembly, which, if it could have been rendered permanent, afforded hope of proving an adequate remedy. Under the old laws, the receiver general of the island, if the quit-rents were not regularly paid, had no other remedy but to issue writs of *Distringas* against the lands of the defaulter for which the quit-rents were in arrear; but, as it commonly happened, that the lands so in arrear were totally uncleared, and unsettled, no levy could be made except upon the trees and weeds growing wild upon them; by the same laws all arrears of quit-rent were made to carry 12 *l. per cent.* interest; if not paid once in every three years, and at the end of every three years that interest was made principal. But the parties seldom or never being called upon;

upon, and the laws never being enforced with strictness, through fear perhaps of disobliging the principal gentlemen of the island; and in fact the arrears being treated by all parties with that negligence which usually attends crown debts, they were suffered to grow up into enormous sums, and then either compounded for, or regarded as obsolete. The law passed in 1768 encouraged all owners to give in an inventory or list of their lands, upon oath, and contained penal clauses for that purpose, and reduced the interest upon all arrears to 6*l. per cent.* provided the debtors gave bond for the payment in twelve months time. It enacted moreover, that in future the patented lands should be regularly given in or accounted for once a year before the justices and vestry in every respective parish or precinct, and the quit-rents regularly collected by an easy mode, together with the other annual public taxes. This measure was much wanted, and it reflected great honour upon the legislature that passed the act; because it has generally, and with good reason, been conjectured, that the members of the legislature, being men of large landed property in the island, and some of them unconscionable monopolists, considered the quit-rent as a species of land tax, and combined together to excuse themselves from paying it, or to obstruct the making a public discovery of the large uncultivated tracts in their possession lying useless to themselves, and unbeneficial to the colony or the nation [b]. The bringing all such hoarded territories to light therefore, and obliging the owners, by a regular payment of quit-rent, to part with their superfluities, or pay for what could make them no return, if they persisted to keep them in their own hands, bids fair to become a first step towards a more effectual improvement of the island; for which reasons it is to be wished that the act may be rendered perpetual. Not many years ago it was asserted, that in the single parish of St. James there were 106,352 acres patented, the property of only about 132 persons, of which 10 were only nominal proprietors, possessing only from 35 to 40 acres each at an average. This quantity is, I believe, rather more

[b] From the year 1739 to 1760, no less than 55,937 acres of land were forfeited, by default of the proprietors, in not opening five acres *per annum*, as the law directs; and for non-payment of quit-rents; and about 50,000 acres were in that time patented, the greater part after the year 1752. But so ill have the quit-rents been collected, that from 1756 to 1760 (four years) only 1,102*l. 4*s.* 5*d.** came into the receiver general's office, notwithstanding it is certain that, if duly collected, they would amount to 4,000*l. per annum.*

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than the whole island of Barbadoes contains, in which are reckoned not quite 100,000 acres; yet this little island is said to have maintained, in the year 1676, seventy thousand Whites, and eighty thousand Blacks, in all 150,000 souls. Let this contrast speak for itself, and convince every thinking man, of how little value his acres are, if kept in a wilderness. It must however be said of this parish, that, considering its present improved state, it promises to eclipse every other in the island. The land is excellently well adapted to the cane, makes an immediate good return, though fresh broke up, and it is well refreshed with seasonable rains. The settlements have encreased there with prodigious rapidity within these few years past, insomuch that it yields at this time more hogheads of sugar than any of the other parishes. It may be still further improved, by encouraging and setting on foot small settlements in those parts where land, by reason of the distance from the sea, is to be got at a moderate rate. These interior settlers would open the woods, and, in process of time, their small possessions be consolidated into larger estates; as these continued to advance, the new beginners would retire still further inland, to break up fresh grounds, and raise commodities, which, by the lightness of bulk, and value of quality, might compensate for the length of carriage. It is asserted, that 25 acres of land, cultivated in indigo, which requires 20 Negroe labourers, will produce above 800*l.* sterling *per annum*. To begin such a settlement, a capital would be necessary of about 1000*l.* sterling. Two persons joining stock, might be able to furnish this capital without borrowing; and as the wages now given to overseers are from 100*l.* to 300*l.* sterling *per annum*, the greater part of which they may lay up, if they are good oeconomists, it is probable that, if land was to be got at an easy rate, and suitable encouragement given by the legislature, in remitting their taxes, for a term of years; making substantial carriage roads to the shipping place; or other helps, as they might judge most proper, many such persons would lay out their acquisitions in this way, to the great benefit of the public. It has been computed, that one hundred acres of coffee, which require not more than the same number of Negroes, would yield equal profit annually. Other articles might likewise be pointed out, but these will more properly appear in the subsequent part of this work; and among such a variety of productions as might

be cultivated on these smaller scales, there can be little difficulty in selecting such as may be the best adapted to the inclination, ability, or capacity, of any industrious planter. The neighbouring colonies have not been backward in promoting a more extensive population, regarding it as the true source of wealth and security. Nor has the legislature of Jamaica been entirely supine in its endeavours to attain the like good end; but it has been unfortunate in the choice of means, and, after lavishing vast sums on an ill-regulated plan, which of course miscarried, it seems to have given up as impracticable, what needed only a steadiness of pursuit joined with more discretion in the conduct of it, to answer the purposes intended.

The assembly of South Carolina, about two years since, passed an act for augmenting the bounty to be given to poor Protestant settlers, which it fixed at the following rates: to every person above the age of twelve years, 4*l.* sterling; between two years and twelve, 2*l.*; and under two years, 1*l.*: added to this is the King's bounty of 100 acres of land, where-ever the party desires to have it located, provided it has not been granted before, to the head of every family male, and female; and fifty acres for every child, indented servant or slave, of which the family consists. The provision therefore here made for a man, his wife, three children, and two Negroes (for example) is every way adequate to their first establishment. Such a family sets out with a certain advance in money of about 15*l.* sterling *per ann.* and upwards of 400 acres of land; this allowance of land is perhaps not too much in a North American province, where the soil is much inferior in fertility to that of the West Indian islands; and the bounty granted for subsistence may possibly go further in purchasing the necessaries of life; but it will be understood that I have not proposed this act of the Carolina assembly as a model of what ought to be practised in Jamaica, but only to shew with what ardour the other colonies, and this among the rest, which is far better peopled than Jamaica, have pursued the great object of encreasing their stock of inhabitants, and by means the best adapted to their respective circumstances. The colony of Antigua for a long time lay under very great inconveniences from the unequal distribution of its lands; but the legislature of the island, having observed how much the keeping of uncultivated lands contributed to prevent industry and the growth of  
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of their settlements, laid a tax of *five shillings per acre* on all manurable lands, that should not forthwith be opened and cultivated. The effect answered their expectation so well, that most of the richer lands in the island were soon after in cotton or canes; for every person exerted his whole strength and industry upon this occasion, and gave up such lands as he could have no prospect of possessing free from the tax; these were distributed again among the new comers, as well as such of the inhabitants who had no possessions before.

I have been informed by a gentleman of Barbadoes, that the extraordinary populousness of that island some years ago was effected chiefly by granting out lots of ten acres each to poor settlers, and white servants, who had fulfilled the term of their indentures. These persons found ten acres sufficient to provide them with the necessaries of life; many of them supported themselves by the manufacture of cotton hammocks, of which some were consumed in the island, and the rest exported to the adjacent French and English colonies. Most of these lots were afterwards bought up by richer men, and turned into sugar works; by which means, ten lots, which had used to support as many different families, became vested in one man, and the late occupiers, with the purchase-money in their hands, left the island to establish themselves in other places, where land was to be had in greater plenty and at a cheaper rate. This scheme therefore, though it served very well at first the purpose of crowding the island with inhabitants, yet was very ill accommodated to so small a territory after it was once sufficiently stocked: that they gained a superfluity of people, is clear by their going into a cotton manufacture; and a manufacture of that species, which was neither very profitable or necessary to themselves, nor at all serviceable to the mother country: here then the combination of several of these little parcels into one sugar estate, was essentially advantageous to both; the inhabitants that were driven off could well be spared, and they withdrew to the cultivation of new spots in other islands, which wanted people, and where their labours produced a happier effect. It is difficult, as I conceive, wholly to prevent, by any law, this kind of land monopoly, without admitting a much greater mischief in the room of it. For if settlers have not ultimately a fee-simple right in the lands assigned them, so as that they may, at a certain period, sell or dispose of them at plea-



ture; or if they are too much cramped in their views of extending their territory by purchasing around them, none will be induced to settle. The great object should be, to compel the opening and planting of a certain quantity yearly, on pain of forfeiture. In Jamaica no bad consequences are likely to ensue from the apportioning of small lots, and their consolidation afterwards into sugar works; because the dislodged settlers would not go off the island, but spread themselves in a country where there is room enough; and employ their money in purchase of a larger property in some other district of it; being sensible that they could not hope to acquire more land in quantity, much superior in quality, or at a cheaper rate, in any of the other West India colonies. Of these different schemes, that of the Antigua legislature seems most applicable to the present state of Jamaica. An heavy tax laid upon all manurable land, not employed in culture, must inevitably occasion the surrender of many thousand acres of land back to the crown, to be re-granted either to persons invited over to settle, or those already in the island unpossessed of any land. After the reduction of the wild Negroes, the assembly caused large tracts, which had been patented but never opened, to be re-assumed and granted out to new settlers; some of the proprietors received a composition for their property, and others nothing; but it was more equitable that a few individuals should suffer a loss which they were very able to bear, than that the whole community should be deprived of those advantages, which it was rightly foreseen would accrue to them from the settlement of these lands. The consequence has justified the measure; for there are now many valuable sugar estates, where, it is probable, there would have been nothing but a wilderness, such as existed before this wise and spirited proceeding took effect. The complaint here is, not the want of good land, but the not employing it to useful purposes: leaving it, therefore, to the assembly to re-claim these unsettled tracts by the mode already practised, or such other as may appear most suitable to times and circumstances, I shall proceed to offer some considerations on the means of peopling such tracts, most likely to succeed; presuming that the plans, hitherto directed to this object, have miscarried more through defect in their regulation, than a want of money to support them; for it must be allowed that the assembly shewed no disposition to spare  
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any expence; and what they granted from time to time was more than sufficient, to have compassed the end proposed.

## S E C T. VI.

THE want of people is in nothing more conspicuous, in an island capable of producing any quantity of certain necessaries, than the inability of its inhabitants to produce of themselves a sufficiency for their own consumption; yet I do not know whether we are not to ascribe something to a want of due industry and attention. It must be thought very extraordinary, that, when a handful of Spaniards were in possession of Jamaica, they were able to slaughter 80,000 hogs every year for their lard, which was an article of their export; and that the English, who neither carry on that branch of traffick, nor diet so much on pork, should be necessitated to import hogs: there is a better reason to be given for their importation of mules, horses, and cattle; particularly in times preceding that great improvement made in the manufactory of sugar, by substituting wind and water mills, in the place of cattle mills; the consumption of these animals must in those times have been exceedingly great, what with the severity of their labour, and badness of the roads. It is evident, whatever might be the cause of this demand, that two things only were principally wanting, to enable the island to supply it without having recourse to importation from foreign parts. The first was, a sufficient stock of industrious inhabitants to have been employed in breeding the number of these animals proportioned to the annual consumption; the second, the patriotic endeavours and subsidies of the assembly, as well for encouraging such breeding farms, as for making good roads in every district, at the public charge, whereby the internal parts of the country must have been settled and improved with greater facility, and the waste of cattle in great measure prevented. If 10,000 *l. per annum* had been annually voted for these purposes, and honestly appropriated, the island would have annually gained that sum, by rendering the importation from foreigners inexpedient. This may appear as convincingly to others as it does to me, from the following state of these imports for 20 years.

	Horned Cattle.	Horses.	Mules.	Asses.	Sheep.	Hogs.
Imported from 1729 to 1739 — — —	124	1500	4285	243	825	1291
Ditto from 1739 to 1749 — — —	119	2536	6192	148	2560	2901
	243	4036	10,477	391	3385	4192

The average cost of these to the island was, during the first ten years, about 10,000 *l. per annum*, and during the last about 11,000 *l.* The increased number of sheep and hogs, during the last ten years, was probably owing to the war, and the large armament collected at Jamaica, which increased the consumption of those animals; but, the former series, being a time of peace, 10,000 *l.* may be taken as the average loss to the island upon these imports; but, if the like imports were now to be made, the loss would be annually greater by at least 5000 *l.* on account of their enhanced prices to the importer, particularly the article of mules. By a calculation, made in the year 1751, it was supposed that the planters required a yearly recruit of 2700 mules, which, at 18 *l. per head* to the importer, cost 48,600 *l.* But supposing only one thousand to be imported, and the prime cost at an average 15 *l. per head*, making in the whole 15,000 *l.* here is furnished a proof, either of a want of inhabitants, a great defect of industry, or a want of due attention on the part of the assembly to the state of the island, in their not having promoted sufficiently the breeding of mules, considering the ample room and conveniency of pasturage for this purpose. There were at that time 450 sugar estates in the island; that number has increased to upwards of 650, and consequently a stock of 3900 mules at least is required, which cost the planters, from the breeder or importer, at a medium of 28 *l. per head*, the sum of 109,200 *l.* annually. I cannot take upon me to affirm what the present importation amounts to; but it is probably not less than heretofore. If we compute about 200 farms where mules are now bred, and that they supply twelve each every year at an average, in all 2400, there remain 1500 to be brought in by importation. There is likewise a considerable importation of horned cattle from the Spanish coast, for the markets, as well as for labour and breeding: does it not then appear manifest that the island produces as yet not sufficient for its own consumption? and what reason

reason can be assigned for this, other than that there are not breeding farms or pens in sufficient number hitherto established.

Many persons have been deterred from engaging their time and capitals in this way; imagining, that a glut would be the consequence, and the price of cattle and mules be lowered, because the Spanish breed are imported, and sold at a cheaper rate than they can afford, and make a suitable profit. But this is not always the case; for I have known by experience, that the importers themselves, and the capital dealers, who purchase whole cargoes from the importers to sell out again; demand and get the same price for them that is usually given for those bred in the island, notwithstanding that one of the latter breed is worth intrinsically more, and will go through more real service and labour, than two of the Spanish. But the secret is, that most men have a prejudice in favour of foreign articles, despising their own, though far superior in value; and besides, the island breeders require immediate pay in cash upon delivery of the beasts they sell; whereas the others give credit for a twelvemonth or more to the buyers, their profits being so enormous, as in some cases to double the whole purchase-money of their cargo, and therefore they can well afford to wait so long for payment, securing interest at 6% *per cent.* in the mean time for their money; and this is a temptation which rarely fails of succeeding with the majority of the planters, who have not the command of ready money for the market. But unless it can be clearly proved, that, under colour of this mule-trade, any bullion or other commodities of value are brought into the island, it would be a salutary and very excellent provision of the assembly, if they were to lay a certain tax or duty, to be annually augmented, upon every beast so imported; and if, at the same time, the island breeders would all associate, and agree to give a credit of six or nine months, so as to enable the poorer planter to defray the cost of his purchase out of his next or succeeding crop. Such a tax seems far more politic than the forty shillings *per head* on Negroes imported, which raises the price of them to every industrious settler, for it comes out of his pocket; and it must be acknowledged he is very ill able to bear it; neither is the advantage gained from it, as an article of revenue, equivalent to the injury sustained; for the dearer the implements of labour are rendered to the planter, the less will be the inducement for

men to begin upon new settlements ; but these, when once established, are able to contribute to the support of government far more largely in other different ways. It never occurred to the assembly, although it is an obvious fact, that every buyer of those Negroes is burthened with three different taxes ; the first on their importation, the second the public or current impost of the year, either for deficiency or poll ; the third the parochial, all of which together make in the first year an addition of no less than 2*l.* 5*s.* *per* head, on the price of every Negroe he purchases, which operates as a very great discouragement to poor settlers. It does not appear to me, that the mule trade can be proved to be introductive of any other more lucrative branch ; on the contrary, I know, upon the most authentic information, that vast abundance of our small hammered silver, royals and pistorins, has been constantly exported, together with dollars, for purchasing mules and cattle ; sometimes rum has been carried out in barricoes, or small casks ; but this rum was sold on the coast to buy dollars, which were directly laid out in mules and cattle ; in every respect it seems to be a traffick extremely pernicious to the island, and it is from this consideration probably that it has been more connived at by the Spaniards than any other. Exclusive of the more expensive undertakings, there are many other means that offer to white families, possessed of very little, by which they may thrive, and become, if not opulent, at least independent and happy. These are, the cultivation of corn, and other provisions ; the breeding of sheep, goats, hogs, turkies, geese, and other poultry, rabbits, pigeons, &c. ; for most of which there is a constant demand ; nor would the rich planters turn their attention to the providing of these minute articles and necessaries on their own estates, if they could be regularly supplied, and at a moderate rate, by others ; for they could bestow their time, and the labour of their Negroes, to more important purposes. I doubt not but the single manufacture of oil from the ricinus, or oil-nut (which plant may be cultivated, and the oil drawn, with very little trouble and expence) for the supply of the sugar estates, would maintain a whole family through the year very comfortably with all the necessaries of life, and leave some saving besides. For example, 1000 gallons of it sold at 3*s.* 1½*d.* *per* gallon, which is near 6*d.* *per* gallon less than the price of the

imported oil, would produce 156*l.* 5*s.* One acre of ground planted with these trees would supply nuts for a much larger quantity; and one advantage belonging to them is, that they may be planted on the sides of gullies, and other waste spots, where neither canes nor provisions are usually cultivated. Supposing 40,000 gallons to be the yearly consumption of the island, here is at once a provision for forty poor settlers; indeed it might only furnish one proportion of their gains, because it would occupy so little of their time, as to give them leisure sufficient for other articles of profit.

These particulars I briefly touch upon, as hints, leading to a more extensive enquiry after a multitude of useful productions, which might support numbers of small settlers, fixed on ready-cleared spots, properly encouraged, and maintained at the public charge for a reasonable time, until they could subsist by the fruits of their own industry. The art of making indigo has been in great measure lost to the island for several years. There were formerly upwards of seventy gentlemen's carriages kept in the little parish of Vere, the vast profits of their indigo-works enabled them to live in such splendor; and that part of the country, for its number of houses and inhabitants, on both sides the Rio Minho, resembled a populous town. But an injudicious duty, imposed and too long continued by parliament, ruined and extirpated the manufacture; and the desolation of that fatal act is to be traced at this very day in the ruins of once crowded houses, and the few and scattered inhabitants now to be found there. When the parliament found their error, it was not too late to have revived the manufacture in this island; it was in truth nothing more than justice, that, after ruining so capital a branch of produce, and so many industrious families, the mistake should have been repaired, with circumstances particularly favourable to that island, by granting a bounty for a certain term of years upon all indigo grown upon, and imported from, Jamaica. Instead of this, the parliament were hurried into a worse error, by encouraging the importation of this article from any place whatsoever indiscriminately, and in foreign bottoms, as well as British. Thus, after they had abolished the manufacture in Jamaica, they followed the blow, by inviting foreigners to go upon this article, and even relaxed the act of navigation in their favour; the consequence of which was, that the French at Hispaniola immediately took

took it up, and have since gone on with it so extensively and successfully, as to prevent its being effectually resumed in Jamaica; nor has the premium some years since granted upon indigo of British growth hitherto availed to retrieve it; yet it might not be impracticable to set it on foot to advantage once more in Jamaica. It has lately been introduced with very great success, and carried to great perfection, by two or three gentlemen in the parish of St. Thomas in the East, and their indigo has been thought equal to the best French; what remains is, a still higher encouragement from the parliament, or at least the legislature of Jamaica, by a premium on every 100 *lb.* weight, under proper restrictions, and proofs, in regard to its growth and manufacture within the island, to prevent any fraudulent mixture of Hispaniola indigo, and also rating the premium according to the market value of the dye, by the estimation of respectable judges on their oaths. I may repeat what I have before observed, that there can be no want of good land for these experiments, so long as there remain such large tracts in waste. A re-assumption of lands forfeited, or surrendered on non-payment of quit-rents, and a severe tax upon all unsettled lands, would soon inform the legislature, on the expediency of a further population, while they pointed out the districts most in need of it. The re-assumption at Bagnall's thickets in St. Mary's parish, once a harbour for Negroe thieves and murderers, whilst the lands continued in the possession of their first owners, who were unable to settle them, occasioned that district to become a well-settled and profitable part of the island. Experience is a good projector, and has pointed out the utility of carrying the like vigorous measure into effect in other parts, without respect to persons.

The whole number of inhabitants actually living in the island at this time is probably not much less than 200,000, including all complexions. If then the remainder of the land that is proper for cultivation was equally well settled, it would add a stock of near thrice as many more of inhabitants, or 600,000; in all 800,000. But admitting only as many more, or in all 400,000, let us reflect a little on the amazing increase such an addition must cause to the consumption of British manufacture and product; to the national revenues, navigation, and trade; the multitude of persons in the mother country who would get their bread and maintenance by this accession of industrious

dustrious labourers :—The clear profit drawn from this island yearly by Great Britain is not easy to ascertain ; since, exclusive of the consumption of its inhabitants, the supply of their particular demands, the African trade, education of youth, interest of money, remittances to absentees, and all other emoluments gained upon the island itself in every way, there is a large sum which arises from its connection with the British and foreign settlements in America ; the clear gain, allowing the duties and customs on the island-produce to be paid by the European consumer, and therefore not to be credited to the island, has by some been estimated at about 700,000 *l.* sterling *per annum* ; but it is certainly more : yet, taking it at this sum, is it not a noble tribute to Great Britain for her care and protection ? and ought not every proper measure to be considered at home, as well as in the island, for encreasing its population and products ? For since this is very feasible, what advantages may not Great Britain hereafter draw from it, as it is capable, with a moderate further improvement, and extension of settlements, to present her parent state with much more than a clear million every year, besides finding employment for artificers and manufacturers of almost every denomination, and for numberless indigent or idle persons, who would otherwise prove a nuisance to their country ?

As I have stated the practicability of establishing breeding farms or pens in the island, sufficient to answer its consumption, and save by that means a large balance yearly carried out, to the prejudice of the colony stock, and in favour of foreigners, I shall corroborate the argument by mentioning what has been done in that midland part of the island, called Pedro's Cockpit, which lies between Clarendon and St. Ann's parishes. This district, not many years ago, was without a single settlement. The face of the country here is singular enough to deserve a small digression. It is spread for an extent of many miles with an infinite number of little round hills, whose surface is covered with a loose lime stone, or honeycomb rock, cloathed with fine cedar, and other trees of enormous bulk ; the dales, or cockpits, as they are called, which meander between these hummocks, contain a very good soil, of great depth, which is so well appropriated to the culture of Guiney grass (*Holcus major assurgens*) that the plant forms here a perfect sod, a circumstance I have observed in no other part



of the island. So luxuriant does it grow here, that the blade in general is from three to four feet in length; and when in seed, the main stem or arrow shoots up to the height of ten or twelve feet, so as to overtop a man on horseback, by which means it is difficult, at such times, to discover any cattle that are grazing on it, unless from some adjacent eminence. Among the natural grass peculiar to this soil, there is a great abundance of a species of broom weed, of a bitterish astringent taste, which serves as a very proper corrector of the Guiney grass, and makes it more wholesome and nourishing. This kind of pasture is excellent for sheep, and they grow so fat upon it as almost to exceed credibility. The cattle and mules bred here are larger and finer than in most other parts of the island [a]. The graziers carry on a very profitable trade, by purchasing lean, old, or worn-out steers, and other horned cattle, in the lowlands, after the crop, and at a low price; and bringing them into these pastures, where they soon recover their flesh, and grow fat, dispose of them afterwards, at an advance of from 8% to 10% *per head* profit, to the butchers in the towns, and contractors for the king's ships. Although it often rains, or rather drizzles here, this part of the country has very few springs of water; to remedy this, the inhabitants are fully supplied by means of cisterns or ponds. But the cattle and sheep are in no want of ponds, the dews and rains affording such continual moisture to the grass, as to keep it at all times succulent; and this perhaps may be one cause of their extraordinary fatness. The climate here is delightfully pure and cool; the inhabitants in general enjoy good health; the Negroes in particular, being more constantly resident, are rarely afflicted with any sickness. The butter made here is so excellent in flavour and firmness, that I never met with any in England superior to it, and the cows have their udders plentifully stocked; whereas, in the lowland pastures, they seldom yield more than a quart each

[a] The breed of mules might be still more improved, and their size considerably enlarged, by a careful management of the asses, which ought to be stabled, corn-fed, curried regularly, and taken the same care of in every respect as a favourite horse: and (instead of being turned loose among the mares, as is now practised, by which they exhaust their strength too much, and are very liable to get hurts) they should be brought to cover in hand. It is needless to add, that the mares intended for this purpose should be of the largest size that can be procured; it might be worth while to make trial of some from New England.

day, and their milk is thin and waterish. An enterprising man, who was the first settler here, patented 300 acres of land, built a defensible house upon a rising ground, and formed pastures; his success attracted others, so that there are now thirty-four settlers there, who, at their own expence chiefly, have made a very good road, almost due North and South, for several miles, and, their buildings being dispersed on each side of the road, it has the appearance of a long straggling street. The profits of the industrious among them are, we might suppose, so considerable, as to engage many others to associate with them: but the same misfortune, which has given a check to the spirit of settling in other parts, as soon as the lands grew to be valuable and much in request, has produced the like obstruction here; I mean, the avidity of engrossing lands into possession of a few, to be hoarded up, and sold at an high price. At the time when the first settlement was formed here, any person might have got lands at no other expence than paying the patent fees; but the price has since risen considerably, so that an industrious man, who is possessed of some Negroes, and a sufficiency to begin a settlement, is deterred from it, by the enlarged value he must pay for land, which might of itself absorb nearly his whole capital, and leave him without means of embarking on any probable hope of success. I have before remarked, that it depends on the legislature to suppress these monopolies, by obliging all landholders to pay their quit-rents punctually, and by laying some additional tax upon those runs of which a certain number of acres in every hundred is not yearly cleared of their wood, fenced, and planted, so that the proprietors should be forced either to settle, or sell at a conscionable rate to others, who might be inclined to become settlers. A proprietor of one of these farms assured me, that he cleared 2000*l. per annum*. The charge and contingencies, after a farm is once established, are very trifling. Does not this example indicate very forcibly what may be done in the midland parts of this island, towards an extension of settlements? Supposing the thirty-four families settled in Pedro's to earn only 500*l. currency per annum*, at an average, one with another, which I believe is a moderate computation, here is an annual gain of 17,000*l.* all or most of which is spent in the island, or in purchase of British goods; and, if such are their profits, in what may be called their infant state, it is reason-

able to expect, they will every year become more considerable, in proportion to the increase of improvements. What has been done here, I should apprehend, might, upon experiment, be found equally practicable in other parts. In North America, their townships are generally granted six miles square, which space contains about 23,000 acres. These are divided into sixty-three lots, *viz.* one lot to the minister or rector, as an inheritance; one lot by way of glebe for support of the rector; one for a school; the other sixty to as many families who shall, within five years from the grant, erect a dwelling-house, with seven acres cleared and improved, fit for mowing or ploughing. They are also required to erect, in the same space of time, a house for public worship, to maintain an orthodox minister, and provide schoolmasters, under certain penalties. In each township certain town officers are constituted by act of assembly, who are annually elected at a town-meeting held in the month of March; these are, a town clerk, seven select men (a sort of magistrates for keeping the peace and general superintendence over the government of the town), a town treasurer, twelve overseers of the poor, seven assessors for taxation, ten fire wards, six fence-viewers, ten viewers of boards, shingles, &c. twelve clerks of the market, six collectors of taxes, twelve constables, and some few other officers. I mean, by this allusion to the North American usage, only to hint a mode of settlement, which might be adopted in Jamaica, though on a much smaller scale. I would propose the establishing three townships, one in each of the three counties. In the county of Middlesex, from Pedro's Cockpits for a number of miles westward, quite into the heart of St. James's parish, is scarcely a settlement or inhabitant; in this space are upwards of twelve miles square, or about 46,000 square acres lying waste and useless. A township might, I think, be fixed somewhere to the eastward of the barrack at the head of Rio Bueno, or else near the road leading from Cave River barrack, in Clarendon, to Runaway Bay in St. Ann's; in either case, the distance would not be great from some shipping-place on the North side. The Eastern or Surry township might be situated somewhere near the head of Rio Grande, in Portland; the Western or Cornwall township, near the head of Marthabrae River, or in any other more convenient parts, which might be ascertained by actual surveys, and so disposed as not to interfere with the territories of the Maroon Negroes. For  
 carrying

carrying this into execution, surveys should be made, for discovering the places most commodious for such undertakings; these should be made, and the lots laid out, at the public expence; the lands, if already patented, and unsettled, according to the exigency of their patents, which require them to be opened and planted within a limited time, should be declared forfeited, be resumed by law, and vested in the crown, to be re-granted to the new settlers. No individual person should be allowed to take or possess a grant of more than one lot. The houses should be built after one certain model, to be approved of by the legislature, and at a certain expence. A plantation walk, and provision ground, of four acres, might be provided for each settler, and one Negroe, with some other helps, and 20%. towards the first year's maintenance. After the first year, the whole might be assigned to each settler respectively on a lease of seven years, conditioned, that on payment into the public treasury, at the expiration of the lease, or within six months after, the first cost of building the house, and purchase of the Negroe, the same should then be confirmed to the party and his heirs for ever, in fee simple; but otherwise, the same to re-invest in the public, to be sold to the best bidder, and the money applied to the public use. As a further encouragement, all such settlers might be exempted from all taxes and imposts whatsoever for the first four or five years, and from all services, except in the militia. A firm and convenient road should likewise be made for them to the nearest market town, or shipping place, at the public expence. I have seen several plans for North American townships, but they are much too extensive to be received in Jamaica. The difference of soil, climate, and culture, of the products and nature of its society, require a different frame of settlement. The superior richness of soil (for instance) in this island makes it unnecessary to portion out so great a number of acres to each family, which they might never be able wholly to cultivate, and would therefore continue to lie waste and unprofitable to the public, the very evil we lament; nor would the collection of these families all together into a town or village, in the center of a large tract of land, be suitable to this climate, its husbandry and products; it being more proper that each habitation should be fixed on its respective lot, though in such manner as to preserve an easy communication among all the settlers, for.

for their mutual advantage, and the general security. I shall, in humble imitation of the North American plan, so far as it can be accommodated to the nature of our climate and island, propose the following sketch, the better to illustrate what I have before mentioned. I suppose, a tract laid out of one mile square, which will contain 640 acres: this allows to twenty-eight planters families 20 acres each, and to sixteen tradesmen, artificers, or shop-keepers, five acres each: but in the survey a due allowance must be made of a certain quantity besides, for the intersecting roads, which cross the whole diagram at right angles.

Explanation of the Plan, PLATE II. Fig. 1.

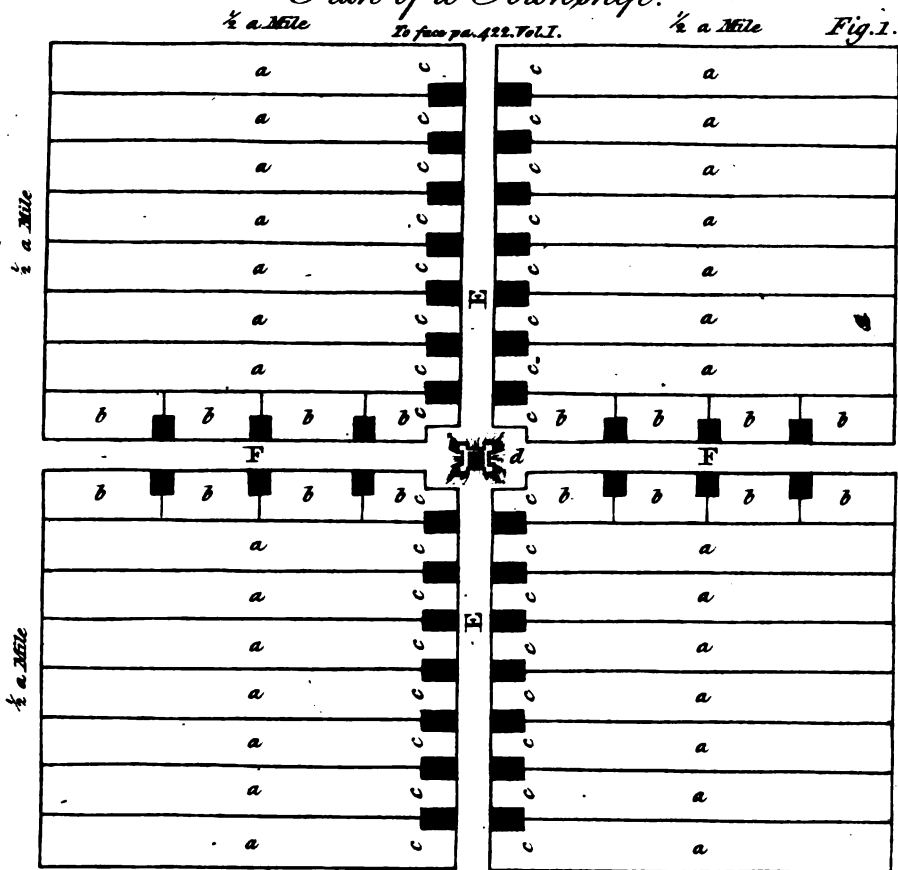
- a. The planters lots of 20 acres each.
- b. The artificers lots, of 5 acres each.
- c. The houses, all raised on a foundation of at least two feet above the surface, and guarded with loop holes.
- d. A room or hall for public business, built with loop holes, and flankers for defence.
- E and F. Two main roads, each 132 feet in width.

Calculation of expence attending the publick on one township.

	£.
Clearing and planting in provision 84 acres of woodland, } being three acres to each planter's lot, at 6 <i>l.</i> per acre,	504
Ditto, 16 acres, being one acre to each artificer's or trade- } man's lot, at ditto per acre, ——— ———	96
Building forty-four convenient houses, at 50 <i>l.</i> each,	2200
Ditto one defensible public room in the center of the township,	300
Purchase of twenty-eight young able Negroes, being one to } each planter's family, at 60 <i>l.</i> per head, ——— ———	1680
Subsistence money to forty-four families, for the first year, } at 30 <i>l.</i> each, ——— ——— ———	1320
Implements of husbandry for twenty-eight planters families, } at 5 <i>l.</i> to each, ——— ——— ———	140
Twenty-eight breeding sows, at 40 <i>s.</i> ——— ———	56
Breeding poultry, ——— ——— ———	14
	Salary

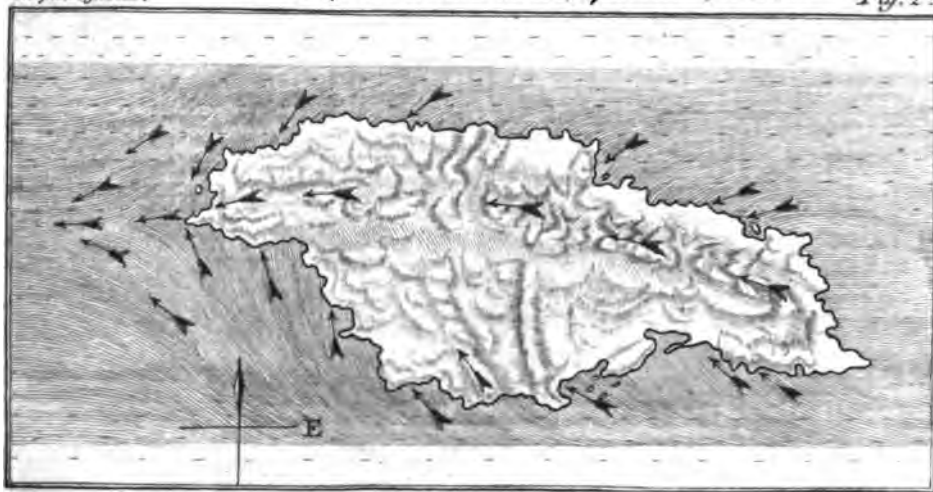
# Plan of a Township.

Plate 2

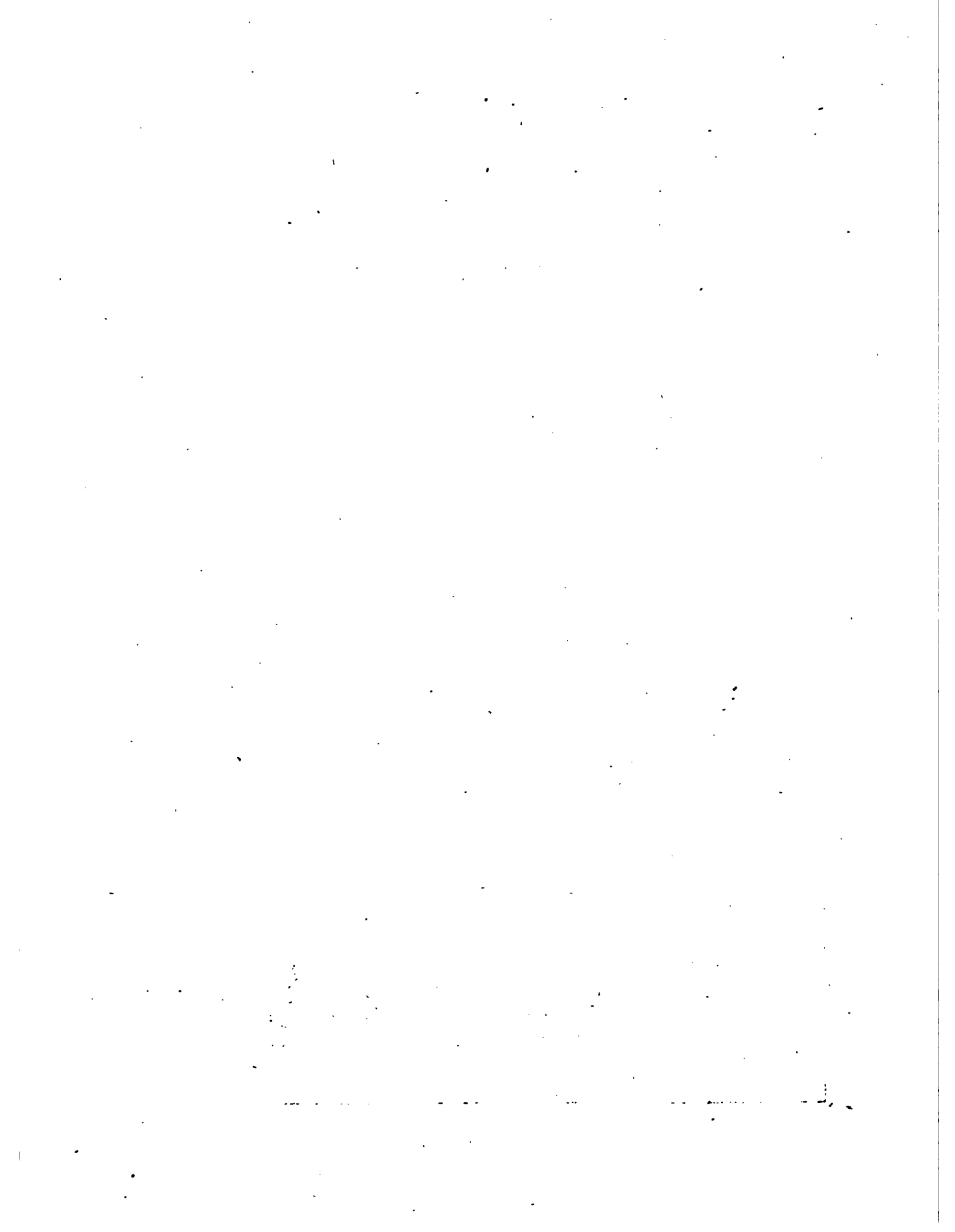


*See pa. 89, Vol. II.* **Direction of the Trade Winds upon the Island.**

**Fig. 2.**



*Page strip*



Salary to a resident surgeon,	—	—	100
Ditto a superintendant resident,	—	—	100
Expence of surveying, fixing lots, making roads, and carriage of goods, may be estimated at about	—	—	1490
			—
Total,			8000

In order to provide for this expence, I would propose that the deficiency tax should be appropriated as a standing fund, and be raised to 30 *l.* at least for every defaulter; next to this, the legislature might attend to the following ways and means.

A duty of 40 *s.* *per* head upon all horned or live cattle (except heifers under three years) imported into the island.

The like sum on all mules and horses imported from any part of the world, except Great Britain.

A tax of 1 *s.* *per* acre, on all patented, and uncleared, or unsettled woodlands, or ruinate. The whole expence of the three townships being 24,000 *l.* there can be no doubt, I think, but these funds would be very sufficient; they would bring in probably not less than 15,000 *l.* *per annum*; and one advantage to be reaped from the plan is, that, in proportion as they fell short or diminished every year, so much would the island be advanced in population, and the means of supplying cattle and stock for its own consumption. The deficiency tax could fall short only by keeping up the full complement of white servants; the cattle and mule tax, by the increased Jamaica breed, and reduced importation; the land tax, by the more extensive opening and cultivation of those lands which were the objects of it. The surplus of the fund should rest in the treasury, either for contingent supplies and reliefs to these townships; improving their roads, bounties or premiums on their raising certain commodities best adapted to their situation, and the advantage of the island commerce; or for establishing new townships on the same plan; for they are so contrived, that, whenever any one of them is fully peopled, another square may be added to it on any side, and so on, until the whole district is well inhabited. It may possibly be objected, that new Negroes would not be so useful to the settlers as seasoned labourers. To obviate this, I would propose,



propose, that, after obtaining a true list of every male Mulatto slave in the island, a levy should be made in each county, after the most equitable mode, of 28 for each respective township, preferring those who are from 14 years of age to 30. For these, the owners should receive 10*l.* *per annum*, rent for five years certain. At the expiration of five years service in their township, and on a certificate from the superintendant of their faithful and good behaviour, they should be entitled to their freedom; be baptized, and have each a lot, not exceeding five acres, of land assigned them in the neighbourhood of the township; their value should be adjudged by a jury of twelve men on their oaths in the presence of a magistrate; and, after deducting the 50 *l.* rent for five years, satisfaction should be made out of the treasury to their proper owners, for so much as their value should be found to exceed that sum. At the end of the fourth year, the publick might purchase 28 new Negroes, and distribute them among the planter families, so that when the time of the Mulattoes emancipation arrived, these Negroes, having been a twelvemonth in the island, would be tolerably well seasoned to the climate, and capable of doing service to their employers. If the expence of purchasing new Negroes should be thought too great, this mode of supplying Mulattoes might be continued, and a new levy made for every sixth year; by this means, we might gain by degrees a hardy race of these people, capable of bearing arms, inured to labour, and stimulated by gratitude to exert themselves in defence of the country. In laying out the surveys of these townships, every convenience ought to be attended to, in respect of water, or springs, goodness of soil, and healthiness of situation; the latter requires, that the houses should be placed on sufficiently-dry and elevated spots, far from swamps or morass, and where there is a free circulation of air. This we find was a principal consideration with the cautious general of Cuba, when he gave instructions for the expedition concerted against Jamaica in the year 1657, directing the officer, who conducted it, “to fix on  
 “some convenient place for head quarters, situated high, and adjoining to some watering-place, for the enjoyment of fresh air, and  
 “preservation of health;” having been taught by experience, that all low, unventilated situations in this part of the world are most unwholesome. The streets should be of good breath, and the houses  
 not

not crowded together. Towns (as they are generally constructed in the West Indies) are not well adapted to health. The contiguity of buildings, the frowzy atmosphere of many inhabitants assembled within a small compass, the lowness of their situation, the easy communication of infectious distempers, and the lazy or debauched lives of the people, are great objections to them. In the mountainous parts, there can be little difficulty, in finding the best positions near some spring of water, or river head; the Pedroe settlers, who make use of rain water, which is here collected in a state of great purity, find it perfectly light and wholesome. Cisterns therefore may be made for this purpose, where no spring or river water may conveniently be had; experiments might also be tried, by digging for wells; there is at present a great want throughout the island of persons intelligent in this business; but the Spaniards, when they were in possession of it, were not only very expert at this work, but in the art of tile-making: such artificers cannot be too much encouraged in this colony.

The next point to be considered is, the cheapest and most practicable means of stocking these townships with industrious people. The means that first offer are, by application to his Majesty for his gracious permission, that, when the regiments are relieved, the legislature might be at liberty to select a certain number of families from them, provided so many should be found willing to quit the service, and become settlers, the assembly consenting to pay his Majesty, or the colonel of the regiment, 10*l.* sterling *per* head for each soldier so engaged; the whole amount of which would be no more than 280*l.* sterling for each township. In this case, instead of the allowance of 30*l.* *per* family as specified in the preceding estimate, it might be more advisable perhaps to continue them on the footing of their present military subsistence; that is,

To every man at the rate of 13 <i>l.</i>			} <i>per ann.</i> Jamaica currency.
His wife	9 <i>l.</i>	15 <i>s.</i>	
His children each,	6 <i>l.</i>	10 <i>s.</i>	

To be paid to them regularly per week or month as may be thought best for them; the superintendant, giving sufficient bond security for

his honest discharge of this trust, might be properly vested with it, under the receiver general's controul, and subject to the enquiries of the assembly; by regulating the allowance in this equitable manner, those families who are burthened with the greatest number of children, would be entitled to receive the largest proportion of subsistence; and the amount upon an average would probably not much exceed the calculation in the estimate. The advantage of settling these military families is very apparent; they are seasoned to the climate, accustomed to the modes of living in it, and the men ready trained in arms for the defence of the country; in these respects, they are much preferable to Europeans newly introduced from climates, and habits of living very different. The propriety, and indeed necessity, of making these temporary provisions for poor families just settled is equally obvious; it was through want of such supports at the first outset, that the many expensive encouragements annually granted for several years, by the assembly, to invite settlers over, have been heretofore so ineffectual. Several poor adventurers came at different times from Europe, and among the rest, a colony of Palatines; these people had the charge of their passage defrayed, and were subsisted until they arrived on the lands assigned to them, which they found in wilderness, the trees for the most part of stupendous bulk, and not one acre cleared. Destitute of habitations, as well as of land prepared for culture, their time was necessarily first taken up with building houses, and felling trees; the labour and hardships, they had to struggle with, were much too severe for persons just come from Europe; most of them died, the rest dispersed, and not one of these families (as I am told) succeeded. As an example what industry may do here, when properly supported at the first settling, I shall relate the following fact. A man with his family, consisting of a wife, some children, and a few Negroes (twelve I think, or fourteen) came from Barbadoes, and obtained some woodland in the eastern division of the island, not many years ago. Upon this small foundation, and by indefatigable labour and œconomy, he formed two exceedingly valuable sugar plantations, one of which he bestowed upon his son, and became able to give a very handsome provision to each of his other children: I believe he is still living, and not only enjoys the happiness of an easy fortune of his own acquiring, but the

the further comfortable reflection, of having raised his numerous family from a state of indigence to affluent circumstances. It is to a French gentleman, who lately took refuge in the same district with his family and a few Negroes, that we are indebted for a revival of the indigo manufacture, which promises to become one day very flourishing, and beneficial to the island. Can it be too dear a purchase, to obtain industrious settlers, like these men, on the terms I have proposed? I persuade myself to believe, the gentlemen of the island would acknowledge, in a few years, the money applied to this end, to have been well bestowed. What advantages of internal strength and solid security, what an enlargement to their exports, what aids in taxation, might they have possessed at this hour, if 100,000*l.* of the money annually lavished away upon a still unfinished battery, stuck into a quagmire, at the entrance of Kingston harbour, had been judiciously expended, in forming a more necessary and durable bulwark, by the introduction and support of honest, industrious families, in those pathless districts of the island, which as yet have no other inhabitants except trees, runaway slaves, and wild hogs! There is not a man of sense in the island who believes either that this battery is capable of defending the island from invasion, or of holding any considerable resistance against a regular attack of ships; there is not one who is not convinced, that it is useless with respect to internal insurrections; that it cannot repel the invasion of foreign enemies; that the chief dependance must rest, in such an emergency, on the strength of our own fleets; and consequently that this pile of stone and mortar serves no other purpose, than as a sinking fund, into which some thousand pounds are every year thrown away, and that with as much regularity, and as little reluctance, as if the very being and existence of the island depended upon it. Every real and disinterested well-wisher to this colony must anxiously desire to see the time, when the assembly shall awake to a sense of their true interest, and expend the public money upon such other schemes of defence, as promise to yield an adequate return, by the increase of people, of settlements, of products, and commerce; of wealth, and genuine security. Of eleven acts passed by the legislature for the encouragement of settlers, one only seems to have been at all calculated to answer the purpose; this was the act

N<sup>o</sup> 157, passed in 1749 [b]. It empowered commissioners to appoint agents in Great Britain or elsewhere, and to contract with white families to come over, and with masters of ships for their passage; and to draw from the island treasury a sum not exceeding 6000 *l.* currency *per annum* for this use. It enacted, that such families, on their arrival, should be lodged and subsisted until they could be provided with lands or employment. That owners of lands, on receiving such persons, and conveying, in fee simple, to the head of every family, twenty acres of good land, within a mile of some inhabited settlement, with four acres of the twenty planted with provisions, a sufficient dwelling house of 50 *l.* value, one good Negroe of 35 *l.* value, and 20 *l.* in money; or any owner entering into bond of 500 *l.* penalty to perform all this within six months after the date; and in the mean time furnishing such new-comers with meat, drink, washing and lodging; every such owner should be entitled to 145 *l.* for each family, with interest at 8 *l. per cent. per annum* from the date of such bond; but not to be paid, unless it should appear, that these conditions were justly fulfilled.

That any person introducing and settling a family in this manner, at his own expence, should be entitled to 145 *l.* and 10 *l.* further for each person of such family; and that such family should save deficiency for four years to the person so introducing it.

That the commissioners should purchase lands, subsist, and settle families unprovided for. That persons importing themselves should be lodged, subsisted, and provided for in the like manner. That such families and persons should be exempted from all taxes (except quit rents) for seven years, and from all public service and duty (except in the militia) for the same term; but might not alienate their land in that term.

[b] Under the encouragements granted by the several acts passed in 1736, 1743, 1749, and continued to 1752, in all a space of about sixteen years, one hundred and eight families and fifteen artificers were introduced, at the expence of 17,897 *l.* 19 *s.* 1 *d.* This would have proved a good bargain for the country, if the families so introduced could have settled themselves without the help of Negroe-labourers; but many of them failed for want of this help; and the affairs of others became so involved, by purchasing of Negroes, that they were obliged some time afterwards to apply to the assembly for relief, which was readily granted. These acts therefore, although they operated effectually in bringing over settlers to the colony, were defective in the main operation, the proper means of fixing and establishing them advantageously after they were brought.

except

except by will. Lastly, that a bounty extraordinary of 10*l.* each, should be given to every artificer that should arrive. This act continued in force nine years, and was then repealed. If the commissioners, during this space, drew out of the treasury the full annual sum allowed by the act, it amounts in nine years to 54000*l.* expended for this purpose; but I never could learn what number of settlers were thus procured, though I believe it to have been considerable; for, after the entire accommodation with the Maroon Negroes in 1740, settlements began to be formed in those parts of the country, where none chose to venture before. It was from this period, that, under the encouragement of different acts, but particularly the last mentioned, the parishes of St. Mary, St. George, St. James, Portland, the interior parts of St. Thomas in the East, St. Anne, Clarendon, Hanover, Westmoreland, and St. John, began to be cleared for plantations; and, that a greater progress might have been made, it is to be regretted that the good provisions enacted by this law were not continued for a longer term.

The cause of its discontinuance was probably the low state of the island treasury, about the year 1757; for it had been drained, not only by factions in the country, and the immense charge of founding the battery at Mosquito Point, but, as it was then a time of war, and invasions were apprehended from the French, very large sums were thought necessary to be voted towards completing that battery, and putting the fortifications in general into a proper state of defence; which, together with the expences of removing the courts and records to Kingston, the dissipation caused by frequent elections, and the continuance of martial law (ever hurtful to the planting and trading interests) plunged the people and treasury so deeply in debt, that the latter has scarcely yet recovered itself. The act I have recited, although better framed than the preceding ones, was nevertheless exceptionable in many particulars; and I flatter myself the plan I have recommended, with such other matters of attention which I shall hereafter propose, will appear calculated for bringing over or settling families at much less charge, and far more advantage to the island. The purchasing of lands is an expence which consumes too much of the money devoted to the purpose of settling, and might well be spared in a country where are so many thousand acres of unemployed land,  
that

that may be come at upon easier terms. The lodging of persons newly arrived, in an expensive town, to be idle, and contract sickness, during six months previous to their being established on some settlement, cannot fail to debilitate them, and thin their numbers. When a stranger obtains his grant of land in North America, the very first business he takes in hand is the planting his orchard and garden, and sowing some corn. This is invariably done before he begins to build his habitation; because this provision requires several months to bring it to maturity; whilst it is growing up, he builds his house at leisure, and by the time it is fit to receive him, he has a good store of food ready for his family's subsistence. In Jamaica it is doubtful which of the two should be the first work, both of them being so immediately necessary. But here it should perhaps be the rule, to plant a space of ground in readiness with a variety of what is called bread-kind, cocos, yams, potatoes, &c. and corn great and small; and to build weather-tight houses, that the new settlers, instead of being lodged in the towns, or fed by commissioners on salt beef and biscuit, might enter at once into a wholesome air, and enjoy plenty of fresh meat and vegetables. The additional expence would be trifling, if to each family should be given a few hogs, sheep, or goats, and breeding poultry, to begin with. As the first twelve-month is most likely to disagree with new comers, the laborious work of building their own habitation in parts of the country where the timber is large and heavy, and the atmosphere frequently dripping, ought certainly to be taken off their hands; and the like indulgence must be allowed in regard to the first clearing of the wood, if they are settled on woodland, that has never been disturbed.

In short, in order to do well, they must be permitted, during the first year, to live as much at their ease as possible; after this, their industry will naturally be excited to open a little more woodland, and enter upon cultivation of some suitable products of the country. It will require this time, to enable them to understand their soil, to study the articles most fit for their husbandry, and accommodate themselves to their new situation in every respect.

Indulgence is certainly due to those who pass suddenly from a cold into a warm climate, where they find the whole face of nature changed, and different from what they have been used to see; sound  
policy,

policy, as well as humanity, concur in pointing out to us that we ought to lead our new guests, who are to be our brethren and auxiliaries, step by step through so great a transition. If it should be thought advisable to bring over European families, the agent for the island, or persons employed by him, might seek for them either in Great Britain or Ireland, or even in other countries; which mode would save much trouble to the gentlemen of the island, because the committee of correspondence might with propriety take the charge of directing him from time to time, pursuant to such orders and limitations as the assembly should judge necessary; and this regulation would make the appointment of special commissioners inexpedient. A suitable proportion of certain artificers should be stationed among the families; because, their settlement being distant from any large town, they may by this means be relieved from the charges, and loss of time, incurred by traveling frequently for trifling necessities. A surgeon ought also to be placed with them on a salary, to be paid by the public. In two or three years the expence might cease, because it is to be supposed, that by that time they would be able either to do without one, or to maintain him themselves. A superintendant would be necessary to reside among them, whose business it should be to attend the assembly at every annual meeting, and report to them the state and condition of the families, and their plantations; the principal road leading to and from their settlements should be made at the public expence: this indeed is the ground-work of all; for, unless this be done, the forming a remote inland settlement could tend very little, if any thing, to the public advantage; for what could be hoped for from families so circumstanced, that, so far from being able to convey their goods to market, they might be incapable of even conveying their own persons, without imminent peril to life, or at least extreme fatigue and difficulty? To expect that they themselves should open and form a road, would be unreasonable and unjust; it would be imposing upon them the arduous task of felling the woods, and clearing eight square acres for every mile's length; an operation so laborious and dilatory, as to occupy their whole time, and leave them not a moment's respite for attending to their little plantations, and domestic improvements. The very making such a road (an inconsiderable charge upon the public) would become  
a princi-



a principal means of ensuring success to the settlement; for the passage being thus rendered safe and commodious, the settlers would receive their necessary supplies with security, cheapness, and dispatch; and apply themselves to cultivate even the most bulky commodities, with a certain prospect of getting them early to the market; in short, one chief impediment that has obstructed the settlements, hitherto attempted, would be removed. The heads of families, selected for these settlements, ought not to be men of bad character, and dissolute lives, the offals of their country; but such, *whose poverty is their greatest crime*. To these should be delivered by the agent and his emissaries a printed detail of the encouragements granted; some of them, translated into French, might likewise be dispersed in proper places, as an invitation to Protestant families of that nation, most of whom are good oeconomists, hardy, and industrious.

By forming one township in each year, the expence would not be felt by the treasury; and in time, the fund might admit of building a chapel in each for the performance of divine service. The artificers most necessary for each township are, a carpenter and joiner, a mason and bricklayer, wheelwright, sawyer, blacksmith, saddler, taylor, and a shoe-maker or cobbler; an extra bounty might be given to each of these on their arrival. Every such artificer and head of a family should be furnished out of the arsenal, and magazines, with sufficient arms and ammunition; on their first arrival at the island, they should be committed to the care of the receiver general, or of his proper deputies at the out-ports, to be forwarded by them, in sloops, to the landing-place most convenient, from whence they should be conveyed with their goods to their respective township by easy journeys, and with all suitable accommodation, at the public charge. The superintendant, upon this occasion, might attend them to the place destined for their future abode. Care, no doubt, would be taken by the assembly, that every thing, respecting the clearing of the ground, planting the first stock of provisions, and building houses, should be so ordered, and conformed to the advices received from their agent, as that the families, upon their arrival, might immediately be settled; if military families could be obtained for this purpose, agreeably to my first proposition, these, by being on the spot, might be settled with least charge and inconvenience; but, if it is necessary to have

have recourse to Europe, I can devise no other means than I have delineated, for bringing over such persons only who seem qualified to make a due return for the expences bestowed upon their emigration.

The French are not less to be admired for the judicious precautions taken to secure the good government of their colonies, than for the provisions made, to have these countries replenished with people. For this end, they oblige every captain of a merchant ship, which departs from France for their West India settlements, to carry a certain number of indented servants. All vessels of sixty tons, or under, are to carry three; from sixty to an hundred tons, four; and from an hundred upwards, six such servants; who are directed to be of sound, strong bodies, between the age of eighteen and forty. Before they leave France, these servants are examined by the officers of the admiralty, to see whether they are the persons required by law. An examination to the same purpose is made by the commissary, on their landing in America; where (if approved) they are to serve three years. The planters are compelled by law to keep a certain number of white servants, in proportion to their Blacks; and the execution of this law is enforced by the commissary, who adjusts the price, and forces the planters to take the number of servants required to keep up their respective proportions. In Jamaica the planters have no assistance of this kind from government; so that, if their deficiency-law indispensably compelled them to keep a certain number of white servants, they have only two ready means of making such a provision, both of which are extremely improper; the one is, by picking up any idlers, or vagabonds, they can meet with straggling about the country; the other, by obtaining servants from the crimp's office in London, and other such purveyors at the great seaport towns, from whence none scarcely ever issued, that were not contaminated with every vice, and disease; bad as these recruits are, they have cost the planters vast sums of money, paid for their passage; which is the rather to be regretted, as the greater part of them deserved, for their iniquities, to have been transported at the expence of the British government. How different has the conduct of the two nations been in regard to peopling their West India possessions!—France, like a skilful gardener, has been careful in the choice of plants, and treated her colonies as a favourite nursery, in which none should be fixed that were

not vigorous, healthy, with all the promising appearances of thriving luxuriantly, and producing good fruit; Britain, on the contrary, treats her plantations as a distant spot, upon which she may most conveniently discharge all her nuisances, weeds, and filth, leaving it intirely to chance, whether any valuable production shall ever spring up from it. But it is not to chance that France is indebted for the present improved state of her West India settlements, in which they are acknowledged far superior to those belonging to Great Britain; she is justly entitled to plume herself upon it, as the result of her constant attention to promote their success, by every way that prudence could suggest, or the power of the nation could contribute; sparing neither useful expedients, nor money; stocking them with young, athletic, and sober, inhabitants; and attending to their progress and welfare, with a watchful eye, and unremitted diligence.

Our colonists, abandoned to their own guidance, have, it is true, performed wonders: but they would have done much greater things, under half the support which has been given to their rivals. It is a mortifying circumstance, that the French excel us in two of our oldest West India staples, sugar and indigo; that their islands are beyond comparison better peopled, and peopled with a more sober and industrious sort of men; that they are better fortified on their coasts; better garrisoned with troops; and that the expence of this protection is paid by their government; so that, their taxes being less than ours, according to some calculations, 50 or 60,000 *l.* sterling *per annum*, they can better afford to penetrate into the inmost recesses of their islands with good roads, to construct bridges, cut canals for watering their plantations, make rivers navigable, or carry on other public works of general utility. But, to desist from the invidious task of depreciating our own settlements, though I mean nothing by the comparison, but to enforce the reasonableness, and even necessity, of endeavouring to rescue them from decline; I shall only express my ardent wishes, that we may not too long disdain to mix a little of the French policy in our system of colony government. I have ventured my thoughts, and proposed a variety of resources, for accomplishing a plan, wherein every person, holding a property in this island, is particularly interested, not to speak of the nation in general. Could it be well peopled, the good effects would be marked and enjoyed,

enjoyed, by the rise of lands, and the fall of taxes; greater security would occasion the one, and such a reinforcement of contributors the other; as it augmented in opulence and strength, it would become more and more a prime object to Great Britain; its staple commodities might be improved and increased, new materials for export obtained, its commerce and importance advanced, until it should precede in value all the other dominions of his majesty in the West Indies.

## C H A P. III.

## A G R I C U L T U R E.

**T**HE sugar cane was early cultivated here by the Spaniards; they probably obtained their plants from the Brasils; their plantations served only to furnish them with sugar for their own consumption; for it does not appear that they exported any. The Nevis planters, who came hither with General Brayne, entered more largely upon this article; and, after their example, Colonel Barrington and other officers of the army formed some few sugar plantations; but so unskilful were they in the manufacture of it, that what they made was of very bad quality, black, and of no grain; upon Sir Thomas Modiford's appointment to the government, in 1664, he instructed the inhabitants in the art of management, as then practised at Barbadoes; and from this period their produce grew into esteem at the British market. The present state of agriculture in this island far transcends what it was fifty years ago, but it still labours under many imperfections. A spirit of experiment has of late appeared, which, by quitting the old beaten track, promises to strike out continual improvements; larger salaries being now given to the overseers or managers, they are in general men of much better ability than formerly were employed. The inhabitants for a long time thought that Barbadoes was the only nursery for good planters, and managers were obtained from thence with great eagerness; but, on arriving in Jamaica, these persons found themselves greatly at a loss: this is to be ascribed to the diversity of soil and seasons in Jamaica; so that one

uniform system of planting will not suit every part of it. The Barbadians are excellent managers for dry, worn-out lands, on the south-side, where the seasons are tolerably regular; but, to find a manager who can undertake any soil, in any parish of the island, we must not go out of the island; since none are so capable of it, as those who have been a long time in service here; and who, by having charge of a number of estates, differently situated, have gained that knowledge from habitual observation and experience, that is not to be acquired by any other means, as we are not possessed of any treatises upon this subject, adapted to the island. In the year 1767 a plan was formed here, for establishing a patriotic society, for improving the productions and commerce of the island, and extending the cultivation of its lands.

This was far from being a chimerical project. We have seen the good effects arising from societies united for similar purposes, in England, Ireland, Scotland, and North America; to say nothing of France, and other foreign states. The ingenious treatise on agriculture, published by Mr. Tull, struck out new lights, and shewed the propriety of grounding this science upon actual experiment. But the institution of societies threw open at once an easy channel of communication, to the gentleman and the farmer; by which the harvests of knowledge they had severally gleaned, might be collected into one common stock, and distributed to the public. The generous principles, to which these societies owed their birth, very soon excited the attention of men of erudition; and to them, the public became indebted for many dissertations which have since appeared in print, by which means the art has been greatly extended, and brought to a degree of perfection in England, which probably it never would have attained without such assistance. Mr. Home's useful little tract upon soils, founded chiefly upon chemical experiments, may serve to shew the necessity of rescuing this art from the barbarous reveries of ignorant clowns, and the shackles of antiquated prejudices; it may also prove how much this pursuit stands in need of the aid of natural philosophy, chemistry, and some other branches of polite science, to bring it still nearer towards perfection. It is true, we are not to expect that this little island will ever become the seat of philosophy; nevertheless, I may fairly affirm, there are many gentlemen in it,  
sufficiently

sufficiently qualified for making advances in the science of planting. The rapid progress which the French are making in the neighbouring islands should stimulate us on to push our enquiries and improvements so far as to win the race from them in the competition ; that, by dint of superior skill, we may be able to manufacture our produce, of at least equal good quality, with less expence, and to vend it at greater profit than they are able. This we cannot hope to bring to pass by greater natural fertility of soil, since in this particular they are said to excel us ; but, if we can find out the way to make better use of what we have than we seem to do at present, there is reason for hoping they may not long have cause to boast of their advantages over us. The establishment of a society upon this plan necessarily calls upon those gentlemen who are lovers of their country (or, to say the truth, rather lovers of their own interest), to impart with freedom such remarks as they have already formed, as well as to apply their minds to fresh disquisitions: it is in the power of most men to contribute somewhat towards the common fund of useful knowledge ; and it is certainly a duty which every man owes to the country in which he lives, to put his hand to the plough for the general good, for no man lives for himself alone ; nor should any one suffer partial views, vulgar prejudice, or the ridicule that may spring from weak minds, to divert him from that benevolent attachment to the public welfare, even in the minutest applications, which characterises the true patriot, and friend to mankind. To persevere in errors, because our forefathers did so, is the sure mark of a narrow or indolent soul ; not to endeavour to correct them, is equally reprehensible. The opening a liberal communication of remarks and opinions, and selecting such as are distinguished for their seeming rectitude, is a sure method, whereby we may be freed from those restraints which our ancestors imposed, and to which we may have yielded implicitly under the sanction of custom, and long usage. From such we might hope to be relieved by a society duly encouraged and supported ; for one of its principal objects being, as I conceive, to extract such parts of the several tracts or communications, transmitted to the society from persons living in different districts of the island, as might be thought worthy of publication, the particulars might be digested under proper heads, so as to form by degrees a complete system or body of agriculture adapted to this cli-

mate and island. This could not fail of proving in the end of infinite use to the inhabitants, and of contributing greatly to the improvement of the land already under cultivation, as well as excite the industrious to engage in new settlements. By reforming erroneous notions, founded in ignorance, and treasuring up that experimental knowledge, which would otherwise have been lost to the community, the art of planting would no longer remain a mystery; but every land-holder in the island would be more certainly informed of the true value of his possessions, and of the means by which they might be still more highly improved. Such of the planters who are married, and have children, have generally sent their sons to be educated in Great Britain; these youths, at their return to the island, perceiving themselves totally ignorant in regard to the management of property here, and finding nothing to engage and fix their minds, are soon disposed to quit the country; or rely wholly on the skill of their overseer, whose knowledge, confined and narrow as it may be, they seem to think far beyond what they themselves could ever hope to arrive at, without submitting to the laborious drudgery of acquiring it, by a regular apprenticeship in the field. Whereas if they could but be sufficiently informed by the experience and observation of others, compiled and published, their curiosity would be awakened; interest and ambition would equally conspire to lead them into further attempts towards improving their estates; and, as scarcely any study is more amusing than that of agriculture, the ruggedness of which is constantly smoothed by the allurements of profit, what progress might we not expect towards a more perfect system of husbandry, if they whose minds have been enlightened by a liberal education should employ their talents in reducing theory to practice, and amassing a stock of experimental knowledge, which is so desirable in itself, and is so obviously conducive to enrich its followers? I make no doubt, but that if all the skill in planting, which has been unprofitably dispersed for so many years past in different hands throughout this island, had been regularly compiled, and digested, we should at this time have found the colony in a far more flourishing way than it is. But, whatever knowledge of this sort has been collected by different persons, either from observation or experience, their own or other mens good or ill success in management, it has died with the proprietors; and

and as the overseers are mostly Europeans, and not very many of them fully qualified to judge when they are acting right, or when wrong, so they seem in general extremely embarrassed at their first setting out; copying merely from their neighbours, who may happen to know little more of the business than themselves; and obliged to follow the employment several years, before they can attain a sufficient degree of general information. A further disadvantage they labour under is, by reason of the great variety of soils, and diversity of climate, observable in this island, which make one certain rule of management, that has been successful in one part, utterly improper, and extremely detrimental in another; add to this, that they seldom stay long in one place, but shift here and there to the culture of different soils, and under very unequal seasons; so that it requires many years of practice, to give them opportunity of perfecting their skill, and acquiring any thing like a thorough-paced knowledge of their business. Hence it happens, that the estates in general have been so indifferently conducted; it being the chief employment of a new overseer, for two or three years next after his appointment, to endeavour at reforming the mistakes of his predecessors, by introducing his own crude notions in their room; often without ability to perform what he has engaged, he is discarded or voluntarily withdraws himself to make way for another, and another still, who can do no more than substitute new and undigested plans, without understanding what the issue will be, and without much adverting to the welfare of his employer; for whom it is happy, if, under so many repugnant measures, and conflicting ministers, he does not find himself at length reduced to the very brink of ruin, by knavery, ignorance, or obstinacy.

If we take a view of many estates, some of which have long been settled, we shall in general discover vast room for improvement; and at the same time find, that few among them have made much progress for twenty years past, except in expensive and magnificent works, which serve to exhibit the skill of carpenters and masons, whilst the land appears to owe so little to skilful culture, that several acres are thrown up, for want of being properly manured. One mode of management is too indiscriminately applied to every species of soil, and fifty acres are frequently overspread with canes ill planted, or land

unmanured,



unmanured, which do not produce so much sugar as might be gained from a third part of the same land, judiciously husbanded. A free communication of what different men have observed and experienced, would therefore help greatly to rectify mistaken opinions and practices, and to render both the overseers and their employers more intelligent, and better qualified to execute with propriety and success the schemes they might undertake. It is needless indeed to insist upon the various happy consequences likely to ensue from a society instituted for these purposes, and persevering stedfastly in their plan; but whether we can expect to meet with this persevering spirit in Jamaica, is somewhat questionable; since the first attempt of the kind here, which, for some little time, was well supported, and founded on exceeding good regulations, came to nothing, by the emigration from the island of several gentlemen, who had principally concerned themselves in setting it on foot; however, it would not be unworthy the consideration of the assembly, to form a committee purposely for agriculture; and if it was made a standing committee, like that of privileges and elections, of grievances, and the like, the main intention might be preserved, and the endeavours of private men be animated by the premiums, or other fit encouragements, which the house might judge proper to offer. It is foreign to my design, to enter minutely into the methods of planting the cane, as in general practised in this island; nor am I sufficiently informed of the state of agriculture in the French, and other islands, so as to point out in what particulars the Jamaica planters differ essentially from them. In some of the smaller islands, where the estates are much circumscribed, it is reasonable to think, that their land is vastly higher manured, and every part in more perfect cultivation, than in our island. A person, who has not so much land as he is able to cultivate, will necessarily, to make the most of it, exhibit a display of more industry, œconomy, and neatness, than another, whose extensive tract engages him in so wide a field of operation, that, whilst he is anxious to leave no part unoccupied, he has neither time nor labourers sufficient to perfect any thing. This is a capital error among almost all the overseers in Jamaica. They consider the number of acres they can annually overspread with plants, as the surest test of their ability, without reflecting, that extraordinary pains, bestowed on half the quantity, would yield  
an

an equal crop. Others wear out their land by incessant cultivation, and a neglect of recruiting it with seasonable supplies of mould, or other dressing; and, after throwing it up, pass on to a new piece, which is destined to be worked to the bone in the same manner; and very few of them understand the method of preparing suitable composts for their land [a]. The oldest estates in general are the best conducted; for the sterility of the soil compels their manager to apply his thoughts chiefly to the remedying this defect, by regular manuring; for this purpose, the cattle and mules are constantly brought into a penn, or inclosure, at night, where their dung is preserved; and this, together with what can be collected from the hogstye, sheepfold, and stable, and the wood-ashes drawn out of the boiling and still-houses, furnish the most considerable share of his annual supply. The estates which have wind or water-mills draw a further resource, in this respect, by feeding their cattle, during the crop, out upon the lands which are in most need of recruit; they are conveniently shifted from one spot to another, by the help of moveable pennis; and this appears to be one of the best expedients in use; large quantities of good mould are thrown from time to time into the penn; which, being trod down by the cattle, and mixed with trash and litter, absorbs their urine, and preserves the finer vegetative particles from evaporation. In many places on the North side the soil is so rich, the rains so copious and frequent, as to require rather to be impoverished, than dunged; and I am persuaded, that these lands would yield more sugar, and better in quality, if they could be dressed with sea sand [b]: the syrup here is so viscid, that it often will not boil into sugar; but these estates produce an extraordinary quantity of rum. The South

[a] Some Jamaica planters express great astonishment, when they hear of land in the Windward Islands turning out at an average three hogheads *per* acre, even in some of those which have been longest settled, and most worked; not considering, that this fertility is owing chiefly to constant high manuring. In St. Kitt's, for example, where no rattoons are productive, the crop is every year made from plants; and I have been assured by a gentleman of that island, that they lay from 60 to 70 or 80 lb. of dung in every hole; their land consequently receives more manure in one year, than in Jamaica is commonly given in three.

[b] What is meant here is the shelly sand, of which there is vast abundance on every part of the coast.—The farmers in the West of England throw a similar kind of sand upon their grounds at a considerable distance from the sea. It is brought thither on horses, for want of convenient wheel roads. Each horse carries about a bushel and half, or about 12 gallons; and from two to three-hundreds of such loads are laid on *per* acre, according to the shortness or distance of carriage.

side lands, on the contrary, produce a less proportion of rum, to a larger quantity of sugar; and in general I have remarked, that the estates which afford the least proportion of rum, yield a sugar of the finest quality and complexion. On the North side, for the most part, their husbandry is irregular, as a dry or a wet year makes a very remarkable difference in the yielding of their canes; but, in general, their plants (or canes of the first growth) do not yield more than from one hoghead to one and a half *per acre*; but their ratoon canes yield as much as the plants, and sometimes more; and I have known them stand fourteen successive annual cuttings. This is thought by some rather a favourable circumstance; but the soil in which they grow is extremely stiff, and difficult to turn up; and in fact it stands in need of frequent tillage, to break the cohesion, and render it lighter.

On the South side the canes fall off after the first cutting, and therefore they are obliged to plant anew every year. Some persons divide their cane land into two parts, one of which they plant annually, and so cut none other but plants for their crop; but unless very large quantities of manure are bestowed at the same time, this method is thought to exhaust the land too fast; the more universal practice, is to divide the land into thirds, and sometimes fourths. Of these, one part is in plants, one in first ratoons, one in second ratoons, and sometimes a fourth division in fallow, and the yielding is in general, of plants from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hhd, to 2 and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per acre. Some particular spots produce 3 and even 4, but I do not remember any beyond this. First ratoons 1 to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  hhd, second ditto  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 hhd. The practice of fallowing the cane land, or laying it into temporary pasture, seldom turns to any account in this climate; for it soon becomes so foul with weeds and grass, as greatly to encrease the labour of hoeing it afterwards: but this land might receive great benefit, if, after being laid into fallow, it was to be well turned up thrice at least in the year, to imbibe thoroughly the nutritious particles of the dews and rains. The common estimate of rum is 40 puncheons to every 100 hhds. of sugar, but those estates produce sugar of the best quality, whose proportion is 30 to 100: on many of the North side properties, they count upon 50 and 60 to every 100, and sometimes exceed this proportion. If a method could be discovered, either by a chemical preparation, or otherwise,

otherwise, of making the cane syrup quickly granulate, and of disgaging the salts of the sugar speedily from the syrup or melasses, it would be a most valuable acquisition to the husbandry of this island, and in particular of the North side; the means in common use, are lime and lime-water; but these do not succeed when the canes are extremely rank and succulent: it is to be wished that some able chemist may apply his thoughts to discover a cheap ingredient, or lixivium, which, by separating that principle, whether it be oil, acid, or something else that by its overcharge keeps the syrup in a fluid state, should enable the salts to crystallize. The stalk of the *arum* or *dumb-cane*, sliced and thrown into the boiling liquor, has sometimes been used for this purpose; but not with any good effect, that I could observe: experiments might be tried with pearl-ashes, trumpet-tree-ashes, or other vegetable alkalies.

In the management of a sugar estate, a constant attention to a few general rules, may be productive of the greatest success.

1st, The preparation of the ground. Hoe-ploughing it three or four times, crossing or changing the direction of the furrows at every successive ploughing, whereby the surface might be well turned up and levigated, would be almost equal to manuring; and when the land is prepared in this manner, a much smaller quantity of manure is required to keep it in heart.

2d, This should invariably be practised on fallows; it prevents the surface from cohering too firmly, destroys weeds, renders the soil light, and better adapted to receive the roots of the cane, whose fibres are small and delicate, and require a liberty of extending themselves on all sides with ease, to imbibe due nourishment; and it enriches the earth by the common advantages of dews, rain, and air.

3d, The choice of manures. The richest this island affords is the shell-marle; but this is scarce, and seldom met with, except in the mountains, or near the sea-coast. This, when it can be procured, is an admirable manure for all stiff and clayey soils. Pit, or very fine river, sand, first well mixed up with rotten dung, hog, or poultry dung, is an excellent manure for cold clays; but where a plentiful dressing is required for them, the shelly sea-sand, of the finest grain, is preferable, and should be laid on at the rate of 8 or 10 ton to the acre, and then well intermixed with the soil by hoe-ploughing. Clay (up-

on the same principles) is an excellent manure for sandy, barren soils; lime is also recommended strongly for the same soils. Dung has little or no effect upon such poor soils. The good effects of dung are ascribed to its fermentative power, by which it expands, lifts up, divides, and loosens the earth, and at the same time communicates a degree of warmth to it; for this reason, it should seem, that the proper time for laying dung upon land, is before it has lost its fermentative power; this power may be destroyed by exsiccation; and this is a case which frequently happens in this country, where the dung is spread thin, and too long exposed to the sun's heat. Horse dung is best adapted to cold lands, and cattle dung to hot. The mud of ponds, those especially which receive the dunder and scæculencies discharged from a still-house, are rich manures. A variety of these, mingled together, would make a compost proper for the lands in general; but their virtue would be very greatly encreased by mixing layers of good mould alternately with them; and when cattle are penned out in the field, a quantity of mould should always be laid among the litter. If the land intended to be planted is twice hoe-ploughed, the manure should be brought upon it in small heaps just before the first ploughing, and ploughed in as soon as spread, that the soil may be impregnated with the whole of its virtue, and the produce will then be astonishing. The brick and black moulds require no manure.

4th, The cutting of proper furrows or drains, for carrying away superfluous water, which, if retained upon the land, might greatly prejudice young plants. In making them, care must be taken to form such traverses, as that they may not serve to conduct away too much of the soil together with the water: to prevent this, they should be very little inclined from a level, so that there may be no rapidity in the current.

5th, The choice of cuttings for planting; which should be chosen always from perfectly sound, succulent, and healthy canes. It deserves experiment whether soaking the junks or cuttings 48 hours in a liquor collected from the runnings, or bottom of dung-heaps, with some lime dissolved in it, might not improve their vegetation, and answer in some measure the purpose of manuring the land.

6th, The canes should be planted not less than 6, nor more in general than 8 inches, below the surface; as the fine mould, in which their  
fibres.

fibres are to shoot, lies at the surface; some respect however must be had to the quality of the land, and part of the country. In wet, stiff soils they should be planted very shallow; in poorer soils, and places subject to dry weather, they ought never to be laid at less depth than I have last mentioned; and in such situations the banks on hoed land cannot be taken down too soon; for if the season should prove unusually dry and scorching, they will be found very detrimental to the young plants.

7th, The rows should be at such a distance from one another, as to allow the air a free passage between them, and admit of hoeing around the roots, and occasionally moulding them up; about two feet is the space commonly allowed, and sometimes more, where the ground is most impoverished.

8th, Stripping the canes of their dead leaves, or trash, is useful in wet situations, or where they stand too thick; but injurious in hot and dry exposures.

9th, The principal point in the manufacture, is *cleanliness*, a circumstance too much neglected in Jamaica. This extends to the cane liquor, which should be brought into the coppers as free from dirt and trash as possible; to the syrup, which should be skimmed and passed through coarse woollen strainers till freed entirely from little particles of dirt; to the boilers, which ought to be constantly well scoured, and cleansed from their rust.

10th, As to the article of rum. The first great rule is, what I have just mentioned, viz. *cleanliness*, particularly in regard to the stills.

11th, The next is, an attention to keep the cisterns in a due state of fermentation; and this might be effected to a degree of great accuracy, by regulating the warmth of the house, by a thermometer placed in it.

12th, The last thing required is, a proper regulation of the fire under the stills, and a watchful eye to the runnings, that none may be drawn but what are perfectly clear, limpid, and unclouded with that empyreumatic oil, which imparts a most disagreeable flavour to the spirit, and which is generally brought over, by keeping up too fierce a fire, and draining too low. These may serve as general heads only of what seem principally to claim the planter's attention, towards

towards perfecting the manufacture of these two capital commodities; not but there is a vast variety of other particulars, which deserve his care; but they are too multifarious for the compass of my work, in which I mean not to introduce so voluminous a business as the system of planting and manufacturing the cane; my principal view being merely to offer such hints, as may tend to put my brethren on a course of improvement. With this view, I cannot conclude the subject without pointing out a few other experiments towards a more perfect husbandry.

The natural situation of hills and declivities, if it does not make them incapable of producing any thing, subjects the earth upon them to be swept away in wet seasons, and in dry ones exposes them too much to the heat and drought. To prevent these inconveniencies, the Chinese endeavour to reduce their hills into plains, or at least to make them similar to plains, by terraces, whose height and breadth are adapted to the declivity. These terraces they employ for several sorts of plants; and to each they give such a situation as best corresponds with its nature. Those which can bear the greatest dryness are disposed at the top; the more tender ones at the bottom. When the rain has softened the soil in the upper terraces, the water is conveyed by canals into the lower ones; which therefore, besides the rain which falls upon them, receive likewise the superfluous water of the upper ones. The terraces, which are sometimes four or five feet above one another, acquire such hard solid banks, by rain and sunshine, that they would stand for many years. However, they plant them with several trees, whose roots, twisting together, keep up the borders, and the trees themselves shelter the plants from wind and sunshine, and serve as a decoration. The declivity of some of these mountains amounts to forty degrees; but they are divided into several of these terraces, on which are planted Spanish potatoes, yams, cotton, sugar canes, and many other plants, according to the time of the year and quality of the soil. When it rains, the rain water is preserved, and conveyed from one story to another: if it rains too much, a ditch is opened, through which the water may run away freely. When the soil of the terraces is dug up with a little plough or spade, and smoothed with a little rake, they at the same time put so much dung as the plants require; yet in this case they

are very sparing. The dung is generally soaked in water, in round cisterns sunk in the ground; and the seeds are moistened with this filthy water. Sometimes, when they plant or sow, they lay a handful of wood ashes, or other vegetable, on each grain; because, in their opinion, the dung which lies between the plants does no good. The beds that are made on the terraces scarce lie still one month; but, soon after the ripening of one plant, are prepared to produce another; and are annually employed three times.

They sow the cotton seeds in April, a foot asunder; in August the pods open and shew the cotton, they are then broken off, the seed separated from the cotton, and preserved for the next year. The cotton crop being over, they plant potatoe slips in the same beds, about a foot and a half asunder. Sometimes they supply the place of cotton with lentils, beans, and calavances; but in all these operations, they never sow a single seed, that has not for a day or two been soaked in the water of a dunghill, or in lime water. They plant their yams in swampy, wet places, which are unfit for other use; the longer the roots remain in the ground, the larger they grow; these are generally taken up in November. They cut the roots of the sugar cane into pieces, each of which has a shoot or two; and plant them more than half a foot deep in the ground, leaving two feet space between every two rows; these are planted indifferently on the highest or lowest terraces, for they observe them to flourish there equally well in shade or sunshine, wet or dry, heat or cold. They cut them as soon as they begin to grow yellow, being of opinion that, when left to stand longer, they become mouldy at the root. There are many of the hilly parts in Jamaica, where the Chinese method of forming terraces might, I think, be introduced with considerable advantage; it cannot be denied, that the manner, in which these declivities are now cultivated, occasions a great waste of their best mould, which is washed away by rains, before the canes are grown sufficiently to cover and protect their surface; besides, the canes have frequently so little hold, that they are very apt to be lodged many months before they are fit to cut, and such slopes are not only ill disposed to retain any manure laid upon them, but are soon worn bare and sterile; the Chinese method therefore, by reducing the cultivated parts of them to a level, brings them to be as fertile and commodi-

ous.



ous almost as plains, and secures them against most of the inconveniences and disasters to which they must otherwise be continually liable. Their practice of watering their plantations in dry weather, is equally deserving imitation; a great many estates in Jamaica are happily circumstanced to seize the advantages, given them by nature, of conducting channels from springs or rivers, which here in general take their rise at a proper elevation to be easily conveyed, and with a sufficient current. The French have long followed this practice at Hispaniola, and their finest estates owe their importance to it. It is indeed already begun in Jamaica; and it is to be hoped, that the astonishingly great effects with which it has already been attended, under a prudent and judicious direction, by one or two gentlemen, may tempt others to embrace the experiment; from which they may expect a large augmentation of their annual produce, especially on the South side, where there are several very fine rivers, which might be taken up, and the water employed to very capital purposes in this way.

The high price and value of Negroes, with other considerations, should move the planters to try every expedient by machines, or otherwise, for performing that labour which is usually performed by Negroes. Supposing, for example, that a plough could do the same quantity of work in a given time, that one hundred Negroes could do in the same time, here is the strongest reason possible for introducing its use, upon all practicable land, in preference to the employment of Negroes for that work; because no other work on a plantation is so severe and so detrimental to them as that of holing, or turning up the ground in trenches with their hoes. A plough may very well be followed in Jamaica (supposing the weather fair, which it generally is morning and evening) from six to ten o'clock, in the morning, and from four to six in the afternoon, by a white person; this allows six hours work, which, if not equal to a day of Negro labour (eight or nine hours), the employing two ploughs would be greatly beyond it. But, as the plough has been tried in Jamaica, and found to answer, there is no occasion to make use of speculative arguments for recommending it, since more service may be done by producing those remarks, which were the result of its trial.

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Some pieces were ploughed at an estate in the parish of Clarendon, and left to lie in this manner for some time, before they were holed by the Negroes; by which means they found it uncommonly easy to work: before the ploughing, it was spread over with manure, and the canes planted upon it turned out near 3 hogsheads *per* acre of fine sugar, which was one hoghead more than it had been used to yield from the common method of culture. A plant was afterwards made with great dispatch, in the furrow following the plough; care was taken not to cut the land too deep, and to leave the ridges not too wide; by which precautions there was no danger of the canes rotting, as the water could not lie long enough to do them any hurt, whilst the trenches or drains were kept open and well cleared. The ridges were cast about twelve feet wide; but some ground may require cross trenches, especially little flants, either having a hollow in the middle, or terminating in one; many pieces, of what is called level ground, have these depressions; where, for want of cross cuts, the water is forced to lodge, being surrounded on all sides with higher ground, over which it can have no natural current to discharge itself. It was found that one plough turned up as much ground in one day, and in a much better manner, than 100 Negroes could perform with their hoes in the same time. Other benefits, arising from the use of it, are, that it makes the bottom of the furrows even, so that the rain water (so serviceable to the growth of plants when dispersed in the earth, and so injurious to them when it stagnates about their roots) never lodges, but, either soaks in, or runs clear and gradually off; whereas the ground dug with hoes retains the water some time, which checks the growth of the canes, makes them short jointed, and in consequence less yielding; nor do they bear the dry weather so well. The plough is of signal use in stiff or heavy clay land; this kind of soil is most frequent in the midland parts, and North side of the island, the turning up of which with hoes is a most laborious dilatory task, and has injured multitudes of Negroes; for they can scarcely get through it, except in very favourable open weather, which does not always happen at the holing season. In planting in the furrow following the plough, Negroe children will serve as well as grown Negroes: the canes used for this purpose may be cut short, three or four eyes in each junk, and one row laid in each furrow; thus, with

the greatest expedition, a furrow will no sooner be cut than planted, and the whole covered in at the next return of the plough: after the planting is finished, the able Negroes may be employed to cover the ridges well, raising them highest towards the middle; to take the loose earth out of the trenches, and cut cross drains, wherever necessary; all which work will be rather an amusement than a task to them, after the surface has been so thoroughly broke and opened. They who would rather incline to hole their land for planting, will find their advantage in first turning it up with the plough, as the Negroes will then be able to finish their work in half the time. In this case, the land need not be cut so deep as when it is intended to plant in the furrow; in either case, one or two ploughings at most will be sufficient, unless the land is extremely foul. When the plant is made in the furrow following the plough, I think it is demonstrable, that more ground can be turned up and planted in this way in one day, than can be holed and planted in the usual way in three, and with a tenth less number of able Negroes; for as the young boys and girls, or what are commonly called the grass-gang, may, with the slightest instruction, cut and lay the junks in the furrow, and with a quick dispatch, a very few of the abler Negroes will serve to cut and supply them with the cane plants; the remainder of the able field hands might therefore be occupied about other necessary work, of which there is always sufficient on a large plantation. Some may object, that the plough will not leave a due space between the canes; but this is a mistaken opinion; for a single line of plants in every furrow will not shoot up too thick; the ground will be all over smooth and even, and the wind have a free course from whatever quarter it may blow; besides that, the many trenches will contribute to an open ventilation; whereas, in the ordinary method of planting with the hoe, and leaving too high banks, the canes, especially when young, are deprived of a very necessary refreshment. In hot dry weather they are scorched and blighted, by the reflection of the sunbeams, which is very great from the high mounds on each side of them; and in time of heavy rains, they are buried in a kind of wet ditch, which cannot fail of retarding their vegetation, by chilling the stool, or root. With the plough rightly managed, that disagreeable operation of supplying canes, is in a great measure prevented; for if  
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the season prove wet, the canes are safe from being chilled by water; and if dry, their stools, having been well covered in, are at a sufficient depth beneath the surface to retain their moisture for a long time. In ploughed ground, it was observed that the plants came up much stronger than in the hoed land; this may be accounted for, not only by the more effectual loosening, and shaking off the soil, but the giving a free vent to all noxious water; for although canes, as well as other vegetables, cannot be nourished without water, yet too much of it, and especially when it lodges in puddles about their roots, is greatly prejudicial, and every year destroys a great many acres of canes in Jamaica.

It is not easy to calculate the work of a plough in Jamaica, on account of the great variety of soil; but, supposing the land moderate, or at a medium between the very stiff and very light, a plough will work, at an average of six hours a day, at the depth of 6 inches, 24 acres *per* week, which in six weeks amounts to 144 acres; these, if the land is not very bad, will turn out, at a very moderate reckoning, 2 hhds. an acre, in all 288 hhds.; and supposing the ratoon of the preceding year, on an equal quantity of land, to give, at 1 hhd. *per* acre, 144 hhds. the whole crop will be 332 hhds; it is pretty evident, then, that a very short time will be sufficient to put in plants for 100 hhds.; and, from what has been mentioned, it is morally certain, that the plough in one week, at six hours in the day, is capable of performing what would require the labour of six hundred Negroes, employed during the same space, eight hours in the day. This machine therefore not only saves the labour of a great many Negroes, but enables the planter to cultivate more ground every year, by many acres, than he could otherwise compass; and the canes, so planted, yield more sugar, and of superior quality. Stronger inducements, I think, there cannot be, for them to break through the force of prejudice and custom, and bring this method of culture into use, wherever their land is not so steep as to render it impracticable; and, where the plough cannot be used, I would earnestly recommend the Chinese practice of forming terraces, in which, I am well persuaded, they would find their account. The planter, who is disposed to try the experiment, should send to Great Britain for a middle-aged husbandman, and a boy to follow the plough, and give directions to

have it made light, and adapted to be drawn by oxen; the Negroes, no doubt, would very chearfully apply themselves to learn the art of handling and guiding it, upon being informed of its principal use, “the saving them a great deal of hard labour,” and by continued practice they might become thoroughly expert in the management of it [c]. The utility of the plough, in respect to cane land in general, I am well convinced of by experience; but there is likewise very good reason to believe, that it may be applied with great advantage upon our pasture grounds, particularly the savannahs. These, having been much impoverished by antient cultivation, require breaking up afresh. It is worth the trial, to plough up a piece of this land, and spread it well over with unslaked lime, which may be left to dissolve gradually; this dressing might be laid on a little before the setting-in of the May or October rains. The first thing to be attended to, in using the plough upon such lands, is, the depth of good soil at top; which enquiry will direct the manner of furrowing, whether deep, or shallow. Much of the savannah land has only a few inches of good mould, lying on a stratum of fine sand, or coarse grit; this should be cut only superficially, or otherwise a much worse soil may be introduced upon the surface, than what is turned in. But the soil of many large tracts of this land is a strong clay, which will grow prolific the more it is well turned up, and trenched. We may be assured, that the plough cannot fail of being highly serviceable here, if we reflect, how well the Guiney grass flourishes in such soils, which is owing to their being holed very deep, and the ground about them kept afterwards constantly clean. Under this mode of culture, there are very fine crops of grass, without the least manure bestowed upon them.

In the neighbourhood of Spanish Town there is a vast quantity of this kind of soil, and much of it yet unappropriated to any cultivation. Great plenty of excellent manure might be had, by removing

[c] Two or three gentlemen of the island, I am informed, have lately made use of the plough, and with great success. One of these gentlemen fallows his ground with turnips, agreeably to the modern British husbandry. The good effects of this experiment, it is said, are confirmed by the produce of his land under this mode of tillage, which is nearly double what it was before. It is to be hoped, that such laudable examples, attended with such happy fruits, may excite others to the trial.

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the dung-heaps, which obstruct the West entrance of that town; but I have not heard that the neighbouring grafiars, or penn-keepers, apply it to their lands; or if they do, it is in a way unlikely to produce any benefit; for it ought not to be strewed here, and left on the surface, as in England; the sun speedily exhales its best qualities, and leaves only a dry *calx*, of no vegetative virtue, behind; it ought to be no sooner laid over the surface, than ploughed in, and buried; by which method it would gradually blend with the natural soil, and give it a certain durable improvement. The richness of some of the savannah lands, which have been many years inclosed, in the neighbourhood of Spanish Town, and commonly distinguished by the name of the *Saltpan* lands, is really astonishing. Their natural grass, under moderate seasons of rain, is constantly luxuriant, with the aid of manure. Those which are alternately in pasture and meadow yield a large quantity of excellent hay, commonly about two tons *per* acre; and, as there are two crops in the year, the annual produce is four tons. I doubt not but they might be rendered still more prolific under regular dressing; care however is taken either to hand-weed or hoe them clean; which is a considerable advantage. Since the severe drought in 1769 and 1770, many persons, who had suffered heavy losses in the lowlands, for want of fodder to keep their stock alive, make annual hay-ricks with the Guiney grass; and it is found, that by sprinkling salt, or salt-water, on the strata of this hay, whilst the rick is in making, it becomes an exceeding hearty food.

The mountain running grass, or four grass, which is very common in the midland mountains, and the lowlands, is rejected by all sorts of cattle, while green; but when it is cut, dried, and cured after the manner before-mentioned, it makes a good hay, and agrees perfectly well with labouring cattle; I have even observed them to be fond of the common savannah, or wire grass, when thoroughly dried in the sun. The tops and blades of the maize and Guiney corn, which are very nutritive, may likewise be preserved a long time in stacks or ricks for use. The settlers therefore in these parts must be wanting in industry, if, among such a choice of grasses, and other vegetable food, they do not every year provide ricks sufficient to keep their cattle from starving in the event of extreme dry weather. A drowth so long continued, as to deprive them entirely of every species

cies of green fodder is unusual : and for this reason perhaps it is, that they are too negligent of these precautions ; which, however, constitute no mean branch of the oeconomy of husbandry ; and when a series of dry weather happens, they vainly condemn themselves for having been improvident. But even in the most plentiful years their labour would certainly not be thrown away ; for there is no doubt but their working, or road cattle, if kept during the crop upon this hay, or dry fodder, or at least a mixture of it, would go through their toils in much better condition and strength to the end, than with a green crude aliment, which, by causing a severe flux, very often weakens and disables them, before the crop is half finished. The fine lands bordering on the Bridge River are all well situated for canes, as advantage might be taken from this stream to water them in the dryest weather ; and here the plough might be used with the greatest facility, the ground being almost level ; the circumstance of their proximity to a harbour is an additional reason for throwing them into culture, which would doubtless turn to better account than pasturage. The superiority of the French in the extension of their settlements, is reported to have arisen from the greater fertility of their land, particularly at Hispaniola, where, the rivers taking their source far inland, and passing through very fair plains, the French have been able to water their cane pieces in the dryest seasons ; and thus had, as it were, the command of seasons in their own hands. There are many tracts of what is called savannah land in Jamaica, which require only moisture to make them become equal in produce to the most fertile lands in any part of the West Indies ; such are the famous indigo lands in Vere and Withywood, which even now, with very uncertain rains, are so productive, and yield sugar of so excellent a quality, that the planters there are very well satisfied with their profits, if they lose one crop in three years. A number of these proprietors joining in the expence, might derive some assistance from the Rio Minho ; but they are intimidated by the sinking of this river very far up in its course. It is nevertheless a matter worth their examination, whether the constructing a solid dam of hard timber or masonry, or both, to the depth of fifteen or twenty feet, to stretch across the course where the breadth is not too great, might not intercept the subterraneous stream which now percolates away, and form a head of water, from whence detached

tached channels might be drawn off, to be distributed among the different estates bordering lower down upon its banks. The experiment might first be tried, by digging in the bed till the water appeared, which would be a direction for the depth to which the dam should be carried. One successful attempt of this nature would have more force of persuasion to recommend it, than all the arguments a writer can make use of; operations of this sort appear unfortunately enveloped with horrid difficulties to all those (and they are the greater part of mankind) who chuse to take nature as they find her, and are so accustomed to follow a beaten track, that they tremble to leave it, for almost any consideration; the risque seems great, the advantage uncertain; it requires perhaps a mind particularly framed, to weigh impartially the whole business of any projected improvement, and penetrate at once into the practicability of effecting it; to compare the expence of accomplishing it, with the benefit it is designed to procure; and lastly, when resolved, to persevere with unabated steadiness. Such minds set out with a disposition to conquer difficulties, not to create them; are prepared to encounter any that may happen to start up, and are therefore generally successful. Experiments in agriculture are to be made with less hazard, as the planter may set apart a small piece of land for the purpose of trying them, whether as to the manuring of the soil, the method of planting by the plough, or the superior advantage of close or wider rows; by such trials he might practically be able to decide in favour of or against any projected improvement, without sustaining any material loss.

The value of cane land, in Jamaica, is extremely unequal; I have known the price fluctuating from 2 *l.* to 100 *l.* *per* acre; and it is difficult to fix a medium, because of the variety of soils, and situation; the necessities of the buyer, and the interested views of the seller. In general, no difference is made in the price of cane land on the same estate; although, the several parts of it being distinctly examined, some pieces must undoubtedly appear far more yielding, and valuable, than others, they are generally considered in the lump, and rated equally: nor is any consideration had to the neighbourhood of the sea coast, or remoteness from it; for the greater certainty of regular seasons in the inland parts, is supposed to compensate for the superior advantages of situation enjoyed by a maritime



time estate ; yet, where the seasons are tolerably regular, the estates near the coast have several conveniences ; by the evenness in general of their land, which faithfully retains and preserves the manure deposited upon it ; the dispatch, and small expence of getting their produce to market ; the cheap carriage of the supplies they receive, and the small number of cattle they have occasion to purchase and maintain : on the other hand, from the uncertainty of rains, they labour under many difficulties ; no positive dependance can be had on their crops ; their Negroes and stock are frequently pinched with a scarcity of provisions, which is but ill remedied by the expensive custom of feeding the former with rice ; the soil of such estates is, in the very near neighbourhood of the sea, impregnated with marine salt, and so largely, that, although it does not affect the complexion of the sugar, it occasions its wasting in moist weather, and particularly in a voyage. I think, upon the whole, that the inland situations are far preferable ; from their greater security against tempestuous winds ; their more frequent showers ; greater abundance of good pasture, and provisions ; the stability of their soil, and greater convenience for water works : and in regard to the quality of their sugars ; the grain is far stronger, and the complexion of those made twenty miles inland, equal to the best produced in any part of the island. One measure alone, well-attended to, would turn the scale beyond all comparison in their favour ; I mean the improvement of their roads ; by which means, the carriage of their goods should meet with as little delay and impediment as possible ; fewer cattle be requisite, of course less pasturage necessary, and more cane land be taken in, and their annual contingencies greatly lessened ; but this is a subject I shall speak of more largely hereafter. There is no certain general rule for estimating the value of these estates ; but, that the reader who is unacquainted with the nature of the West India properties, may be able to form some idea about it, I shall give two estimates the one for a plantation yielding one hundred hogsheads of sugar, the other for one yielding three hundred ; and at the same time he will be able to comprehend the reason of what he may frequently have heard, “ the very great expence of forming one of these estates.” The plainest method, and perhaps the most satisfactory, may be, to trace the expences from the rude state of the land, covered with wood, and  
bought

bought into clearance, in order to be formed into a sugar work; and I will suppose, that the settler rather chuses to hire labourers, for cutting down the wood, and clearing this land, than to employ his own Negroes.

Jamaica currency.

Prime cost of 300 acres of woodland, at 3 <i>l.</i> per acre, —	£. 900
Felling and clearing 207 acres, at 5 <i>l.</i> an acre, —	1005
Holing and planting 33 ditto in canes, at 5 <i>l.</i> —	165
Planting 25 ditto in plantain walk and ground provisions, at 5 <i>l.</i> —	125
	<hr/>
	£. 2195

They who have gradually raised estates from very small beginnings, have put up temporary works, to serve only for three or four years, making at first nothing but rum; I shall therefore pursue my estimate on this plan, and rate the whole expence the settler may be supposed to have incurred at the end of the first year.

A temporary mill house, boiling house, and still house, —	£. 600
Twelve mules, at 30 <i>l.</i> each —	360
Twelve steers, at 14 <i>l.</i> —	168
Thirty Negroes, at 50 <i>l.</i> round, old and young, —	1500
Sundry plantation instruments, as hoes, bills, axes, &c. —	50
A dwelling house, common frame, and thatched, —	50
	<hr/>
	2728
Charges to be added for the land, as before specified, —	2195
	<hr/>
	Total, £. 4923

In this and other calculations the reader is desired to observe, that Jamaica currency is meant, unless where the contrary is expressed.

The capital may then be rated at 3000*l.* and if the settler is industrious and successful, the produce in rum alone will yield him, by the best calculation I can make, 6*l.* per cent. interest, and 100*l.* saving annually for his cloathing and necessaries. If he has begun entirely on his own stock, the interest will enable him to make every year an addition to his Negroes; five at least for the first three years, and eight the succeeding four; yet, even with this addition, he must make either very slow advances, or obtain further aids upon credit. In order therefore to make it an estate of 100 hhds, furnished with



It is a common rule here, to value all the land in canes, if they are in tolerable order, at 28 *l.* *per* acre to 30 *l.* round, which is certainly erroneous (taken as a general scheme of appraisement) and may often delude the planters to form a wrong estimate of the intrinsic worth of their possessions; and, after imposing upon themselves, to impose upon a purchaser. The just measure of calculation is certainly to find the clear value which comes to the planter, after deducting all charges of planting, manufacturing, and sale, till when he should not begin to count his gains; and even after this, if he keeps a fair account with himself, he must make a still further deduction for taxes, imposts, and contingencies of all sorts; these, it is true, are matters very subject to fluctuation, but not in such a degree as to cause any very material difference, at an average of years, either in favour or against him; he will not, however, err much to his own disappointment, if, in the present situation of things, he should allow no more than about 11 *l.* *per* hhd, and 6 *l.* *per* puncheon, for his clear, and actual gain, in pocket. The above reflections being premised, I shall proceed to the estimate of an estate of 100 hhds and 50 puncheons.

Acres.		£.
33	of grown plants,	at 40 <i>l.</i> 1320
66	1st and 2d rattoons,	at 10 <i>l.</i> 660
33	young plants,	at 30 <i>l.</i> 990
25	in plantain walk,	at 15 <i>l.</i> 375
25	in Negroe provision grounds,	at 10 <i>l.</i> 250
30	in pasture,	at 10 <i>l.</i> 300
88	in woodland, intervals, gullies, roads, &c.	at 3 <i>l.</i> 264
		4159

300		
100	Negroes,	at 50 <i>l.</i> round, 5000
30	mules,	at 30 <i>l.</i> 900
30	steers,	at 14 <i>l.</i> 420
1	cattle-mill compleat,	300
1	boiling-house of brick or stone, with 6 boilers,	700
1	curing-house, with cistern and ranges compleat,	600
1	distilling ditto. with 2 stills, cisterns, &c. ditto,	700
Dwelling and hot-houses, corn-house, and all other buildings and offices,		800

Plantation implements and utensils, such as sugar  
pots, wains, waggons, cattle chains, butts,  
rum breakers, coolers, skimmers, ladles,  
strainers, hoes, bills, axes, &c. } £. 350

Sheep, hogs, small stock, and their appurtenances, 100

— 9870  
Total, 14029/.

The annual produce of such an estate, I should rate in this manner:

33 acres of plants,	at 40/.	1320	} equal to 100	Hhds.	Punch.
66 ditto of 1st and 2d rattoons, 10/.		660			50
		1980	nett value 11 l. per hhd: 6 l. per punch,		

Deduct for the annual contingencies, videlicet, taxes, white servants wages, repairs, stock, supplies, &c. about

580 [d]

1400 l. =

1400 l.

[d] *Videlicet,*

Taxes,	—	16 l.
White servants wages,	—	140 l.
Supplies, including tools,	—	190 l.
Negroes cloathing and phyfic,	—	100 l.
Repairs,	—	20 l.

466 l.

Three mules, at 30 l. }  
Two steers, at 12 l. }

114 l.

580 l.

Perhaps 600 l. may not be thought too much: and if we suppose such an estate requires four new Negroes *per annum*, these at 60 l. each = 240 l. will make the whole amount to 840 l. This may serve as a general average, taking all the estates collectively; as some require more recruits than others, and some want none at all. A small estate, like this above described, which is not intended to be, nor probably can be pushed on by the proprietor, will seldom stand in need of recruits, except any unusually malignant distemper should happen to invade it; therefore the allowance of four new Negroes to such a property, as a *certain* annual charge, is much too great, and must be considered merely as an average upon the whole.

This

This is further proved by taking the common estimate of 15 *l.* per hhd. and 10 *l.* per punch. grofs, viz. hhds. 100 at 15 *l.* 1500  
punch. 50 at 10 *l.* 500

2000

Deduct the annual contingencies, supposed about

580

1420 *l.*

which causes no more than the inconsiderable difference of 20 *l.* and implies the contingent charges per hundred weight to be about 5 *s.* 4 *d.* and on rum about 9  $\frac{1}{2}$  *d.* per gallon. Supposing therefore a person to pay for this estate 14,000 *l.* he buys it exactly at 10 years purchase; and the clear income of 1400 *l.* is precisely 10 *l.* per cent. per annum for his money; a circumstance which shews, that if the settlement of these estates is attended with a very heavy expence, the profits arising from them, when they are successfully conducted, are large enough to make an adequate return; at the same time, it proves the ability of a planter to bear up under a great debt for a considerable time; since, even paying 6 *l.* per cent. per annum on the whole capital, he has still a reserve of 4 *l.* per cent. for his own use, and casual expenditures. I shall now carry on my calculations on a larger scale, and to a more valuable property, in order to shew that the rules I have taken for my direction will be found to answer for the greater as well as the smaller estates. I shall apply them to one yielding 300 hhds. and 150 puncheons.

Acres

Jamaica currency.

100 grown plants, at 40 *l.*  
200 rattoons, 10 *l.*  
100 young plants, 30 *l.*  
60 plantain walks, 15 *l.*  
80 Negroe grounds, 10 *l.*  
60 pasture, 10 *l.*  
50 Guiney grafs, 12 *l.*  
250 woodland, &c. 3 *l.*

4000 *l.*

2000 *l.*

3000 *l.*

900 *l.*

800 *l.*

600 *l.*

600 *l.*

750 *l.*

12650 *l.*

900

300 Negroes, at 50 *l.*  
50 mules, 30 *l.*  
80 steers, 14 *l.*

15,000 *l.*

1500 *l.*

1120 *l.*

17620 *l.*

2 cattl:

2 cattle mills compleat,	1200 <i>l</i> .
1 boiling house of brick or stone, with 12 cop- pers, compleat,	1500 <i>l</i> .
1 distilling house, 4 large stills, and sufficient vats or tanks, and cisterns, compleat,	1500 <i>l</i> .
1 curing house, 90 by 32, with platforms, me- lasses, cistern, and ranges, compleat,	1200 <i>l</i> .
Rum store, dry good ditto, dwelling-house, over- seer's house, and proper offices, a corn-house, hot-house, mule and horse stables, smith's, cooper's, and carpenter's shops, hogsties, pidgeon-house, sheep-hovel, &c. all together	2600 <i>l</i> .
Sugar pots, rum butts and breakers, skimmers, ladles, hoes, bills, and axes, tradesmen's tools, copper lamps, iron bars, nails, cattle chains and yoaks, mule pads and crooks, wains, waggons, and all other implements and utensils,	850 <i>l</i> .
Sheep, hogs, &c.	150 <i>l</i> .
	<hr/> 9000 <i>l</i> .
	<hr/> 39,270 <i>l</i> .

The income of the estate may be thus computed:

100 acres of plants, at 40 <i>l</i> .	4000 <i>l</i> .	} equal to	Hhds.	Punch.
200 ditto rattoons, at 10 <i>l</i> .	2000 <i>l</i> .		300	150
	<hr/> 6000 <i>l</i> .			

Deduct for the annual contingent  
charges, which for such a pro-  
perty will not be found to fall  
short of

2000*l*.  

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4000*l*.

The market-yielding, at 15 *l*. per hhd. and 10 *l*. per punch. is 6000*l*.  
From which deduct the annual contingencies, 2000*l*.  
The nett yielding of the same, computed at 11 *l*. per hhd. and  
6 *l*. per puncheon, ———— 4200*l*.

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4000*l*.  

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Which

Which difference, like the former example, is too inconsiderable to cause any deviation from the method prescribed.

Such an estate would probably sell for, and (as some articles are under-rated) appears to be worth, 40,000 *l.*; for which the purchaser gains an interest of exactly 10 *l. per cent. per annum*, as in the former case. This, although a large interest, yet will not be thought too exorbitant by those who candidly consider, that the proprietor is subject to a variety of great risks, and accidental losses, by dry years, hurricanes, inundations, fire, mortality of Negroes and cattle, the sudden rise of those necessary articles which he is obliged to buy every year, or the sudden fall at market in the price of sugars and rum; for all these casualties and vicissitudes, he stands his own insurer, undergoes infinite fatigues of body and mind, and when, after surmounting all difficulties, he sits down to the peaceable enjoyment of the fortune he has raised under such a crowd of disadvantages, he should be esteemed as one well entitled to reap, without envy, the hard-earned fruits of his industry.

The computation of the value of a West India estate, by the number of hhd. it annually produces, is unquestionably vague, and even absurd; more especially in regard to Jamaica properties; among which are to be found all the degrees between extremely fine, and very bad muscovado, so as to occasion a difference of 10 *s. per* hundred weight, which on a hundred hhd. at their usual weight, is equal to 750 *l.*; a circumstance which, one would judge, ought to make some difference in rating the value of the land; yet, if the bad complexion and quality of the sugar is occasioned only by the extreme rankness of the soil, there is a certainty that it is of good staple; that the quality will mend, the longer and oftener the soil is worked; that it will require no rich manure; that its fertility will be permanent; and that the proportion of rum to sugar will be greater than common: such a property is, in fact, more intrinsically valuable, than what is vulgarly called *ready-money land*; which gives a present return in good sugar almost as soon as it is opened, but will soon fall off, without a very exact husbandry, and copious manuring: if a man therefore buys for posterity, the former kind seems the more eligible of the two. The planters in general prefer the ready-money land, as they care not to speculate too far into futurity; besides that, the freight,  
the



the customs, and some other contingent charges, not being rated *ad valorem*, but being equally as much on bad sugars as on the very best, they think (and not unwisely) that this kind of soil is more profitable to them, or, in other words, a shilling in possession is worth twenty in expectancy. I may be thought, perhaps, to have treated this subject rather superficially; a full discussion of every thing relating to these staple commodities, at the same time that it would have been interesting only to a few, would have led me to a work too voluminous; besides that, in planting, as in many other things, there is a kind of fashion, which one while predominates, and afterwards gives the way to some new system; even so far as I have presumed to advance opinions, I may probably disagree with many others, who pretend a more thorough-paced knowledge of the subject: unable to rest myself any where, but on my own single experience or remarks, I confess myself willing to retract any mistake which may have proceeded from a faulty observation, at the same time insisting that it is neither my desire nor design to mislead any one, nor misrepresent any thing. The consideration of the roads, as it has a close connection with the preceding subject matter, so I can find no place more proper for introducing it.

## R O A D S.

## C H A P. IV.

## S E C T. I.

**G**OOD roads add a lustre to any country, and enrich it. Whatever cheapens and quickens the transportation of goods, and makes their migration more easy from place to place, must of course render a country more opulent. By good roads, dispatch, which is the soul of business, becomes more attainable; merchandizes and manufactures find a ready conveyance to market, and the natural blessings of a country are shared by the inhabitants with a more equal hand. The demand for the produce of land encreases, the lands themselves advance proportionably in their annual value, and in the number of years purchase for which they are sold, according to such value.

For these reasons, the preservation and improvement of them have always been the objects of internal police in every civilized state; and it has been well observed, that schemes of this kind have been more or less attended to, in proportion to the degree of public spirit, which has prevailed in every age and country; for, in regard to the common herd of mankind, they have not the least idea of the art of mending roads: these men, equally incorrigible, obstinate, and ignorant, seem to know nothing of the benefits resulting from air and sunshine; and as to the composition of a road with firm materials, raising and rounding it, and carrying off superfluous water by proper drains; they are either blind to the expediency of these improvements, or affect to hold them in contempt, that they may not seem to be wiser than their forefathers. It was in a great measure owing to this unhappy prejudice, that the trade of England laboured for a long time under the grievance of extremely bad roads; few persons cared to encounter the difficulties that attended the conveyance of goods from the places where they were manufactured to the markets where they were to be disposed of; the same cause, so injurious to trade, laid waste a considerable part of the lands.

But by the vast improvements of the roads within these few years, particularly in the mode of constructing them, the carriage of goods and merchandize in general is managed with half the number of horses formerly required; journies are performed with more than double expedition; improvements in agriculture have kept pace with those of trade, and every article of produce has grown more valuable. Knowledge and arts have made their way through these channels to the remotest and most uncivilized parts of the kingdom; we are astonished to perceive the refinements which now adorn the corners of it, where, not many years ago, the most shocking barbarism prevailed; we admire the ease and dispatch with which a correspondence is carried on through every part, and the facility which attends the constant interchange and circulation of all its various products, manufactures, and merchandize; it seems as if the whole island had been suddenly animated, while the flux and reflux is carried on without impediment by innumerable currents from the heart to the extremities, and from these again to the center of motion. The many excellent roads, already formed, are the vital principle which has infused all these symptoms of

vigour, agility, and health, into the whole mass, and roused it into active life. The same arguments, and the same creative effects, apply to every other inhabited and civilized country. It has been principally from the want of good roads that the planting interest in Jamaica has not advanced more rapidly. The settlers in this island have always been forced to contend against this arduous obstacle. They used at first to tread in the old Spanish tracks, which were mere mule paths, carried without art through thick woods, and over the highest, rudest summits of the mountains in a direct line. It was of late only that surveyors were employed with instruments to assist in laying out roads as nearly on a level as the natural inequalities of the country over which they were to pass could admit: much of the finest land in this island lies waste, for want of good communications leading through it; these recesses, if they were even inhabited, would remain unprofitable, until the difficulties and delays attending the carriage of produce to market could be removed. One great object therefore of a patriotic legislature will be to conquer these obstacles, and improve the roads for carriage as much as possible, bringing, as it were, the interior parts many miles nearer to the sea coast: all which may be effected by a judicious and well-regulated expenditure of an annual grant, seconded with new highway laws; and this object steadily pursued, until the whole face of the island shall be intersected with firm and easy roads; all encouragement possible should be given to the opening of roads in the midland and remote districts; there is perhaps no part of them which might not be made productive. The fine timbers of the deep and untrodden recesses of the mountains, when brought to market, would yield a certain profit: there is a great variety of woods equally useful and beautiful. Every new road of communication brings the tract, through which it passes, so much nearer to the barquadiet, raises the value of the soil, and is of advantage to the whole region confining on it; by the settlements it introduces, and the new supply it gives of those materials and merchandizes, which before were dear or unattainable. Besides, free openings of this sort are like the streets of a great city, which not only render it more healthy, but, by having these passages kept open from one end to the other, order and good police are better maintained; seditions are soon quelled, by the dispatch which can be used in encountering them; and insurrections are prevented.

vented by the facility that appears of marching to suppress them; as well as by the impossibility that attends the malecontents of forming intrenchments or barricadoes, without discovery and interruption. The old laws of this island ordered the dimensions of the highways according to the following manner :

Width in standing wood, — 60 feet.

Ditto, wood on one side only, 40 ditto.

Ditto, open ground, — 24 ditto.

The ancient roads in England, without attention to any thing except the security of passengers from thieves and murderers lying in wait, were directed by statute to be cleared of wood and bushes 200 feet on each side; so great a width must have admitted the sunshine and air very freely, and therefore tended to preserve these ways in a more passable condition than even the legislature of that time perhaps had in contemplation: the like motive, one would think, must so naturally occur to road-makers in a very woody country, infested with banditti, that it is surprising the earlier settlers in Jamaica did not consider the utility of cutting wider avenues, in regard to the greater safety of travelling through the worst-peopled parts of the island. But, however necessary a great width may be where the country is overspread with forest, it is very improper to retain it in an open or well-settled country; supposing, for example, the width to be sixty feet at an average, an immense tract of land may thereby be laid waste; for here are no less than eight acres of ground sacrificed to the highway in the space of one mile; the loss therefore must be very great, if such a road should be continued in this manner for an extent of several miles.

In unsettled countries, this waste is justly disregarded, because the road occupies no land that is wanted for any other purpose; but in places where a road is no sooner formed than the contiguous lands are greedily sought after, and thrown into cultivation, it must be productive of a great loss to the publick; here, therefore, a road of very moderate breadth, if it is firmly and well constructed, will save a vast tract of useful land for agriculture. The usual way of making roads in Jamaica, till very lately, was by cutting down the wood as close as possible to the surface, and afterwards burning the stumps; more often, the stumps were left to be bruised, and flattened by the wheels of loaded carriages; in which conflict, wheels without

number have doubtless been battered to pieces. These roads were afterwards repaired, by throwing loose mould into the hollows and ruts; which practice being repeated once a year, they were rendered almost impassable in wet weather. It is curious to observe the quick transition of some improvements from the mother country, to the distant parts of her empire; the example of the mother country excited for some time a spirit of road-making in Jamaica; which, though not universally diffused, has produced very capital alterations for the better. Turnpikes could not be introduced here to answer the same intentions as in Great Britain, because of the small number of persons who would pay the toll, and the facility of eluding it by travelers on horseback, who would probably strike into bye paths to avoid paying it; so that the weight of the charge would fall principally on carts, waggons, and mules used for carriage of produce to market, which might prove a discouragement to the settlers; but several very good roads have been made here, as well by subscription, as by regulating the Negroe allotments in some parishes on a much better plan than the law has provided. The road lately finished, which crosses over Guy's Hill, is inferior to none in Great Britain, if we consider the difficulty of the ascent which was to be gained, a great part being cut through a perpendicular rock; the judgment with which it is traversed; and the safety and ease with which so high a mountain is rendered passable to wheel carriages. The road leading from Savannah la Mar to Montego Bay, another which leads from St. Ann's to St. James parish, the May Day Hill, and the road now carrying on over Monte Diablo, have all of them great merit. But these subscription roads, for want of a fund to support them constantly; as well as of sufficient skill and assiduity (or rather perhaps *unanimity*) in those whose business it is to keep them in repair, are liable to fall into decay, and to become almost as bad as the rest. Such is the road from Kingston to Bath, which is far from being so well supported as it deserves. In general the planters are extremely reprehensible on this account, more especially as very excellent materials are almost every where to be found, very near to the worst roads. They have erred in two principal points, the one, in the application of the labour allotted by law; the other, in a wrong method of constructing their roads; I mean chiefly those which lead from their plantations.

plantations to market. The law requires the vestries in each parish and precinct, annually to choose four surveyors for the highways, who are entrusted with the power of issuing warrants, to warn labourers, or to levy money for repairing them: the ordinary mode is, to draw from every estate a certain proportion of Negroes, one in five, or fewer, who are to repair the road for a certain limited extent; so that the different gangs employed take in the whole road. They generally work under the inspection of their different overseers, who, being in haste to get to the end of the space respectively assigned them, dispatch it with so little care, and in so slovenly a manner, as for the most part to leave the way rather worse if possible than they found it. The season chosen for this purpose is usually the beginning of December (on the South Side), as least interfering with the plantation work; so that in all the succeeding twelve months, while the road is most used by the planters carriages, no solid repair is given to it, or at least very seldom, however necessary it may be, especially after the May rains. Nothing is more astonishing than that, after so long an experience of the absurdity of this custom, and of the utility of a different method followed in one or two of the parishes, the old usage should still be any where retained. Surely, a good road for facilitating the carriage of produce and necessaries to and from his estate, is as material and interesting to the planter, as the manufacturing of his produce; too many of them appear as if they were satisfied to make a great quantity of sugar and rum, without any concern how to convey it to the market; inattentive to this principle, and most important object, they jog on in the usual way, and having been accustomed all their life to bad roads, and a difficult carriage, think but little how to make them less inconvenient, nor consider the vast saving to their fortune in the articles of wheels, mules, and steers, which a good road would certainly give them. Moreover, in respect to the great loss of time, they do not perceive that the same cattle, which could even trot with ease with a carriage, on a hard, firm road, will with much difficulty drag it a foot-pace through sand, deep mud, or clay; nor that the strength required to move a loaded carriage depends much more upon the nature of the road, than the weight of the carriage.

I know

I know several planters in Jamaica who oblige themselves to the expence of keeping a great number of mules for carrying their produce on a road, which, with proper management, and no additional charge of labour, might soon be adapted to wheel carriages, by which a prodigious saving would be made to their incomes; for mules are the most unprofitable stock the planter can have; whereas three oxen are often bought for the price of one mule, and, when grown superannuated, are not unfrequently sold to the grazier for half their prime cost. On a good road, eight steers will draw as much sugar and rum as would require seventeen or eighteen mules to carry on their backs. But supposing they draw, as roads in general may be thought to admit, no more than would require sixteen mules, let us consider the difference of charge to the planter:

Cost of 8 steers at 12/.	—	96/.	Cost of 16 mules at 30/.	480/.
These steers, when superannuated, will probably be sold for at least 5/.	per head	—	40/.	

Loss on steers	—	56/.	Loss on mules	480/.
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The difference here is very glaring with respect to the planter's fortune; and in regard to the public good of the island, it is certainly preferable to encourage the use and breed of an animal, which is so serviceable for food, and other purposes even after its death, than of another which ceases to be of any use the moment it ceases to live. I have known other planters, who employ 12 or 14 steers to draw, through a horrid swamp at the peril of their lives, what would require only 4, if the road was rendered firm. In general they buy every year almost double the number of cattle, that would be necessary for a well-made road; and not a few expend in this manner at least 500/.

every year in recruiting their losses of stock, who refuse to contribute 100/.

towards putting their road into a durable condition of repair; and in truth, some are so detestably selfish and perverse, that under all possible conviction of the heavy losses they suffer every year on the roads, they dare not incur a liberality, from which they imagine the future generation may gather more advantage than themselves. For the sake of those who are actuated by a more generous policy, and are willing to be instructed in what may tend to their

present

present as well as future benefit, I propose a short detail of what has chiefly been recommended in the forming and repairing of roads, with a reference to the circumstances of Jamaica; so that they who are hitherto uninformed, may collect what is requisite to be done from the result of those experiments that have been most successfully practised in England, whose roads are allowed by foreigners inferior to none in the world. The more a road resembles water as to the facility of transportation, the nearer is its approach towards perfection. This resemblance consists in smoothness, spaciousness, and the advantage of celerity in the passage over it. But narrow ways, rocky, and steep roads, or deep mire, sand, and bog, are the furthest possible from such a parallel. The planning or laying out a road is, no doubt, a work which requires some judgement, especially if it leads through swamps and low grounds, where stone is scarce; or over mountains, where rocks are to be displaced, acclivities leveled, and the rain water securely drawn off. The terror of these undertakings, and the pleasure experienced from the practicability of effecting them, are equally great; yet the former too often prevails, when, by the want of experience, or of sound judgement, every circumstance is thrown into the most discouraging point of view. So little adapted to these works is either the genius or inclination of the common people in general, that we may remark the finest and best constructed roads have been laid out by military engineers; this shews, that somewhat of science must be called in to assist in undertakings of this kind, where unusual obstacles present themselves; but when the rules, by which they have proceeded, come to be generally well understood, the most unlettered directors may go on with a confidence of success. The chief points necessary to be known, are,

1st, The right laying out of a road, and in a form or figure most suitable to its preservation.

2d, The materials most proper to compose and repair it, and the order in which the several layers should be ranged, for rendering the whole work most solid and compact.

When circumstances admit, it is always desirable to bring roads into straight lines, or as nearly so as possible; because in this form they wear better, shorten the distance, and are more pleasant as well as commodious; and whenever bends are necessary, they are more easily supported.



supported in right-lined obtuse angles than in curves. For the same reasons, regular forms are preferable to uneven surfaces; and therefore risings and hollows should be reduced into level, or rather, if it can be so contrived, into inclined planes. Steep ascents are always (if possible) to be conquered; because the locking of wheels in the descent, and difficulty of draught in the ascent, render the support of such roads very expensive; and the use of them very inconvenient. Attempts of this kind are generally arduous, yet they may be accomplished in almost any instance, by sinking the road at the summit of a hill, and raising it at the base. In the shaping a road, care should be taken to make it the segment of a circle, raising it from 1 foot to 2 in the centre, and gradually paring round, and sloping it towards either side, in order to give the rain water a free discharge from it. In general, where the country over which a road is carried, approaches nearest to a true level, the greatest convexity, and the deepest side trenches are required. The reasons which make this disposition in the form of roads necessary, are founded chiefly on the effects of water upon them. This element, under proper direction, is an excellent means of preservation to them, as it may be made to carry off the lighter particles of earth and mud, and will leave the sand and gravel, which are specifically heavier, in the wearing tracks, where they serve as a guard to the *substratum* of materials; but a stagnation of it is almost always prejudicial, and particularly so in loamy or clay soils. The flant, or progressive inclination of a road, where that inclination is gentle, is particularly adapted to procure the advantages, and guard against the inconveniences of water; but where this cannot be obtained, the descent down the sloping sides must serve for its discharge; in all instances, the convexity of roads encreasing their surfaces in proportion to their bases, must give a larger scope for the operation both of the sun and wind, and cause a quicker drain of the water that falls upon them: this convex form of roads is, therefore, upon the justest principles, and certain experience, found to be the best. Where the natural texture of a road requires no amendment, the materials may be laid upon the surface of the ground, and the earth drawn upwards towards their center from each side; this will bring them of course to a regular arch or convexity, by which their center will be elevated in proportion to the greater or less quantity of materials used in the repair

pair of them; or in such roads where the center wants but little raising, the same thing is effected by digging a bed for the materials, and disposing of the soil, so as to make the slope regular on each side.

At the first revival of the care of roads in England, it appeared a chimerical undertaking to the surveyors, to attempt executing any plan for reducing ground to a regular descent, where it was to be effected by raising vallies, and sinking hills; but custom familiarized them to a conviction both of the practicability and utility of such schemes. The breadth of the roads in England is seldom extended beyond 14 feet, and of many only to 12, where there is not such frequent occasion for carriages to turn out, as to render a greater breadth necessary. In order to make them firm and lasting, there are two methods, which have been practised; the one, by regular constructions, as pavements and causeways; the other, by a more promiscuous assortment of rock-stones, pebbles, gravel, and the like; the former of these seems at present to be seldom used, except where somewhat of a regular muniment is required against the breach of the sea, the current of land floods, and the like. It may hold for a general rule, that the finer the materials are which are used for the composition of roads, according to the second method mentioned (which is now the most approved), the more convenient they are for passage; if no other objections attend them; but as it does not always happen that the surveyors of highways have a choice of materials, and as a long carriage of them might be an insupportable burthen, the best should be taken that the neighbourhood affords. Whatever the materials are, the ground should be well formed under, and about them, to prevent their giving way on the sides, or beneath the wheel tracks, where the greatest pressure always lies. Durableness and convenience are best consulted by making the foundation of large stones, and the superstructure of gravel. In clays, or soils which retain moisture, it has a very good effect, to lay a course of sand or gravel before the *stratum* of stones is placed; which prevents them from working downwards, so fast as they are otherwise apt to do, and yet enables them for a while to support the pressure of very heavy weights. Rock-stones, from their angular form, and rough surface, or from their flatness and large surface, being less liable to descend, are preferable to smooth pebbles; the latter are best applied in a *stratum* upon the foun-

dation stones, or to supply the wheel tracks when worn. Whatever materials are made use of for the purpose of securing roads from decay, it generally turns out an irretrievable error to be too sparing in the breadth of the mended path, and very bad oeconomy not to allow a sufficient thickness of materials in the first construction of it; the former should never be less than 12 feet; and as to the latter, it must be regulated by the nature of the soil. In Jamaica there is scarcely any place unprovided with materials, yet none of them equal to the English pit-gravel; they are, however, many of them excellent in their kind, and very capable of answering the end proposed: thus, in the parish of Sixteen-mile-walk (or St. Thomas in the Vale), the planters covered their principal road with a coarse white marle, found there in great plenty, which hardens in the air, and acquires a very compact and well-connected surface; the great fault in this road (which is nevertheless one of the best in the island) is, that they did not first lay a very substantial foundation of large stones in the most airy and clayey parts; and that they neglected to give it a *convex* instead of a flat form; so that it is continually subsiding in various places, and does not sufficiently discharge the rain water that falls upon it. This defect may in some degree be rectified in time, by a continued accumulation of fresh materials, laid thickest on the center; where this marle cannot be had, there are in general a coarse reddish grit, honeycomb rock, pebbles, coarse gravel or sand from the river-courses, and gullies, easy to be procured. In making roads to traverse the salinas, or level grounds adjacent to the sea, and in swampy places, a *stratum* should first be laid in dry weather of ebony brush and boughs, logwood, or any other (except the *opopanax*) that can conveniently be had; these will remain sound a very long time under the earth, if covered to a sufficient thickness. Upon this *stratum* of boughs, stakes, or fascines, may be thrown stones, coarse sea gravel, rubbish, or any other hard materials, and these overspread thinly with the soil taken out of the trenches or drains cut on each side; the whole being properly raised in the center, and rounded off to the sides: a similar means may be pursued in forming roads over the savannah lands, some of which are exceedingly deep and heavy in wet weather; it is to be observed, that the ground work, or first layer of boughs or stakes, must be piled to the greatest thickness, in the most swampy soils.

soils. In the mountains, the difficulties are very much encreased by their steepness in some parts, and the obstruction of hard rocks, which frequently will yield to nothing but gunpowder; wherever therefore these steep ascents can be avoided, it will always be preferable to conduct the road on a level, even if the length of carriage should be augmented by taking a circuit; for the level ground chiefly winding near some river course, a sufficiency of gravel, or other hard materials, may be always at hand, to be laid on with dispatch, and little expence; and, when laid on, will be securely retained: besides, if the upper *stratum* or covering is tolerably smooth, the friction will be so small, the draught so easy, that three miles of such a road will not be nearly so fatiguing to cattle, as a few hundred feet of ascent up the side of a steep mountain. But when necessity obliges to climb, and that it can no way be shunned, the draught may be relieved, either by digging down the summit to a considerable depth, or, where that is impracticable, rendering the ascent as gradual as possible from the lower grounds, and carrying traverses along the slope of the mountain or hill until the pitch is gained. When a road is conducted in this manner by traverses, or, as it is commonly called, zig-zag, a large sweep of 30 to 40 feet should be given at every angle or turning, that the whole team may have more room to exert their united strength; a sufficient wall should be constructed against every precipice, and a trench of at least 8 inches depth, and 15 inches width, dug on the side next the hill; this drain at every 20 feet, or more or less, according to the obliquity of the slant, should cross the road over a paved gutter of 3 or 4 feet breadth, to discharge the water; by which means, the heaviest falls of rain upon it, being thus divided into many small channels, may pass away without causing any damage.

The use of broad wheels has been for some years received in many parts of this island, on a supposition, that the roads were chiefly damaged by narrow wheels; but it is evident, that the destruction of roads happens from the greatness of the pressure or weight upon them. Narrow wheels sink, no doubt, in proportion to the weight laid on their axles; but the friction of broad wheels is greater, in as much as their solid contents are much greater; and the structure both of roads and carriages is such, that broad wheels seldom or never press equally: besides, these wheels are very subject to be clogged with dirt in such a

degree, as greatly to augment the draught; a better remedy might have probably been, to have introduced a lighter kind of carriage, adapted to carry only two hogheads, or three puncheons, at a time, and have made the fellies of a mean breadth of 4 or 5 inches. A proper construction of the carriages is certainly the most easy, and of all others, perhaps, the most effectual means of security to the roads; but then it should not be such a construction as should enable them to carry heavy, but such an one as may *oblige* them to carry light loads; a middling breadth of felly, neither so small as to cut deep, nor yet so great as to prevent a little gradual impression, which serves as a guide to keep carriages in regular tracks, is the true method of confining the wearing to a narrow compass, which with judicious management will certainly lessen it; and the more easily the draught is performed, the less effect will be produced both from the pressure of carriages, and the treadings of cattle. The cost of laying on materials in forming an English turnpike, at the rate of three tons for every yard forward, and for placing and banking up, has been estimated at about 550*l.* sterl. *per* mile; and the annual repairs 103*l.* *per* mile; this is reckoned dear, but it is not the rate of every county; for in some it is more, in others less, according to the difficulty or facility of getting materials, and the price of labour: in Jamaica, when a road has been undertaken by the job, I have known upwards of 700*l.* sterl. *per* mile paid for one very indifferently executed; in general, they may be opened, and made tolerably good, exclusive of laying on materials, for 220*l.* *per* mile. The means hitherto practised of repairing the roads once in the year by allotments of labourers from each estate, somewhat after the manner of the statute work in England, has never yet been found to answer in any of the parishes; the whole has been a sort of annual festival or merry-making, for the Negroes, as well as their superintendants, whilst nothing like labour was bestowed upon the parts most in want of amendment. As this custom is attended with none, or at most with a very small benefit to the public roads, so it is productive of inconvenience to the planters; for their Negroes are drawn to a distance of several miles from home, and lie out at night, by which their health often suffers; besides, what little repair is done, is performed so hastily, negligently, and unskilfully, as to be of no more service in two or three months time, than

than if it had never been done. The planters of St. Thomas in the Vale struck out a much better mode, when they procured an act to be passed, obliging each proprietor to furnish a number of able hands, in proportion to their estate, who were to be continually employed upon their road, under the direction of a surveyor, to whom they paid a competent salary. Their road, in consequence of this measure, has been daily improving; for as soon as any part of it becomes defective, by means of sudden heavy rains, or other casualties, it is restored without loss of time. The gentlemen in this part of the country could with more ease conform to an engagement of this nature, because the different tracks leading from their plantations all center at last in one principal road, to which they are restricted by the steep hills on each side the Rio Cobre. In other parts of the country, instead of attending to one principal and central road, they form a multitude of branches, and contrive so many to keep in repair, that some must necessarily be neglected. The abovementioned plan of repair would doubtless be found to answer in every other district of the island; but in a more eminent degree, whenever it is practicable, to keep up one or two grand carriage roads for a whole parish, and diminish the ramifications leading into them from the several settlements, to a moderate number.

The roads in this island might be properly arranged under three heads or classes. The first, are those of public communication; or, the grand passes, which traverse the island from East, to West, or cross it from North to South, and are more especially needful to those who are obliged to travel to and from the different towns; the members of assembly, and council; jurymen, witnesses, judges of the circuit courts, the troops of the island, &c. These great roads of communication, which are chiefly subservient to the public affairs and business, ought to be sustained at the public charge. In the second class, which likewise falls under the public or general care, are those roads which are opened in newly-settled parts of the country, for the benefit and encouragement of the settlers, who are unable to make them in a proper manner at their own charge; and as the whole community is interested in their welfare, and success, the burthen should in good policy become a public one.

The

The third class comprehends all those roads, which more peculiarly require the care of the planters, for their own use; the conveyance of their produce to market, by the most direct track; these ought to be formed and upheld by private individuals, or those who chiefly use and wear them; the legislature here should no further interpose, than to take care that the burthen is equally laid; the road properly laid out, and regularly kept up; and that no one man should have in his power, to withhold his just share of contribution towards it; or basely to avail himself of other men's generous industry, to gratify his own obstinate or selfish purposes. Instead of an allotment in the usual absurd way, the measure might be generally put in practice, which has been so successful in St. Thomas in the Vale. Every such planter's road, and the several great branches falling into it, should be repaired, by a certain number of labourers found by each planter using them respectively, to be constantly employed under direction of surveyors, having capacity as well as leisure for executing their trust, and encouraged by good salaries to be assiduous in it. If, for example, it has been the custom in any parish to allot one Negroe in every four, to work twelve days in the year (which is the usual time); instead of this, an assignment might be made of two Negroes in every hundred, to be kept on the road the whole year round; a fit spot might be provided in the most convenient or central part of it for their habitations, and a certain weekly allowance, either in victuals or money, given by their owners for their support, or, in default of their providing it, assessed by the justices. One Negroe in four, is equal to twenty-five in the hundred. If then the labour of one Negroe is rated at 1*s.* 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  *d.* *per diem*, the labour of twenty-five, for twelve days, is worth 28*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, which is exactly equal to the labour of one Negroe employed the year through, deducting Sundays and holidays. But as the time spent in traveling to and from the road to be mended, together with the odd days, employed at other times of the year, for making repairs after sudden floods and other accidents, which rarely fail to happen, bring the whole time spent in this work to twenty-four days in the year, or thereabouts; we may therefore allow the whole labour now employed to be equal to that of two Negroes employed the year through, which, according to the before-mentioned

mentioned rate, is found equal to 56*l.* 5*s.* And hence this, which is the rule in St. Thomas in the Vale, appears to be the fittest measure of allotment; if a regulation could take place *generally*, to fix the allotments agreeably to this proportion, it promises to answer every good purpose that can be expected from a road tax, except that, instead of allotting the labourers to work a certain number of days, it would be better to require two in the hundred, to continue upon the road all the year round; or else to pay a composition in money, according to the preceding calculation; for example,

			£.	s.	d.
The proprietor of 500 sends 10 to work the year, or pays			281	5	0
450 — 9	—		253	2	6
400 — 8	—		225	0	0
350 — 7	—		196	17	6
300 — 6	—		168	15	0
250 — 5	—		140	12	6
200 — 4	—		112	10	0
150 — 3	—		84	7	6
100 — 2	—		56	5	0
50 — 1	—		28	2	6

The less opulent planters, who possess a number above five, and under fifty, might pay a composition at the rate of 1*l.* for every fourth Negroe they possess, which is nearly equal to the value of one Negroe's work for twelve days: an indulgence is due to the poorest settlers; all therefore who possess a number not exceeding five, might be wholly exempt from the tax. The appointment of a surveyor for each road, or for certain limits, ought to be made by election of the majority of the planters, to whose share the repairs of the road, or those limits, should fall. These planters should have all the powers usually granted to commissioners of turnpikes, in regard to cutting down overhanging trees, removing nuisances and obstructions, making drains, and taking up materials in the adjacent grounds.

A cart, wain, or waggon and six steers, with a wainman employed twelve days in the year, might be rated equal to one Negroe employed the whole year; but in order to have a constant



constant ready supply of all necessary materials, to be laid on wherever, and whenever, the surveyor should judge most advantageous to the road, it might be more advisable, that the gentlemen concerned should furnish an annual provision of all the proper implements required, and at first setting out provide two three-wheel carts (like those used on the turnpikes in England) and twelve steers for each road, or limit, at their joint expence; the whole to be under the direction of the commissioners, to whom the surveyors should be duly accountable. It is obvious, that a fund is required for these expences; but after the first year's provision, they would be very small. The fairest mode of rating, in order to raise a contribution, perhaps would be, by payment of a certain sum for every hoghead and puncheon made upon each estate. Supposing, for example, eight estates associated for any one road; that they possess 1500 Negroes, and produce 1400 hogheads of sugar, and 600 puncheons of rum *per annum*. Their quota of Negroes is, thirty.

The expences may be rated as follows:-

Cost of two carts,	—	£.	
		60	
Ditto of twelve steers, -	—	150	
		<hr/>	210
Surveyor's salary one year,	—	140	
Tools, implements, &c.	—	60	
Pasturage for the steers one year.	—	12	
		<hr/>	212
			<hr/>
			£. 422

In order to defray this charge, we may rate five shillings paid *per* hoghead, and 2*s.* 6*d.* *per* puncheon, which amounts to 425*l.* In the second year, the two first articles, making 210*l.*, would not occur, and the expences would then stand at 212*l.* The rate, *then* to be formed, will be of 2*s.* 6*d.* *per* hoghead; and 1*s.* 3*d.* *per* puncheon, which will produce 212*l.* 10*s.*, and is so trifling a sum, when divided among the proprietors, as not to be felt. I cannot devise a rate more equitable than this, pursuant to which, the most opulent proprietor, and he who most wears the road will contribute

most, and all the others only in proportion to what they make, and the use they have of the road. According to this scheme, the whole expence paid by the proprietor of 100 Negroes, including the value of labour of his two Negroes constantly employed, and the other charges expressed for steers, &c. would the first year come to 84 l., and in the subsequent year to 70 l.; which latter does very little exceed what the planters are put to at present, upon a fair valuation of the time their Negroes are, in the course of the year, drawn from their estates, to attend the roads, the cost, wear and tear of tools, &c., and from which they derive no adequate benefit. But they would be astonished to see the alterations produced by thirty able labourers employed all the year on their road, under a skilful director; they would enjoy the comfort of finding it kept in good repair at all seasons; they would travel with ease, safety, and dispatch; make every advantage of the market, by getting their produce, by some weeks, earlier on shipboard; and they would perceive a very speedy reduction in their usual heavy expence of buying and maintaining a stock of mules, and draught cattle; the value of their lands would rise in proportion, and the distance of carriage cease to be any objection to a purchaser, as it would be rendered so cheap and speedy. Another consideration is, that in a few years, or as soon as the whole extent of road could be well formed, and perfected, the expence attending it would infallibly decrease, and half the number of Negroes would, probably, be sufficient to perform all the repair it might then be in want of. More, need not be said, to describe the important advantages which a planter must derive from a good carriage road, more particularly in Jamaica, where a distant carriage, through roads difficult to pass, is a standing objection to sugar plantations remote from the sea; for what avails it, to make goods of the best quality, and in large quantity, if the expence of stock and carriages to transport it to the sea side, together with the losses, damages, and delays, attending the conveyance of it, absorb one third, and more often one half, the value of those goods? The proprietor, in such a case, has only the reputation of possessing a fine estate, but so locked up, that, like the miser's hoard, he can only feast his eyes with it, and is really poorer at the year's end, than another proprietor of an estate two thirds

smaller, but more commodiously situated in respect of carriage. I have known a planter lose a mule, which cost him 30 *l.*, in a boggy road, in carrying a puncheon of rum to the market, which yielded him no more than 13 *l.* This then was making rum at 17 *l.* loss *per* puncheon. Nothing in short is more clear, than the advantage of a good road, and the disadvantage of a bad one, to the planter. And nothing, I am persuaded, will conduce so much to the thorough settlement and population of Jamaica, the improvement of the fine estates already formed in the heart of the country, and the forming of new ones, as a steady, vigorous, and persevering attention, to have good carriage roads in every district of it; the first happy consequence of which must be a reduction of supernumerary stock, whereby many large tracts of good land, at present necessarily kept in pasture, will be thrown into immediate cultivation, and make a vast addition to the annual product. In respect to the public highways, the assemblies have, at various times, been liberal. In the year 1768, they voted 2040 *l.*, to be expended on seven different roads. This disposition to improve the highways, is greatly to the honour of that body; but it would certainly tend more effectually to the public benefit, if a proper inquiry was to be made, every annual session, into the faithful application of the sums so granted, and into the progressive state of the roads; which should be duly reported to the house, to the end that such benefactions might not be misapplied, and that further helps might be added on those particular roads, so much in want of repair, as to be but little improved by the first donation. The assembly will never find these sums ill bestowed, which, when granted without any view to sinister purposes, are honestly and discreetly laid out, in rendering those communications passable with safety, and dispatch: but it deserves their particular care, to enforce any measure, which may bring the roads used for carriage of produce to market, into as perfect a condition as possible; for these are the main springs, which give motion, and due regularity, to every other part of their commercial machine.

## S E C T. II.

I insert the following remarks (chiefly taken from an ingenious treatise on wheel carriages lately published [e],) as a proper supplement to the foregoing discourse upon roads.

## L I N E o f T R A C T I O N.

A principal object of consideration is, to place the animal drawing, in such an advantageous situation, as to exert his greatest muscular force.

Oxen are universally used in Jamaica for draught, and these animals then seem to exert their strength to the greatest advantage, when they can *lift* as well as *draw*; the thick neck and broad shoulders of the ox shew how fit he is to draw and bear the yoke; accordingly this is the manner in which he draws to the greatest advantage; for this reason it seems strange that some people (the Portuguese for example) oblige their oxen to draw by the horns, fastening the yoke upon their points, or else so as to bear between their bases; by which method, it is alledged, they are more easily guided; the strength of his head indeed enables him to support his labour tolerably well in this manner, but to far less advantage than when he draws by his shoulders. His short legs, heavy body, firm hoof, and divided toes, which expand in pressing down, but close again in coming up, all concur in adapting him to surmount the constant resistance of the earth, and particularly in drawing carriages through heavy, or along rugged roads, far beyond the ability of a horse; and he is therefore deservedly preferred in Jamaica, not only on these accounts, but because horses are dearer in the purchase, more chargeable in their maintenance, less equal to severe constant labour, and when they die, their worth dies with them. The manner in which the ox applies his strength being considered, it seems, that by giving the line of his traction an *obliquity*, he may be kept in the situation of lifting as well as drawing; besides, the oblique line has considerable advantages in the passage over rough, uneven surfaces, especially if the wheels be small. As therefore the horse applies his powers with most energy when he draws in a horizontal line, or at least, with so small an ob-

[e] Jacob's.

Q q q 2

liquity,

liquity, as to decline but little below the horizontal; so the ox, who exerts his force from the shoulder and neck, will be found to overcome his labour with most facility, when the line in which he draws a load, is almost as oblique as if the upper point of that line was in contact with the curve of his shoulder, and the lower point bearing on the surface of the earth. This may serve to indicate the proper structure of the carriages which he is employed to draw, whose fore wheels ought to be made as low as can be consistent with the nature of the road over which they are to be drawn; that is to say, the firmer and less miry the road is, the smaller should be the diameter of the fore wheels; and when, by reason of very boggy or miry parts, there appears a necessity for enlarging the wheels diameter, in order to prevent the carriage from sticking, the draught of the team will be greatly relieved, by contriving to fix the tongue of the waggon or wain as low as conveniently may be beneath the fore axle.

In these cases, or in rugged highways, the advantage of an oblique traction will be visible in the ease with which the cattle will move a loaded carriage over, or through, such obstacles. In proportioning the number of cattle to any given draught, it is always to be considered, that the muscular force of the animal drawing is divided between it, and the carriage to be drawn. Supposing, therefore, a team able to go forward at any certain rate without a carriage, let then a carriage of equal weight be fastened to them, and they would be able to move with the carriage but one half as fast as they could before without it, or, perhaps, rather less than half, if the carriage has any considerable friction to overcome. If then, the weight of an ox in Jamaica should, for example, be called 400 lb., and that a planter has a wain whose weight when empty is 1000 lb., and that a load being put into it of two hogsheds of sugar, equal to 3000 lb. weight, in all 4000 lb. weight, it is required to be drawn over a road of moderate goodness; such a carriage must have at least ten oxen to draw with half the expedition, with which they could have moved along such road, unincumbered with any draught or load.

#### PLACING THE LOAD.

The height of the load is, in waggons, of very great moment in ascending steep hills; particularly, if the distance between the hind and  
fore

fore wheels be short, and the greater part of the load be laid on the hinder part of the waggon. This method of loading is nevertheless advised, because, the hinder wheels being made highest, the load is by this means drawn along easiest on *plain ground*.

But as relative gravity takes place in ascending hills which are the most arduous, and in Jamaica the more frequent kind of draught, it would perhaps be better (unless on very flat roads) to do what is done by the common waggoners, who best know when their carriage goes most easy, and put the greater share of the weight forward. Therefore, if a waggon in Jamaica is to receive two heavy casks, and one light cask, the light cask should be stowed the hindmost. But on flat ground, it is past a doubt, that the load is easiest drawn when the greater part of it is laid to bear upon the highest wheels, whether those wheels are placed before or behind. In waggons, as well as two-wheel carriages, the load should be ever placed as low as possible consistently with its safety, the nature of the roads, and the convenience of the team and driver. For the same reason, all four-wheeled carriages have an advantage in their length, especially if they are of any considerable height.

#### WEIGHT OF CARRIAGES.

The weight of every carriage should be as little as possible, so that it is consistent with a requisite strength.

#### STRUCTURE OF CARRIAGES.

There is nothing more absurd than the common practice of using the same kind of carriages for very different purposes; to each of which, severally, the structure of the carriage should be properly adapted. It should be adapted to the nature of their usual loading, that it may be put in or taken out, without difficulty or danger.

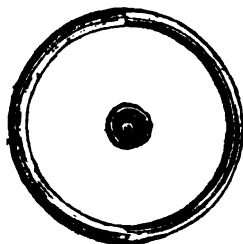
Carriages therefore, employed chiefly for conveying hogsheds of sugar and puncheons of rum, ought not to be too high from the ground at their tail.

#### STRUCTURE OF WHEELS.

In the usual method of constructing wheels, their peripheries are composed of a number of pieces, or fellyes joined together; which renders

renders them extremely weak, and subject to many inconveniencies. In the first place, the joints being the weakest parts of the wheel, they are most liable to yield inward; for which reason, the wheelwrights leave them higher than the other parts of the rim; in consequence of which, the wheel is not at first exactly round, nor its motion of course uniform. Another very material objection to this method of constructing wheels is, that the fellies being segments of a circle, sawed or hewn out of straight wood, they are thence rendered so brittle, from the cross direction of the grain near the joints, that they are with difficulty kept together, even though near twice the quantity of timber be employed, that would otherwise be necessary.

In the improved mode of construction, the case is different. By bending the timber perfectly circular (which may be done by fire, or by boiling for some time in water, after the manner practised in the dock-yards), and using only a single periphery, or at most two fellies only, the grain of the wood is preserved in every part of the rim, as I have endeavoured to represent in the figure below:



In this mode of construction the periphery of the wheel is pretty equally strong throughout; and, though not near so much as the usual quantity of timber is made use of, is of itself almost strong enough to sustain the common burthen laid on such wheels, without the assistance of iron tiers; which are only applied to them as a safeguard, to preserve the wood from the injuries to which it would otherwise be necessarily exposed from the roads; hence a less quantity of iron is sufficient, and even that will be fairly worn out before it becomes useless. The durability of wheels of this construction is, no doubt, an object in point of œconomy; but their lightness, in comparison of others, will appear equally an object of importance in the facility and velocity of draught.

HIGH

## HIGH WHEELS.

Wheels facilitate the motion of a carriage, and being drawn along roads covered with loose stones, and indented with cavities, they are further useful in serving to depress or raise the carriage over the one, and in extricating it out of the other.

It is in this respect, as well as in overcoming friction, that high wheels have advantage over low ones, though not perhaps in that degree for which some persons have contended.

If it requires a certain power to draw a carriage of a certain weight over a given obstacle, with wheels of any determinate diameter, it will require wheels of four times the diameter, to draw the same carriage over the same obstacle with half that power. But notwithstanding this position, which tends only to prove that fewer cattle are required to draw a high-wheel than a low-wheel carriage, it is clear, that, by increasing the diameter of wheels, their strength is diminished; or, they may be made so large, and consequently so heavy, that the carriage will be less easily and speedily drawn than if the wheels were smaller. High wheels are particularly disadvantageous in drawing up hill, this difficulty is aggravated in two-wheel carriages, in which the center of gravity of the load is placed considerably above the center of the wheels. For when such a carriage ascends up hill, this center is thrown back, and adds to the relative gravity of the carriage, much more than it would if the center of the load lay below the axle.

Increasing the weight of wheels, by increasing their height, is a disadvantage, as already hinted; for, though somewhat be gained in point of friction, and in overcoming obstacles, this advantage is not compensated by what is lost with the weight, or *vis inertia*, of the wheels; so that an empty carriage of this structure is drawn with much greater difficulty than an empty one on wheels differently constructed. But, to remedy their inconvenience in some respects, and make them more assitant to the cattle, I would recommend the following form of an axle-tree, by which the load will have its centre of gravity below the centre of the wheels, and therefore will enable them to move up hill with infinitely more dispatch, and less fatigue. The axle-trees now used in Jamaica being in general of iron,

there



there will be no difficulty in having them made in England agreeably to this form.



The bottom of the carriage resting upon A, it is evident, that the carriage will be drawn with a facility in proportion as the centre of the wheel C is above the centre of the gravity of the load at B; and that space will be the increased diameter of the wheel.

And supposing the space from B to C to be one foot, and the space from B to the ground to be one foot and a half, the wheel will be of five feet diameter. Such a structure would be extremely commodious in loading and unloading; for, if the hind wheels should be made even of six feet diameter, the distance from the tail of the waggon to the ground would be only two feet. A further recommendation of forming the axle tree somewhat in this manner is, that, the centre of gravity of the load being thus sunk so near to the earth, the oxen will draw in that oblique line, in which I have before endeavoured to prove they can apply their full strength, with less fatigue to themselves than in any other way.

### L O W   W H E E L S.

The higher the axis is removed from the plane, the farther is the centre of gravity removed out of the perpendicular line of support; so that the lower the wheel, the less is the relative gravity of the carriage. Supposing the friction of two carriages of equal weight, but of differently-sized wheels, to be equal, the low-wheel-one would be drawn up hill, on smooth ground, much more easily than the high-wheel one; notwithstanding it is certain, that on smooth level ground the latter would be drawn more easily than the former. In going down hill indeed, a high-wheel carriage will be urged forward, by its relative gravity, more than a low-wheel one; but this will hardly be thought any advantage, if we pay due attention to the inconvenience and danger of accelerating carriages, especially loaded ones, down a hill.

### B R O A D

## B R O A D W H E E L S.

Broad wheels, whose soal is flat, bear very unequally on the ground; and from this cause pinch the boxes violently at top and bottom, by the unequal pressure of their load, and their own irregular bearing upon any surface which is not exactly flat, and so fitted to be in contact at once with every point of the soal, as it rolls over the road.

And although a broad wheel bears on more points than a narrow one, so that the weight or pressure is proportionably less, yet the quantity of the whole friction is the same to both. In passing along roads abounding with loose rough stones, and other obstacles, a broad wheel carriage will undoubtedly be drawn with less ease and dispatch than a narrow wheel one; because the narrow wheel may avoid or turn aside what the broad one must surmount or depress. But the prevention of ruts is the circumstance on which the utility of broad wheels is chiefly founded, and in this respect they are certainly answerable to the intention.

Broad wheel carriages, however, are not only subject to more wear and tear, than the narrow wheel, on account of their greater friction; but are drawn more slowly, and with more difficulty, on account of the more numerous obstacles they are obliged to encounter with, from their greater breadth of surface.

But as the preservation of the roads from ruts seems to urge the necessity of having the wheels of heavy carriages as broad as can possibly be made convenient, and the breadth commonly assigned them appears to be too great; it were better, perhaps, to diminish the breadth of them in waggon to six inches, and by making the fore and hind axles of different lengths, to cause both wheels together to roll the surface of nine inches, which they might well do, without admitting of any ridge or vacuity between them. At the same time, the fore axle being proportionably longer than the hind one, no ridge can be thrown up between the tracks of the wheels; which, being only six inches broad, will, by leaving a little room in the box, stand nearly flat in all situations arising from the convexity or concavity of the roads.

## F R I C T I O N.

Friction being proportional to the weight or pressure of the incumbent body, it will remain exactly the same in all cases; so that as to the friction of a loaded carriage, it will be proportional to the weight of the carriage; and all the use of wheels, in respect of friction, is to transfer the rubbing from under the surface of the carriage, and the plane supporting it; or rather to divide it between the surface of the axle and nave; the nave rolling under the axle, somewhat in the same manner as the wheel rolls over the supporting plane. It is indeed notorious, that the great friction of the wheels of carriages lies between the axle and nave.

The friction of carriages is not diminished, but more easily overcome, by wheels;

The rubbing of the wheels is either at the axis or the circumference.

The more friction there is upon the one, the less there will be at the other; the rubbing at the axle increasing as its diameter is diminished; and the rubbing at the circumference increasing as the diameter of the axle is increased.

Inventions to overcome friction are calculated merely to hinder the delay occasioned by a carriage's passing over an irregular or rough surface, not by any means to urge the carriage along: the power that does this must be proportioned to the weight, or rather to the *vis inertiae* of the load; in comparison of which, the rubbing between the axle and box in wheel carriages is a very inconsiderable object, so much so, that the diminution of this friction, beyond a certain degree, would be of little or no consequence in their draught.

Expedition being the principal object of improvement to wheel carriages, this end is to be attained, not by diminution of friction, but by the diminution of weight. But friction cannot be dispensed with in carriages of burthen; which, for that reason, are under a mechanical necessity of being drawn by proportionably strong and heavy teams, and of moving proportionably slow; as friction therefore follows the ratio of the weight, not of the surface, it is not to be diminished by wheels of any structure, high, or broad; but is rather increased by broad or high wheels, in proportion as they weigh heavier than others.

T R A D E.

## T R A D E.

## C H A P. V.

## S E C T. I.

**T**HAT we may take a comprehensive view of the trade of this island, it is proper to begin with the Negroe trade, which is the ground-work of all. The Negroe slaves are purchased in Africa, by the British merchants, with a great variety of woollen goods; a cheap sort of fire-arms from Birmingham, Sheffield, and other places; powder, bullets, iron bars, copper bars, brass pans, malt spirits, tobacco-pipes, Manchester goods, glass beads; some particular kind of linens, ironmongery and cutlery ware; certain toys, some East India goods; but, in the main, with very little that is not of British growth, or manufacture. Besides these slaves (which make up the greatest part of their cargo), our African traders also purchase gold dust, elephants teeth, and dying woods, with some valuable drugs; and in the West Indies also, when they have any surplus of slaves, they dispose of them at a good price to foreign nations. All the incidental profits, exclusive of what is produced by the sale of slaves, whether obtained by the purchase of other articles upon the African coasts, or from the sale of their commodities to foreigners in the West Indies, find their way into Great Britain; on the winding-up of the account therefore, as the sale of the Negroes centers in the West Indies, so the profit arising upon them, and every other accession of gain, from whatever article of our African commerce it is produced, centers ultimately with, and becomes the property of, the inhabitants of Britain. When these Negroes are sold to the British planters, they cannot be employed in, or furnished with, instruments proper for their daily labour, but with fresh advantage to the British nation. For, in his field work, the planter must supply his Negroes with bills, hoes, and axes; his Negroe tradesmen require instruments and tools of various sorts, which, in consequence of their being used continually, makes it necessary to have yearly supplies, for the making good *wear and tear*, which, in so moist and warm a climate, must rise to a very considerable

amount. To this we may add, that these people, selling no small part of the provisions they raise, lay out the product which thus arises from their private industry, chiefly for Birmingham, Sheffield, and Manchester-wares; so that all this, which, their numbers considered, amounts to no despicable sum, is likewise returned to Great Britain [a]. But the field expences are trifling, in comparison of the utensils necessary in sugar works; such as coppers, stills, mill-cases, and other mill-work of iron; ladles, skimmers, lamps, and almost innumerable other articles; to which may be added nails, locks, staples, hinges, bolts, bars, and lead, employed by the planter in his other buildings, and the numberless kinds of iron-work that are used in waggons, carts, and other things, not only exceedingly expensive at the first setting out, but which, from their being in constant use, require frequent supplies. All these (at whatsoever price) must be had from Britain. Even the value of

[a] State of the African Trade, as lately given to the publick, for the year 1771.

Senegambia,	—	—	43 Ships.
Gold Coast,	—	—	29
Windward Coast,	—	—	56
Bite,	—	—	63
Angola,	—	—	4
Total			195

Of these 195 ships, 107 went from Liverpool, for	29,250	Negroes
58 went from London, for	8,136	
25 went from Bristol, for	8,810	
5 went from Lancaster, for	950	
47,146		

Besides these ships, there go annually, from North America and the West Indies, at least 60 or 70, and they are yearly increasing; therefore the whole number of ships and vessels employed in this trade are about 260, and the number of Negroes they carry, about 57,000. The gold imported from the Gold Coast has been in some years 150,000 oz. And from Senegambia generally about 400 tons of gum. By a calculation of the trade, it appears, that at least one million and a half of money is annually remitted to Great Britain for Negroes and that the value of other articles imported, besides what are before-mentioned, viz. wax, ivory, malaguetta, pepper, rice, ebony, redwood, and other dying woods, amounts at least to half a million more; so that two millions of money are brought home by this trade in its present state; and it is supposed, that it might be increased much more, by proper regulations. It now employs above 50,000 tons of shipping, and is carried on chiefly by our own manufactures, and furnishes the colonies with 40,000 labourers yearly. The advantage to the revenue is equal to that of the merchants; and whatsoever is the annual value of the labour of our plantation Negroes, so in proportion is the benefit arising to government from the duties levied on the commodities produced by the labour.

Treatise upon the Trade from Great Britain to Africa, 1772.

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the lumber, provisions, and other commodities, which are imported from the Northern colonies, and paid for by the sugar planters, goes in discharge of the balances respectively due from those colonies to the mother country; or, at least, a very great part of them are this way discharged. To this catalogue we must add many of the materials necessary for building their houses; by far the greatest part of their furniture: and it is not only by their industry, and the success attending it, that Great Britain is enriched, but also by their luxuries, whenever they are in a condition to have more than the conveniences of life, such as chaises, coaches, chariots, and the like, together with all sorts of wearing apparel, but chiefly of the finest and costliest fabricks; no small part likewise of their provisions, such as cheese, hams, bacon, tongues, salmon, onions, refined sugars, confectionary, and grocery wares, spices, pickles, beer, porter, ale, and cyder, in vast quantities; and flour, and biscuit, when they are cheap. Their Negroes also are in this respect very beneficial, for they annually consume a large abundance of cheque linens, striped hollands, fustian, blanketting, long ells, and baize, Kendal cottons, Oznaburghs, canvas, coarse hats, woollen caps, cotton and silk handkerchiefs, knives, scissars, razors, buckles, buttons, tobacco-pipes, fishing tackle, small glasses, ribbons, beads, thread, needles, pins, and various other articles, all or most of them of British growth or manufacture. Further, as sugar, rum, and melasses; so likewise cotton, indigo, pimento, mahogany, fustic; and, in a word, every thing that comes from these plantations are bulky commodities; they require and employ an immense quantity of shipping, the freights of which, outward and homeward, insurance, commissions, and petit charges, are all paid by the inhabitants of these islands, and are all received by British merchants and factors. We must also take into this account the very large revenue which annually arises from this commerce to the crown. If, upon the whole, we revolve in our minds, what an amazing variety of trades receive their daily support, as many of them did originally their being, from the calls of the African and West India markets; if we reflect on the numerous families of those mechanics and artisans which are thus maintained, and contemplate that ease and plenty, which is the constant as well as just reward of their incessant labours; if we combine with these the several tribes of active and busy people, who

who are continually employed in the building, repairing, rigging, victualling, and equipping, the multitudes of seamen who earn their wages by navigating, and the prodigious crowds who likewise obtain their bread by loading, unloading, and other necessary attendances upon ships; if we remember, that the subsistence of all these ranks and degrees of men, thus usefully employed, constitutes a new fund of support to the landed and trading interests of this country; that their various consumptions contribute to raise the value of land, to cause a regular and constant demand for immense quantities of our native commodities, as well as to procure a vent for our numberless manufactures; and that all this is equally regular, permanent, and certain; we may from thence form a competent idea of the prodigious value of our sugar colonies, and a just conception of their immense importance to the grandeur and prosperity of their mother country, to whom, from the circumstance of this relation, they pay without repining such vast and multifarious tributes \*. Applicable as these remarks are to the sugar islands in general, they lead us necessarily to contemplate the large proportion of all these advantages derived to Great Britain from her possession of Jamaica; so as that, upon a fair calculation, nearly one half of the whole must be ascribed to this island. But, as this will better be understood by descending into particulars, I shall now proceed to as accurate an investigation as the nature of the subject, and the difficulty of obtaining precise informations, will admit. To begin therefore with the two principal staples, sugar and rum. I stated the number of sugar works in this island at 651, in the year 1768, but they have since increased thirty or forty; so that the present number may be presumed at least 680. The produce of these estates is somewhat near 80,000 hogsheads of 15 *cwt. per annum*; but, as this may be supposed fluctuating, I shall rate it, in order to have a determinate ground for calculation, at 75,000 hogsheads of sugar, and 30,000 puncheons of rum. I suppose these require between 60 and 70,000 acres of land, actually in canes, consisting of plants and rattoons; to which adding what is requisite for the pasturage, provision, intervals, and fire-wood, we may estimate the whole land occupied in sugar plantations at about 300,000 acres, exclusive of waste wood-land.

\* Campbell's Considerations on the Sugar Trade.

For the cultivation of this land, manufacture and carriage of its produce, we may estimate

105,000 Negroes,  
40,000 Road and mill cattle,  
25,000 Mules and horses.

The other articles, which furnish the export trade of this island, are coffee, cotton, pimento, ginger, indigo, mahogany, brailetto, fustick, logwood, lignum vitæ, and some other curious woods; as the manchineel, ebony, cedar, pigeon wood, bread-nut, &c. chiefly for cabinet and turnery ware; canella, cassia, tamarinds, aloes, hides, tortoiseshell, all of which may be called its home produce; and in addition to these, are the various articles brought in by its commerce with the neighbouring colonies, and dependancies, many whereof are synonymous with the productions above mentioned, and the rest exotic: of the latter class are to be reckoned, cacao, Peruvian bark, some balsams, and bullion.

In 1751 the following computation was made of the lands employed or occupied in the inferior staples, and in breeding pennis, or farms, viz.

	Acres	
Cotton works,	—	15,400
Pimento walks,	—	6000
Ginger plantations,	—	4400
Breeding pennis,	—	108,000
Polinks and provision plantations,	—	72,000
		Acres
		205,800

Since that period we may venture to believe, that they have been increased one third more, to the present year 1773, 68,600  
To which we may add for coffee walks, not included in the preceding list, but which article is now cultivated very extensively, — — — — — 25,600

Total, 300,000

The present number of these settlements are, as nearly as I can make them,

Cotton works,	—	110
Pimento walks,	—	100

Ginger



Ginger plantations,	—	30
Breeding pennis,	—	500
Polinks and provision places,	—	600
Coffee plantations,	—	150
Indigo works,	—	8
On these plantations we may reckon,		

Negroes,	—	40,000
Cattle, and mules,	—	4000
Ditto on the breeding farms		
or pennis,	—	67,000

Collective view of the whole, containing,

Settlements	Acres	Negroes	Cattle, mules, and horses.
Sugar estates, } supposed about	680	300,000	105,000
Other settle- } ments,	1498	300,000	40,000
Tradesmen, failors, } fishermen, &c. in do- } mestice employments,		25,000	
Totals,	2178	600,000	170,000
			136,000

An estimate of one year's produce, viz.

	Prime Cost.
	Jamaica currency.
[f] 75,000 hhds. of sugar at 20 <i>l.</i> per hundred average,	1,500,000
30,000 punch. of rum, 3,000,000 gall. at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> average,	375,000
300,000 gallons of melasses at 1 <i>s.</i>	15,000
800 casks of coffee, 300lb. weight each, at 5 <i>l.</i> per cwt.	12,000
1000 bags of cotton, 180lb. weight, 180,000lb. at 1 <i>s.</i>	9000
3,058,000lb. pimento at 6 <i>d.</i>	61,462
500 bags of ginger, 500lb. weight, at 50 <i>s.</i>	1250
510,000 feet mahogany at 50 <i>s.</i> per hund.	12,750
230 tons fustick, at 5 <i>l.</i>	1150

[f] Some are of opinion that the produce is now increased to near 100,000 hhds.; I have fixed 75,000 as the mean quantity, from 1768 to 1771; that it has augmented very considerably since, is well known; and there seems good reason to believe that by the year 1775 it will rather exceed than fall short of 100,000.

75 ditto

272 250 ditto lignum vitæ,	} at 3l.	28. 975
ditto ebony,		
1200 ditto logwood,	at 6l.	7,200
Indigo [g], canella, aloes, brafiletto, nicaragua, cocoa, tor-		
toise-shell, and other articles, averaged at about		15,000
To which add produce of its foreign trade in America, which		
has usually been rated from 60 to 70,000l., which I put at		52,500
on account of its diminution since last war.		
		£. 2,063,287

The produce of every sort being thus liquidated to a determinate sum, I shall next endeavour to display the branches of traffick which take their spring from thence; perhaps, the order will be sufficiently regular, if I proceed to shew in what manner the above-enumerated produce is disposed of, viz. by exportation, and home consumption.

### EXPORTS TO GREAT-BRITAIN.

66,000 hhds. of sugar, rated as above,	Jamaica currency.	£. 1,320,000
20,000-puncheons of rum,		250,000
1000 bags of cotton		9,000
400 casks of coffee,		6,000
3,043,000 lb. pimento,		61,087
500 bags of ginger,		1,250
500,000 feet of mahogany [b],		12,500
230 tons fustick,		1,150
		75 lignum

[g] The quantity of French indigo imported into Jamaica for six years from 1756, was 640,000 lb. weight. In this general estimate, minute exactness is not to be expected, in the several articles specified. It may be sufficient to have it not very wide of the truth. The subsequent calculations are made to depend upon it; and it is probable there may be some few errors, which of course must affect the state of the several balances; but, I apprehend, not to any very material amount upon the whole of the trade; the several prices stated, are to be understood in the same view, rather as theoretical, or, for example-sake, to illustrate better the other subject-matters.

[b] This article is now become far less beneficial to the island than formerly it was. Most of the trees that grew near the coast having been cut down, the cutters are now obliged to seek them several miles within the country; and they are chiefly found in the deep recesses of St. Anne, Clarendon, St. James, St. Elizabeth, and Westmoreland. The length and difficulty of carriage occasions an expence, at an average, of not less than 6l. sterling a ton; so that the nett produce of the best quality brought to Great Britain, after payment of all the contingent charges, does rarely exceed ten shillings per ton. The greater part of what is shipped from this island has been im-

75 lignum vitae,				£. 975
250 ebony,				
1200 logwood,				7,200
Sundries,				4,000
Proportion of the produce of foreign American trade, remitted chiefly in bullion,				17,500
				<hr/> £. 1,700,662 <hr/>

## EXPORTS TO NORTH AMERICA.

3,750 hhds, sugar,				£. 75,000
2,000 puncheons of rum,				25,000
300,000 gallons melasses,				15,000
200 casks of coffee,				3,000
15,000 lb. pimento,				375
10,000 feet mahogany,				250
Sundries,				4,000
				<hr/> £. 119,625 <hr/>

ported from the Spaniards, with whom it grows in great abundance near the coast, and is cut and carried at a very trifling expence, so that they can afford to sell it extremely cheap; but it is sappy, and very inferior to the Jamaica wood. The 11th Geo. I. cap. 7. imposes a duty of 8*l.* a ton on mahogany of foreign growth imported into Britain: this duty is entirely evaded; for it is brought free into Jamaica, and goes from thence to Britain as Jamaica wood; where, if it is sold even at the lowest price, it clears to the shipper nearly the same as the Jamaica cutters clear for their of the best quality: the losses this occasioned to several cutters obliged them to desist, so that few at present are concerned, and they are persons who have large capitals, and make a saving gain, by the greatness of their exports. The legislature of the island passed an act, about the year 1764, to put a stop to the importation of Spanish mahogany, unless clogged with the duty, which, if demanded, and paid to the custom-house at Jamaica, would soon give a check to it: but I have heard, this act was not approved at home. It is certainly but just, that the mahogany of Jamaica growth should have all the benefit intended for it by the acts of parliament which permit its importation into Britain duty free; but of this it is deprived, so long as the Spanish mahogany comes to market on the same terms, in actual breach of the statute which tends to prohibit foreign woods; besides, the inferiority of this wood by this indirect practice brings a discredit upon the Jamaica growth. There is a still stronger reason why it ought to be suppressed: the mahogany cutters of Jamaica, in the carrying on their business, are obliged to cut roads through the interior tracts of country, which before were inaccessible; by which means, settlements are promoted in those parts, where otherwise there might have been none; the public security and advantage are therefore so greatly augmented, by the necessary effects of their employment, that it is highly impolitic to leave them under such a discouragement.

EXPORTS.

EXPORTS to SOUTH AMERICA, AND OTHER PARTS.  
 1200 puncheons of rum, in payment for mules and horned  
 cattle imported, ——— ——— ——— £. 15,000

CONSUMED IN JAMAICA.

By waste and pilferage, valued at 5 per cent. 3750 hhds.  
 sugar, ——— ——— ——— £. 75,000  
 By ditto, ditto, 1500 punch. rum 18,750  
 Used, ——— ——— 1500 hogstheads, 30,000  
 Ditto, ——— ——— 5300 puncheons, 76,875  
 Ditto, ——— ——— 200 casks coffee, 3,000  
 £. 203,625

I think that this account will not, upon the whole, be found exaggerated; since, if some articles may be thought to exceed, there are others which will appear to fall short, *communibus annis*. In regard to the principal articles, sugar and rum, we know that the port of London alone takes one year with another about 44,000 hhds. and 9000 to 10,000 puncheons, the remainder, therefore, will not appear too large an allowance for the other ports of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland[*i*]; nor will the exports, upon the whole, seem overstrained, when it is considered that at a medium of four years, from 1729 to 1733, they were rated to England

alone, in sterling money, at	—	£.	s.	d.
		539,499	18	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
In 1751 they were rated at	—	692,104	13	6
And from 1764 to 1765 at	—	1,076,155	1	9

The exports then, as I have stated them, appear thus:

To Great Britain, £. 1,700,662 (reduced to sterling) is	1214,758	11	6
To North America, 119,625 ditto,	85,446	8	7
To South America, 15,000 ditto,	10,714	5	8
	£. 1,835,287	£. 1,310,919	5 9

I shall next consider the import trade; and here, as in the former calculations, I shall endeavour to approach as near to the probable truth as I am able; though it cannot be expected that, on a subject so complicated in its nature, and indeed so abstruse, by reason of the

[*i*] The imports into London are calculated by many at nearly about two thirds of the whole.

many intricate channels by which trade is conducted; and the utter impossibility there is of obtaining clear information on several points; I say, it cannot be expected, that any thing more can be formed than a notional estimate.

The imports into this island from England have been variously represented; but, upon good authority, they are rated at the different periods following, viz.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1751,	458,924	8	9	reduced to sterling,	261,728	5	0
1757,	488,208	6	8	— — — — —	348,720	4	9
1764,	636,739	6	8	— — — — —	456,528	1	11

According to the best enquiries I have been able to make, the imports are now increased to between 7 and 800,000*l.* or near as much as the whole import of 1757 into all the West-India islands. If they have augmented the last seven years in proportion to the former seven, they would be found about 785,000*l.* But, to avoid exaggeration, I shall suppose them much below this sum; and I am inclined to think, that the extraordinary rise which the importation has taken, since the last war, has been rather owing to the increased price of almost every article of manufacture in demand from the colony, than to any very unusual quantity brought in for the island consumption<sup>[1]</sup>; not but that the consumption has increased within these 12 or 14 years past, and considerably; for a great many new sugar plantations have been formed within the time; but the consumption by foreign trade has exceedingly diminished, ever since the foreigners, I allude to, were driven from our ports.

### I M P O R T S.

	Currency.
From Great Britain, in wares, merchandizes, and manufactures, and various commodities, ———	£. 730,000.
From ditto, by way of Africa, 6000 slaves at 60 <i>l.</i> [1] ———	360,000.
From ditto, and by way of Barbary and Leghorn, mules, and horses, ——— ——— ———	1,400.

[1] I argue from the dearer rate of every purchased article of consumption in the mother country; many new taxes, and augmentation of old ones; rise of workmen's wages; increased rent of lands; all which together have been rated at thirty *per cent.* within these last twenty years; which is about equal to ten *per cent.* advance in seven years; but there is good reason to believe the proportion of the last seven has greatly exceeded that of the preceding years.

[2] The price at Jamaica is now (1773) got up to 70*l.* = to 50*l.* sterling *per head.*

From Ireland, viz.	£.	Currency.
19,921 barrels of beef, 50s.	49,742 10 sterling.	£.
4308 ditto pork, 50s.	10,770	
25,876 firkins butter, 30s.	23,814.	
21,300 herrings, 25s.	26,625	
Mill-grease, wines, potatoes, onions, and all other small articles,	3000	

£. 113,951 10 is (in currency)	159,532 2
From Britain, by way of Madeira, 1000 pipes of wine, at 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ [m]	42,000

Total, £. 1,292,932 2

From different ports of North America.		
25,000 barrels of flour, at 30s.	£. 37,500	
6,000 ditto beef and pork, 50s.	15,000	
4,000 hhds. salt-fish, 100s.	20,000	
6,000 barrels of fish, 25s.	7,500	
25,000 bushels of corn, 3s. 6d.	4,375	
2,000 casks of rice, 80s.	8,000	
1,000 boxes of soap and candles, 50s.	2,500	
5,00 barrels of lamp oil, 60s.	1,500	
2,000 ditto of pitch, tar, and turpentine, 15s.	1,500	
150 horses, 15l.	2,250	
4,000,000 feet of boards, plank, } joist, &c. 7l.	28,000	
2,600,000 hogsheds and puncheon staves } at £. 12 per m.	31,200	
300,000 pieces heading, at 16l.	4,800	
Ditto small casks,	200	
Hoops,	2,000	
3,000,000 shingles, at 30s.	4,500	

[m] By an act of assembly, they are to contain, in wine measure,	Gallons.	Quarts.
Each pipe,	126.	
Hoghead,	63	
Quarter cask,	31	2

(under penalty of forfeiture.)

200 ton

200 ton of provision, as hams, salmon, bacon, cheese, biscuit, apples, onions, hog's-lard [n], &c. &c. at £. 60.	12,000
Live stock, as hogs, sheep, geese, turkeys, &c.	250

183,075

Total, £. 1,476,007

Exports, £. 1,835,287, — reduced to sterling,	£. 1,310,919	s. 5	d. 9
Imports, £. 1,476,007, — ditto, —	1,054,290	15	8

The EXPORTS exceed the IMPORTS, by

£. 359,280 currency, = sterling, £. 256,628 10 1

It would appear therefore, at first view, that Jamaica gained a clear balance of 359,280 l. currency above; but against this sum, we may place the following, set-offs.

By money spent in Great Britain and

Ireland, by absentees, annuitants,

and for education of youth, and by

lodgements, all which cannot be

computed at less than £. 280,000 currency, = sterling, £. 200,000

By annual payment or gain

of interest, at 5 l. per cent.

on money lent, the principal

supposed about 700,000 l. 49,000

35,000

£. 329,000

£. 235,000

Allowing this detail to be tolerably just, as I venture to imagine it is, the balance account will stand thus:

To clear balance gained by

trade with Great Britain } £. curr.

and Ireland, — } 30,280 = sterling, 21,628 10 1

[2] This is a modern article of import, and of late much used in cookery. What an unpardonable example of supineness and laziness among the inhabitants! who might supply themselves with any quantity of it, and of a far better quality, as the Spaniards of this island formerly used, who exported every year a great abundance of it, over and above satisfying their own consumption, which was not small, as they had no other succedaneum for butter.

To ditto gained by foreign trade, chiefly with South America, currency,		35,000	= sterling,	25,000	0	0
		65,280		46,628	10	1
<i>Per contra.</i>						
By annual balance of trade with North America, paid in money, or bills of exchange on Great Britain, but chiefly the former, Curr.		63,450	= sterling,	45,321	8	7
Nett balance gained by Jamaica on the whole, ————		[a] 1,830		1,307	1	6
		£ 65,280		£ 46,628	10	1

It must not be supposed that this yearly balance, paid to the Northern colonies, is wholly lost to Great Britain; for, on the other hand, the inhabitants of these colonies drawing large and constant supplies of commodities and manufactures from Britain, which bring a large balance against them, the balance paid by Jamaica is thought to constitute a part of the annual remittance they make to Britain in payment of their own debt; and if this be the case, it is evident, the whole accumulated profit, on these transactions, ultimately centers with the inhabitants of the mother country. The subject of trade is so diffuse, and includes such an intricate multiplicity of objects, that it is no easy task to state its various avenues to gain. What arises from the employment of ships and seamen, is not the least considerable. An enumeration of what are probably employed in the commerce of Jamaica, must suffice to convey some idea of the value of this branch. A very intelligent officer of the customs there, upon the experience of twenty years, found the number of vessels, great and small, which entered and cleared at the port of Kingston yearly, to be, at an average, four hundred. This port has somewhat declined, since the opening of Montego Bay as a free port; but what the one has lost, the other

[a] N. B. In 1752 Britain was computed to gain 762,000 £ sterling by her exports to Jamaica; and Jamaica was supposed to gain clear 40,000 £; but against this sum the balance with North America was not set, though it was at that time but small, in comparison with what it is at present.



has gained; so that the present state of shipping, taking in the out-ports with Kingston, is, according to the lowest possible allowance, to be thus computed at a yearly average.

	TONS.      TONS.      White Seamen.				
From Europe (chiefly ships),	206	at 200	41200	2060	at { 5 men to 100 tons.
North American ships, brigs, &c.	240	at 60	14400	720	at ditto to ditto.
Neighbouring colonies and dependancies; brigs, floops, and schooners,	40	at 40	1600	160	at 4 each.
Coasting floops, and schooners,	16	at 25	400	32	at 2 each.
Vessels in all,	[p] 502		[q] 57600	2972	

The following table is intended to shew, more particularly, the nature of the Jamaica trade, with different parts of the world.

London,	British wares and manufactures of almost every species, with porter and other malt liquors, refined sugars, ship chandlery, brandy, arrack, wines, India goods, mill-work of all sorts, &c. &c.
Bristol,	Like commodities, with Taunton ale, West country cyder, cheese, leather, slate, grindstones, lead, lime for temper, Bristol water, &c.
Liverpool,	Cabinet-ware, cottons, ale, ready-made cloathing, Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield wares, &c.
Lancaster,	Cottons, coarse dry goods, and the same as Liverpool.
Hull, Plymouth, and other out-ports,	Cutlery and other hard-ware, ale, cyder, wines, ship-chandlery, hams, herrings, pilchards, shads, &c.

[p] Some make the number amount to 600 or upwards.

[q] Some are of opinion, that the tonnage, including the North American ships, is upwards of 70,000. In 1752, the British seamen employed were computed at 4000.

Scotland,

Scotland,	Wrought iron, linens, ofnabrigs, checks, bonnets, tobacco-pipes herrings, stockings, shoes, boots, &c.
Ireland,	Linens, cottons, beef, herrings, butter, mill-grease, wines, potatoes, &c.
Madeira,	Wines, succades, onions.
Teneriffe,	Wines.
Cape de Verd, sometimes	Mules, asses, Spanish wines.
Mogadore,	Mules.
Leghorn and Gibraltar,	Ditto.
New York,	Flour, beef, pork, hams, salt fish, gammons, pickled oysters, onions, apples, corn, pease, rice, soap, cheese, butter, lard, oil, pitch, turpentine, horses, sheep, hogs, poultry, plank, boards, staves, joist, house-frames, hoops, heading, shingles, horses, and various other articles.
Philadelphia,	} The like articles as from New York.
Boston,	
Rhode Island,	
New London,	
Piscataque,	
Salem,	
Casco Bay,	
Virginia,	
Maryland,	
South Carolina,	
North Carolina,	} Brafiletto, turtle, salt, poultry, building-stones, mahogany.
Georgia,	
Cape Fear,	
New Haven,	
Bermudas,	
Turk's Island,	} Mules, horses, horned cattle, cacao, nicaragua, mahogany, lignum vitæ, sarsaparilla, hides, tortoiseshell, and some few other articles.
Providence,	
Spanish Main,	

Hispaniola,	Indigo, wines, and sundry smuggled wares.
Curacoa,	Mules, chiefly in return for delinquent slaves transported.
Honduras,	Logwood, and some other woods.
Mosquito Shore,	Canoes, and sundry articles similar to those imported from Spanish Main.
Caymanas,	Turtle.

In respect to her foreign commerce with the colonies and settlements in the neighbourhood, it is certain, this island is merely a middle agent, or factor, for Great Britain; for she exports to them none of the produce absolutely her own, except a small proportion of rum, to bring in any of the exportable articles with which those places furnish her. These articles are purchased, either with British wares and manufactures, or North American provisions, but chiefly with the former; and hence is obvious the vast advantage to the nation of having an island so situate and circumstanced, as to be able to extend the consumption of its manufactures, by a variety of secret and difficult channels, into those remote parts, to which no means might otherwise probably have been found of so conveniently dispersing them.

Negroes formed a very capital part of the exports to these places for many years. In some they amounted to near six thousand; but, one year with another, to about two thousand five hundred; and it was thought, that, over and above the profits of their sale, near as much more was gained by the other merchandizes which this traffick administered the opportunity of vending. But these contracts have ceased for some time, which justly has been thought a great injury to the island; if it were only for this reason, that the very formation of such an export brought a constant supply of Negroes to the Jamaica market, sufficient to answer as well the planter's demand, as the merchant's export; and since this trade has been discontinued, the market has every year grown worse supplied; so that, at present, the planters are unable to procure, at any terms, the number they require; besides, advantage being taken of the few that are brought in, these are sold in course at most extravagant prices. The whole number imported from 1702 to the peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1750, a space of 48 years, was 408,101; of which only 108,795 were exported; and the rest,

190,511,

190,511, remained in the island; which circumstance proves, that the planters were the first served. These Negroes employed twenty-five sail of ships, *communibus annis*; and, considering the various emoluments to which the trade became a certain inlet, there is no doubt but the island as well as Great Britain (but particularly the former) has been much hurt by the loss of it. It was computed, that the nation gained, in some years, no less than 300,000 *l.* sterling by it. A third part of this sum, at least, may be reckoned for the average profit *per annum*, which passed by the way of Jamaica. We may infer then from hence, the vast benefit this island acquired, by having the management of so great a part of the trade; by the residence of so many opulent merchants occupied in carrying it on; the fitting out some vessels, and the victualing and repairing of others employed in it; the constant use of a great part of this money in circulation; and the application of the other part of it in forming new sugar estates. I shall conclude this Section with a sketch of the annual profits which the nation may be supposed to gain by her commerce with this island.

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Half freight outwards, at 6 <i>l.</i> <i>per</i> ton, ——— sterling,	124,800		
Freight of sugar homewards, ——— ———	184,800		
Ditto of rum, ——— ——— ——— ———	50,000		
Ditto of other articles, ——— ——— ——— ———	+ 25,000		
By insurance (probably much under-rated), ——— ———	20,000		
By commission, brokerage, and other charges, ——— ———	260,000		
By profit on 6000 Negroes, deducting prime cost, ——— ———	125,142		
By freight of ditto, at 5 <i>l.</i> <i>per</i> head, ——— ———	30,000		
By absentees, annuitants, &c. ——— ——— ——— ———	200,000		
By interest money, ——— ——— ——— ———	35,000		
By transport of merchants, planters, and servants, to and from the island, computed at 300 <i>per annum</i> , at 15 <i>l.</i> <i>per</i> head average, ——— ——— ——— ———	4,500		
By one fourth of 521,428 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> amount of merchandize and manufactures furnished from Great Britain, al- lowed as clear gain, ——— ——— ——— ———	130,357	2	6
Add the annual balance, supposed to be paid to North America, and remitted in course of trade to Britain,	45,321	8	7

† This, it is imagined, is greatly under-rated, the Pimento alone being about 20,000 *l.*

And allowing one half at least of the clear gain of Ire- £. s. d.  
 land by its annual supply to be ultimately centered  
 in Britain; this, at one eighth of the amount,  
 113,951*l.* 10*s.*, is — — — — 14,243 18 9

£. 1,249,164 9 10

Many considerations will naturally occur to every thinking person, who turns his view to the several beneficial objects which this island produces, over and above what I have noticed; the vast advantages, for instance, of having such a nursery for seamen, and support of the trades concerned in ship-building; of employing so many ships continually, besides those detached for the Guiney trade, the profits on which, and of their cargoes exported for purchasing the regular supply of Negroes, I have not admitted into the preceding calculation; nor have I included the many transient traders and other persons, who, having no landed property there, but having reaped by merchandize, or other profession, competent fortunes, return full laden to their native hive. What a field is here opened to display the comforts and blessings of life, which this commerce distributes among so many thousands of industrious subjects in the mother country! what multitudes participate the sustenance and conveniences derived from it, who, without it, would either cease from existence, or not exist to any useful purpose! If we should carry our ideas still further, and imagine double the number of acres to be occupied in the island, and equally cultivated, it would then yield a profit of full two millions and a half yearly to our mother country; a grand prospect this of future maturity, which offers a large sphere for the exercise of patriotism! To establish wholesome laws; to help and promote industry, commerce, and trade; to administer impartial justice; to reclaim uncultivated lands, and make them profitable; is to strengthen a state, more than can be by conquests; it is, in short, to acquire new countries, and a new community of useful subjects, without making any one person miserable, or shedding one drop of human blood. The present situation and circumstances of Jamaica afford opportunities of strengthening and improving it, by various means (some whereof I have presumed to suggest) and that, not only without making any one miserable,

miserable, but by bestowing real happiness; by adopting the sentiments of a mild and free government; by relieving from indigence and oppression, and inviting strangers to a comfortable means of subsistence for themselves and their posterity; there is no doubt, but if this island was well inhabited, and its lands sufficiently cultivated, it could not fail to reward the most liberal attention bestowed upon it, by becoming infinitely more valuable to Great Britain than it is at present.

## S E C T. II.

DAVENANT, who proves clearly the increased wealth and strength of Great Britain ever since she entered into the spirit of colonization, observes, that the rental of the kingdom was, in the year 1600, at six millions; and he supposes it to have advanced, at the time of the Revolution, fourteen millions; making in all twenty millions. At the time of the Revolution the price of land had risen from ten to eighteen years purchase. It is generally allowed, that the rental has doubled since that period. Setting it therefore now at forty millions, and the average price of land at thirty years purchase, the landed property of the kingdom is now to be estimated at twelve hundred millions; that is to say, twenty times the value it bore at the beginning of the last century; and the general stock of the kingdom, in money, shipping, plate, jewels, horses, furniture, and all other rateable things, has increased from seventeen to perhaps eighty-five millions. It seems indeed allowed on all hands, that, since our plantations first became thriving and profitable, the national opulence has every way augmented. In the number of its inhabitants it was computed to have gained about nine hundred thousand, from the year 1660 to 1688, notwithstanding the drain which had been recently made by all the colonies, most of them then in their infant state, as well as by bloody wars, and devastation of the plague. At the Revolution the imports from the plantations were stated at about 750,000*l.* the exports at 350,000*l.*; and the difference, or 600,000*l.*, was thought to be the national gain. If the flourishing condition of the mother country is therefore to be traced by the effects which her plantation trade has produced, we may claim no small share of the merit for the island of Jamaica; the exports to, and imports from which, are now  
more

more than equal to what the whole value of the plantation trade was at the time of the Revolution ; and which, at that time, was supposed by the ablest judges, to have principally augmented the wealth of the kingdom, kept the balance of trade with foreign states on its side, and enabled it to sustain one of the longest and most expensive wars in which it had ever been engaged. The merchants, at that period, represented, that, upon a just medium, the labour of one hundred Negroes in our American (or rather West-Indian) dominions drew 1600*l.* *per annum* profit to the nation ; from which argument, if we should apply it to the present labouring Negroes in Jamaica, the annual profit would rise to a larger sum than I dare mention ; for, at the most moderate average, the gain upon that island, within the course of the present century, would be found to exceed one hundred and fifty millions. But if we restrict the computation merely to those Negroes who are employed on the sugar estates, the amount is 1,680,000*l.* *per annum*, which is not so wide of the probable truth. The remarks of the same period, respecting the English subjects resident in the colonies, are however less exceptionable. Whatever their number may be, it was justly said, that the nation need not complain of wanting them, because the superlucration of the same number, over and above furnishing them with necessaries of life, food, and rayment, could not in any other way be so beneficial ; since, if every one of these, situated as they are, in a fertile soil, productive of various commodities, finds employment for six other persons ; then it follows, that one such man *there* is as profitable as *seven* would be in *England*. It has been supposed a reasonable profit for the subjects of a trading nation to bring in to the public (one with another) seven shillings gain *per head*, over and above their subsistence ; but I think it demonstrable, that the inhabitants of Jamaica, taken collectively (Whites and Negroes) gain an annual clear sum to this kingdom of six pounds *per head* ; so that one subject in this colony gains to the nation as much as seventeen subjects resident in the mother country, one with another, have been supposed to acquire for it.

Formerly it was computed that about 1800 persons annually went to the West Indies from this kingdom ; that about 500 foreigners annually came to settle in England ; and that the West Indies sent back annually about 300 persons of their offspring ; with this difference, that the

the parents went out poor, the children came home rich ; this made a balance of one thousand yearly against England ; but, however the case might be formerly, I am apt to believe, that few more go out annually, than come home at this time. The white inhabitants at Jamaica are, probably, rather on the decrease, from various causes ; yet the increase by marriages there bears equal proportion to the class of middling families in England ; and if marriages were in proportion as frequent there as at home, their stock of native inhabitants might advance without foreign supplies ; provided they were not in such affluent circumstances as to prefer a residence in Britain to their native spot. But of the children born there, and who survive the dangerous state of infancy, three in four are sent to Britain for education, and probably not two of the three, at an average, return to a permanent residence in Jamaica. One chief reason to be assigned for this is, that few planters chuse to parcel out their plantation among their children, as is done in the Northern colonies, because these properties are not easily severable ; and therefore are transmitted whole and undivided to one child, to preserve them in the family ; but they are burthened with annuities, or fortunes, payable to the other children, generally sufficient to maintain them in England : the latter therefore, taking no share in the management of the patrimony, have the less inducement to a colony residence. Since the Northern provinces became populous, many persons quit them, with a view to mend their affairs in the West India islands ; and this tends to lessen the drain from Europe. The foreign colonies around supply some ; the demand for indented British servants is now almost discontinued ; so that, all these circumstances considered, I may venture to think, that the export of people from the kingdom is at present nearly balanced by the import. It has been a question in political speculation, whether Great Britain can afford to maintain more than a certain number of inhabitants ; and whether she does not at present exceed that certain number ? In proof of the affirmative opinion is alledged the great multitude of supernumeraries, who are subsisted by alms and the poor's rate, or that emigrate into foreign service ; soldiers, seamen, shipwrights, artists, pedlars, &c. ; not to speak of many hundreds, whose necessities drive them to commit some violence, for which they are either put to death, or banished out of the realm. The opinion is plausible ;



there is even much reason to suppose it founded on truth; and that very happy effects might result, could the honefter part of these supernumeraries be sent into colony employment. One cause why numbers do not take refuge there, who may be well inclined, is the expence of the passage. How many would gladly traverse the Atlantic for bread, if they might do so at no greater expence than the fare from Dover to France or Holland! This bar to the emigration of superfluous people towards the West India islands, the government of France has set aside, by the regulation already noticed in the course of this work; and it well deserves the attention of our British legislature, whether a similar regulation be not admissible among us, consistently with the freedom of our constitution; nothing can be more reconcileable to sound policy, than that whoever leaves the kingdom to fix himself in some other country, should be engaged to settle where he may continue to benefit it. The migrations to our Northern colonies increase the numbers of a people who are rivaling Britain; whereas, every man who settles in our West India islands adds, while he lives, much more to the wealth and advantage of the mother country, than he might have done if he had remained in it. People, who are indigent here, will go in quest of subsistence elsewhere; and we must be sensible, that by providing proper colonies for these people to resort to, and facilitating the means of their conveyance into them, their industry (though not their persons) is still preserved to Britain. By the increase of trade, which their labours abroad produce at home, the number of our necessitous people here is greatly lessened; larger quantities of our manufactures and commodities are wanted, than are requisite for those plantations: to supply these, numbers must be set to work, who before were either idle, subsisted on the poor's rate, or that took methods of subsisting injurious to the public and to themselves: instead of looking upon such people as lost, we ought to consider them as preserved to this kingdom; which, but for our colonies, they would not have been. Further, this mode of visiting our distant territories is so far from thinning the mother country of inhabitants, that it is a principal means of making it populous, by generating such a variety of methods for the commodious subsistence by labour and industry, as (before we had these plantations) were utterly unknown to us; but which are continually multiplying, in proportion as our  
commerce

commerce with these colonies grows more important. The support given by the commerce of these colonies keeps more people in, and attracts more people to Britain, than otherwise we should have, or indeed without these helps could be able to maintain. It is obvious, that if Britain should, by emigrations, or other causes, come to fall short of its due complement of working hands, such a deficiency must immediately raise the price of work and wages all over the kingdom; and this would, by natural consequence, draw a quick supply of foreign recruits from the neighbouring continent, who would continue their influx until the full complement was restored. Jamaica is in want of people; the kingdom would be considerably benefited by encouraging the population of it; and therefore ought to promote it by every favourable and prudent measure. If poor and industrious persons were sufficiently encouraged to settle in the interior parts of it, necessity would oblige them to go upon the cultivation of cacao, ginger, aloes, coffee, pimento, and other articles, which require no great labour, are not burthensome in the carriage, and which have all a sufficient demand at home, to recompense those who do not look for vast and sudden fortunes. By degrees, and with good management, they would improve in the culture of many of those articles, in which we are at present rather defective; the careful would grow tolerably rich, and considerable works of many valuable commodities, as cacao, cochineal, and indigo, might be attempted with small capitals. So that, whilst the great stocks, and the lands most convenient to navigation, are employed in sugars, the small capitals, and more inland parts, might be dedicated to the humbler, though not less useful, commodities. There is little doubt, but the cochineal might be successfully managed in this island, where it is already in the greatest abundance. The articles of cotton, coffee, and cacao, require a more vigorous culture, and, to extend them, nothing is wanted but proper encouragements from legislature, and an increase of inhabitants. Sugar and rum are the only commodities of our islands that come into Great Britain, sufficient in quantity to answer her own consumption; of the other articles, she is obliged to purchase largely from foreigners. The article of cochineal has been estimated at 100,000*l.* yearly. As for cotton, she depends chiefly upon the Levant trade. The importation of coffee from the Levant and East Indies must be very considerable,

since *one* of the company's ships only has been known to bring home above 1,000,000 lb. What hinders us from being as industrious as the French, whose islands are said to produce above ten million pounds weight of coffee annually? no small part whereof they export to the Levant, from whence it is not improbable, but we import much of it, under the title of *Turkey coffee*; which, being far fetched, is for that reason esteemed much above its real merit; for it is well known, that our Jamaica coffee, when well cured, and of due age, is equally good as any that is brought from the French islands. Nothing, in short, tends more to bring any commodity of this kind to as great perfection, as it is capable of, as the making it an established article in regular demand of trade. The importation of foreign coffee and cotton has been a very great discouragement to our own islands, by making the demand so irregular and uncertain, as to cast a damp on the settlers adventuring upon them. Coffee was never cultivated to such height as it is at present in Jamaica; this is owing to the remission of one shilling *per* pound inland duty, and to the war subsisting between the Turks and Russians, which for a long time gave interruption to the Levant trade. It is clear, that if Great Britain was wholly supplied from her own islands with these articles, such an exclusion of foreign goods would conduce very highly to her advantage, and to their improvement; for in this event, she would pay for them entirely with her manufactures; so that, instead of coffee and cotton, her East India and Levant trade would be obliged to take other commodities, less detrimental in their consequence; and probably the balance of the Levant trade would be greatly enhanced in our favour, and paid in money; and if it be true, that Martinico coffee is brought in upon us by way of the Levant, this prohibition must prove a check to the French growth, and a proportional nourishment of our own. Chocolate is likewise another very great article of British consumption, which Jamaica might be brought to yield in sufficient quantity; for while the Spaniards were in possession of that island, it contained their finest and principal cacao walks. It is supposed, that Britain purchases in these articles of foreigners to the amount at least of 250,000 *l.* annually, which, added to the article of cochineal, makes 350,000 *l.*; and pays most part of this sum, if not the whole, in specie, for those very commodities which her own West India territory might easily be

made to yield her, in exchange for her manufactures; that is to say, for the labour of her at present unemployed poor. These articles being already well known in Jamaica, a few provisions only are requisite to extend their culture. The first leading point is, the increase of petty settlers; the next is, an encouragement of these articles in the colony, by suitable bounties to be granted upon their importation into Britain, and continued for a certain term of years, that is, until they shall have taken firm root; lastly, at that crisis to accumulate duties upon those of foreign growth: by which measures, steadily pursued, our own might acquire a permanent establishment. Our importation of these articles from foreigners, not only brings the balance of many trades against us, but adds a considerable increase to foreign navigation and maritime power. What a wide difference then is there between emigrations to our Northern colonies, which produce nothing but rivalry; and to our Southern ones, which either yield, or are capable of yielding, the same commodities which we at present purchase at so great a loss from foreigners! What immense sums have been saved to the nation by our entering so largely into cultivation of the sugar cane! Before our West India islands were settled, we paid to the Portuguese from 4*l.* to 5*l.* *per* hundred weight for muscovado sugars, no better in quality than what are now sold for 30*s.* to 35*s.*, and if we but consider the difference in the value of money now, and at the period I allude to, the great saving to this kingdom will appear in a very striking light. Our dyers wares were bought of the Spaniards, to whom we paid for logwood from 100*l.* to 130*l.* *per* ton, which is now imported from our own settlements at 3*l.* 15*s.* to 4*l.* 4*s.* *per* ton, and other goods, used in dying, proportionably. Cotton is particularly wanted, to work up with wool in many of our manufactures, especially those fabrics which have vent among the Spaniards and Indians in South America, and for which we take many valuable commodities in return. Our pimento lessens the demand for spices, which are only to be had of the Dutch at their own rates. Ginger is chiefly exported, though a considerable quantity is consumed at home. Logwood, fustic, and indigo, &c. are absolutely necessary in dying several of our manufactures; and before we drew some part of our supply of these commodities from our own plantations, we paid five times the price for some of them that we now do, and for others, more.

So that, by having these plantations, we not only save as much as was formerly paid for those commodities to foreigners, but we are now so copiously supplied with some of them, as to be able to dispose of our overplus to other nations; and our manufacturers, by procuring them so much cheaper than formerly, are enabled to vend their fabrics cheaper, which cannot fail of aiding the sale of them at distant markets, at which there is any competition between us and other manufacturing states. The reasons then which first prompted us to go largely upon sugar, and which have been so evidently justified by the happiest fruits in our trade and commerce, the same reasons should impel us to proceed as extensively as possible with the culture of all the other West India commodities, and refuse no encouragement or provision whatever conducive to this great end; by which the nation cannot fail, in the nature of things, to save very large annual sums, now paid to foreigners; and gain a thousand other concomitant advantages. The subsequent part of this work will open a wide scope of materials, whereon to exercise the industry of settlers, if the effective population of the internal districts of Jamaica should ever come to be considered with that seriousness, and promoted with that spirit, which it well deserves. That it ought to be attended to, as a matter of utmost importance, will, I hope, appear from what has already been offered, as well as by a comparative examination of the rapid advances beyond us, which the French West India settlements are making. By a calculation taken in the year 1749, the exported produce of Hispaniola alone was 1,200,000*l.*; but there is good reason to believe, that it was much under-rated. Hispaniola is said to produce more than all the British islands; if so, the amount is to be reckoned above 2,000,000*l.* Guadaloupe, we know, was, in a year subject to the losses of war, and exclusive of its exports to North America, worth to Britain 600,000*l.* We cannot estimate the whole produce therefore of that colony at less than 700,000*l.* If we suppose Martinico equal, and the smaller islands and settlements altogether at half the sum, then the total amount of their produce will be found, *viz.*

Hispaniola, about	_____	_____	_____	£.	2,250,000
Guadaloupe,	_____	_____	_____		700,000
Martinico, and the other islands and settlements,					1,050,000
				£.	4,000,000
					Some

Some writers have estimated the whole of their sugar annually produced, at 120,000 hhds. But in 1742 it was proved, that they produced 122,500 of 12lb. weight each; and at that period exceeded the British by 45,558 hhds. Now as our islands have more than doubled their produce since that time, we cannot suppose that the French settlements, which are so much better peopled, have done less; and therefore their annual produce of sugar may now be about 208,000 hhds. of 15lb. weight *per* hundred, which probably exceeds the British settlements about 60,000 hhds. To this we must add the amount of their other products, not as yet largely cultivated in the British islands, such as cacao, coffee, indigo, &c. Of these I have seen the following estimate:

Coffee,	9,400,000 lb. wt. at the home market price,	£.	
	10 d. <i>per</i> lb.		391,659
Cacao,	176,000 lb.	ditto, 6 d.	5000
Indigo,	1,298,000 lb.	ditto, 5 s.	324,000
Anotto,	200,000 lb.	ditto, 3 s. 4 d.	33,000
Sugar,	208,000 hhds. at 14 l. 5 s. sterl. <i>per</i> hhd. [r]		2,964,000
To these we must add, their melasses, cotton, woods, dyes, various drugs obtained from their settlement at Cayenne on the continent, besides bullion and coin acquired from the Spaniards and North Americans, with whom they drive a very large trade, particularly at Hispaniola; for all which, it cannot be thought an exaggeration, if we allow			282,341
			£. 4,000,000

About the year 1720, and not much sooner, the French began to make some figure at foreign markets with the produce of Hispaniola; this was sixty-five years after Jamaica came into our possession. If we mark the progress they have since made, and draw a fair comparison, it will appear, that, although we had the start of them for so long a space, yet they have gone far beyond us in the cultivation of their

[r] The French duties paid in their colonies by the neutral traders in 1762 were as follows:

Sugar elayed,	<i>per</i> cwt.	—	s. d.	
			1 6	sterling.
Coffee,	ditto,	—	0 5	
Indigo,	<i>per</i> lb.	—	0 3	
				lands,

lands, and the quantity of sugar they export. In proof of this, about the year 1701 they had not more than one hundred sail of merchant-ships employed in the whole trade to their colonies; but in the year 1744, the number was increased to 600. This is not owing to greater skill in planting, or more industry; but to the happy measures of their government. All poor families in want of land, are not only provided with it, but likewise with materials for clearing and cultivating it; and even with money, if they stand in need of it; and their taxes are remitted. At the same time, the government has a proper pledge in its hands for the subject's industry, who is made debtor to the crown for the value of all the necessary supplies, and money, he receives at his first outlet. After a certain convenient time, he accounts with the intendant of the colony, and pays every year from that time a certain reasonable proportion of his produce, until the whole debt is discharged: so that the families, thus raised from poverty to opulence, cannot fail of possessing the same gratitude and attachment for the government, that any individual must feel for his best benefactor: what an excellent means is this of securing their loyalty, by founding it on the principles of love and gratitude! Their government is a merciful creditor, that will never distress them, which would be repugnant to the end proposed; they are therefore not harassed and ruined, as many of our settlers have been, by the severity of actions for debt. In short, the prodigious increase of their West India traffic, within a few years, affords the most incontestable proof, that the encouragements and regulations given to their colonies are admirably well contrived to render them populous and flourishing.

The whole produce of the British islands has been rated, as I have already observed, by some authors, at 2,700,000*l*; but it is probably under the truth. According to them, the whole quantity of sugars made in the six islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, is 106,781 hhds.; whereas the medium import from them into Great Britain is 120,000 hhds. without taking into account what they consume within themselves, and ship to North America. The addition of the new ceded islands makes the whole importation, *communibus annis*, little short of 150,000 hhds.

In 1764 the import was about

Hhds.

161,000

From

From which deducting French and Spanish prize sugars,  
supposed about

50,000

111,000 hhd.

The remainder was the import from our own islands.

The export was in raw sugars, 11,500

in refined ditto, 19,005

30,505

80,495

Add, prize sugars consumed at home, 50,000

Total of home consumption, 130,495 hhd.

The home consumption [s] was estimated, in 1742, at no more than 56,714 hogheads. It has therefore increased since that period (if the preceding calculation be right) about seventy thousand hogheads. This is a prodigious augmentation, and is, pretty justly I think, attributed to the low prices of tea for some years past.

In 1730 the consumption of tea was only 800,000 lb. and now it is 4,400,000 lb. or perhaps 5,000,000 lb. *per annum*, as it is notorious that very large quantities are every year smuggled into the kingdom: now this, at 4s. *per lb.* medium, amounts to 1,000,000*l.* which may be supposed to consume near ninety thousand hogheads of muscovado. The proportion has been calculated at about 30*s.* tea to 20*s.* sugar. But as it is impossible to distinguish the exact proportion of refined to muscovado consumed in this way, and as the prices of tea are so various, so we can only treat this as matter of conjecture. We know

[s] The following was the state of the imports and exports in the years 1720, 1721, and 1722:

	Imports.	Exports.	Home Consumption.
1720,	46,885	8,118	38,767
1721,	33,169	4,449	28,720
1722,	41,126	5,574	35,552

Hhds.

Taking the average of the exports in these years, they amount to about one-seventh of the imports, whereas the exports of 1764 amount to one-fifth, which shews that the exports were then increased, though not in proportion to what a speculative writer might expect; but the reason is obvious: the home consumption was amazingly increased, and therefore left the less for export; and the home consumption acquired this increase, either by the ability of the French to supply foreign markets at lower prices, and in general with sugars of a superior quality; or, by the increased wealth and civilization of the people of all ranks at home.

likewise,



likewise, that large quantities are spent by coffee, chocolate, confectionary, and medical compositions; and what will not serve for these purposes, is distilled into spirit: but no author has hitherto attempted to shew the proportions consumed in each of these different ways.

The tonnage, and seamen, French and British, employed in the West India trade, have been stated thus;

	Tons.		Seamen.
French, —	105,000	—	9770
British, —	56,117	—	5600
Difference, —	48,883	—	4170 in favour of France;

but both are probably under-rated.

The comparative advantages, which the French planters enjoy, consist in general in the freshness, and greater natural fertility of their lands; the greater cheapness of their cloathing, and some other necessaries; the lower wages, and therefore cheaper maintenance, of white servants; the free certain vent of their melasses to the North Americans; and the lowness of their taxes. To balance these, the British planters are thought superior to them in the constant supply, and lower price, of Negroes; and a lower freight; but I much question, if we can justly claim the advantage over them in either. It is pretty certain, that they are able to purchase slaves upon the Coast at as reasonable a price as we can, and probably for less; as their brandies and trinkets cost them much less than the spirits and wares we export for the like purpose; it is also certain, that, by great mismanagement among our African traders, the price of Negroes is now raised upon our planters to double what it was about fifteen years ago. They are now sold at the most enormous rates; and the price of freight, as well as every sort of plantation supplies, have considerably risen since the late war. On the other hand, it is some advantage to us to distill our melasses: this, it is true, is but a small one; yet, as far as I can judge, it seems almost the only one we have, and that in this respect the French are sufferers, by not being allowed to manufacture their melasses into spirit: in regard to the national benefits gained by this trade, they seem at the first view to be on the side of France; for, if there be any truth in the maxim, that whatever a nation exports to foreigners, of her colony products, over and above satisfying her own consumption, is clear gain to that nation, France, upon

upon this principle, would appear to profit infinitely more in proportion than we do. But Doctor Campbell has urged many sensible reasons to prove the contrary. We formerly, says he, (that is, in the reign of Charles the Second) consumed about a thousand hogsheads of sugar a year, and exported above twice that quantity. At the close of the last century we consumed about twenty thousand hogsheads, and exported about as much. We now [p] consume about fourscore thousand hogsheads, and, except in time of war, export but very little. On the other hand, the French make a great deal of sugar, their consumption is small, and, of course, they export a great deal in time of peace. But does it follow, because we consume eighty thousand hogsheads of sugar, and consequently import somewhat more, we gain so much less by it now than when we imported but half the quantity? No certainly; we pay for the sugar now as we did then, that is, we pay for it in our commodities, manufactures, &c. therefore it is twice as beneficial to us now as it was then; and if we consume it, this is owing to the increase of our industry, that is, of our affluence. If the wealth of France was as great, or as generally diffused, that is, if the mass of their people were as thoroughly employed, and thereby as easy in their circumstances, as the bulk of the British nation actually are, they would then of course consume much more, and export much less. Upon these grounds he endeavours to prove, that the inhabitants of Great Britain, by their consumption of eighty thousand hogsheads of sugar, instead of one thousand, appear to have grown richer, and consequently our commerce much enlarged; and, considering how very great a share of this augmented wealth hath arisen from our West Indian territories, we have here a convincing and conclusive demonstration of the benefits we have derived from them, as also the clearest evidence that can be desired of our holding in them the most solid resources for the maintenance and extension of our trade, and, of course, the preservation and increment of all those benefits that apparently attend it. It likewise shews, that, notwithstanding France, in time of peace, exports such great quantities of sugar, yet as this visibly arises from the smallness of her home consumption, it must be deemed as an incontestable evidence, that she has not, as a nation, drawn the same advantages from her commerce as we have; but is

[p] 1762.

now in that very state we once were, when, though we brought smaller quantities of sugar from our colonies than we now do, we nevertheless exported to foreign countries much greater quantities of that commodity than at present. Hence an argument is drawn, to enforce the propriety of employing more sugar lands, in order that by such an accession Great Britain may, in process of time, import so great a quantity of sugar as to saturate her own consumption, and carry on likewise an extensive export to foreign countries. This probably cannot happen, until the price of sugar, by the vast quantity poured in upon our market, becomes somewhat cheaper than at present. What seems to confirm the reasoning, in respect to the French exports, is, that, as far as I can learn, there is not any material difference between the price of this article in France and in Great Britain [9]; which shews, that (*cæteris paribus*) we might even now meet them at foreign markets on nearly equal terms. But if we had such an overstock as that we could afford to undersell them, there is no question but we might soon find means of beating them from the markets, to which they have so long resorted, and cause a very signal declension of their trade. It is this reduction of price which many planters dread; but in truth it is a chimerical fear, so long as we can command an export, and thus force the regular and incessant consumption of all that is brought home, so that none may lie upon hand; for this, in some measure, will make amends for a reduced price; because sugar, from the quickness and certainty of its vent, will then have the advantages incident to ready money; and indeed it ought never to linger, as it is of so perishable a nature, and as the planter's exigencies require a prompt payment, without which his business must soon fall into a languishing state. The expediency of cultivating more sugar land, as it was thought the best reason for settling the newly ceded islands, so it is equally strong in favour of opening, and bringing into culture, the hitherto dormant recesses of Jamaica. In the prosecution of this extensive plan, the only thing to be justly apprehended is the imposition of new duties upon this commodity. The consumption must become less in Great Britain, and other parts of Europe, in proportion as the duties are accumulated upon it; therefore every new tax

[9] This point has been variously represented. Some report that they are cheaper by 20 s. per cwt. which is hardly credible.

must

must prove a discouragement to the planters ; for as the consumption of sugar in Great Britain and Ireland has always been greater or less, according as it was sold cheap or dear, it follows, that, admitting the popular opinion, “ the consumer pays the duty,” to be true, the heavier the duties are, the higher must be the price, and consequently the consumption be diminished, by its being restricted to a smaller number of persons ; this argument then, which many politicians have ever in their mouths, to justify new taxations upon sugar, and to prove them inoffensive to the planter, by their falling wholly upon the consumers, proves the very reverse of what they contend for, and remarkably so in this instance ; because it is well known, that the very poorest subjects in this kingdom are consumers of it, as well as the richest ; which they could not be, or at least of not one half the usual quantity, if, by the accumulation of new duties, it should be rendered too dear for them. Besides, the higher the duties and other charges levied on it in Great Britain are, the less able is the British merchant to export a redundancy, because the French and other foreigners will afford to sell it at a cheaper rate ; and if, to help it out of the kingdom, a drawback be granted on the exportation, then, as the quantity to be disposed of this way will probably be large, what is gathered in the new duty, may be all exhausted again by the drawback ; so that government would become no gainer by the measure, and many of the poorer families in the two kingdoms be nevertheless distressed unnecessarily for want of so comfortable an article ; without which even the fruits of this country become unpalatable to the meanest persons ; for it has been remarked, that a plentiful crop of apples greatly increases the consumption of sugar[r] ; and this fruit, particularly in the Western counties, furnishes no inconsiderable part both of the aliment and drink of the common people.

It may be supposed possible, that the quantity, at some period hereafter, imported, may be so enormous, as that it can neither be spent at home, nor gain a vent by exportation abroad ; and that a glut must in that event inevitably ensue, which would cause this commodity to subside to a very low price. Any very signal reduction

[r] Computed by some at eight thousand hogstheads.

of price, from such a cause, might be attended with ruinous effects to the planters. If, for example, it should fall to 21 *s. per cwt.* the planter would gain barely 6 *l. per cent.* on his capital, which is equal to what he pays in Jamaica for interest of money borrowed; he could not, therefore, in such a situation, afford to borrow at all, because he would hazard much, to gain nothing; and he would be unable to pay off any of the principal of his debt, supposing it to be large, or to lay out any thing in improvements. At 28 *s.* he would gain only 8 *l. per cent.* which may be reckoned a saving profit; but should it ever fall, and continue for some time, much below this rate, the planters will do well to turn their hands to some other occupation. For, if we consider how large their capitals necessarily are; how very expensive and precarious their business; and their nett income, on an average of years, how proportionably small; it would seem that they ought even now to practise strict oeconomy, in order to be clear annual gainers. Something ought surely to be allowed, over and above their maintenance, to repair those losses which so frequently occur; and to prosecute improvements; a spirit for which is politically and essentially requisite to be encouraged, and supported in all our sugar colonies. Few would incline to persist in a trade which constantly brought them in debt. I have known some Jamaica planters in this predicament, with respect to their rum shipped to the British market. The customs and excise must be paid at all events; but if, at any certain juncture, foreign brandies are so attainable by smuggling, and, together with malt spirits, are vended so cheap, as to hold the preference in general consumption, their rum must be sold at any rate, to reimburse the charges; after paying of which, there have been several instances, where the proceeds of the sale did not entirely acquit the charges; and consequently the shippers would have saved some expence, and a great deal of labour, if they had given their melasses and cane liquor to their hogs, instead of distilling them. A glut of sugars at the British market, is certainly *possible* at least; for since France has so vastly improved her colonies, there has been more sugar made in some favourable years, than all Europe could consume; which was particularly the reason of the low price of sugars, between the years 1728 and 1735. It is true, that the price has been on the advance since that period, and this has been owing to

to nothing else than the prodigious improvements made of late years in the general commerce of Europe, particularly inland navigation, not to speak of the great strides made during this space in North America; so that, the inhabitants every where becoming richer, and more communicative with one another, the consumption of sugar has been extended among many thousands, perhaps millions, who before were equally unable either to procure, or to pay for it; and it is well known that, since the late war, the consumption of it in North America has been double what it used to be: we may remark the like of Great Britain, where it is so generally in use, and chiefly by the assistance of tea, that even the poor wretches living in alms-houses will not be without it. I do not take upon me to defend this class of people from the charge, which some writers have brought, against their passion for sipping tea; which is represented as a most enervating liquor; but I incline to believe, that the abuse of it only is noxious; and that the sort of tea in which the common people indulge, is the least unwholesome of any; and further, that of the two, this liquor is, beyond comparison, much more innocent to their healths than gin, and the other fiery spirits retailed to the vulgar; it is less injurious for them to drink tea than drams, which is, in effect, no more than saying, that an aqueous beverage is wholesomer than a liquid fire; and that sugar is a most salutary ingredient, we can entertain no doubt, after the stamp of approbation which it has received from Doctor Mc Bride, and other learned men of the faculty, and in particular the former, who proves its virtue in correcting the ill effects which a liberal use of animal food is apt to produce.

But to return: so long as the trade of this kingdom continues to flourish, we need not fear that the consumption will be lessened; yet there may be a point imagined, beyond which it may not be able to advance. If, for example, by the vigorous industry of the settlers in the newly ceded islands, together with the unrelaxed endeavours of those in our older colonies, the whole importation in the course of some few years should be raised to 200,000 hhds. an event that will probably happen before the expiration of the next ten years, this will cause a glut at the British market, and reduce the price one fourth, or to about 26*s.* 3*d.* *per cwt.* At this price, there is reason to think

think that a great part of it would, before the next annual importation came round, find consumers at home, agreeably to the rule before-mentioned, *viz.* "That by lowering the price of a thing universally coveted, there must be a great number of new purchasers, and the old ones will consume a much larger quantity of it." But however increased the consumption might be by this means, the planters would not clear  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *per cent.* on their capitals, over and above payment of interest: this might prove a discouragement, more especially to the ceded islands, which are settling upon borrowed money; and in such an event, no small quantity might remain a long time in warehouses, as the demand or sale through the year would be gradual only; but if, on the other hand, we suppose that, by the natural current of commerce, the price would no sooner fall by the large quantity introduced into this kingdom, than the sluices of exportation to foreign countries would be opened, we can set no other limits to the free vent of this article, and the successful progress of our sugar islands, than what will be connected with the state of the foreign demand, and the inability of the French and our other rivals in this branch to supply it fully, or upon equally cheap terms. The result therefore must be left to time; to the prosperous or unprosperous future condition of this kingdom, as well as of France, and the other states of Europe; but even admitting the worst to happen, and that, for want of an exportation, sugars should become a drug at the British market, and as unsaleable for a continuance as rum hath sometimes been, Jamaica will not suffer so immediately or severely, as either the new islands, or the other old ones; because it is better established, and in proportion more disencumbered. It has fewer inconveniences, wants, and disasters, to struggle with, than colonies just hatched; whose labourers are chiefly native Africans, unseasoned to the climate; and less able than the Creoles, to bear the toil of cutting down thick woods, and clearing fresh lands; or than the other old ones, whose worn-out lands cannot bear a reduction of price, nor be supported under the constant heavy charges to which they are necessarily liable. There is in Jamaica variety of other commodities besides sugar, adapted to commerce; and there is room for many more, which, if cultivated, promise to reward those who may make the experiment. If ever therefore it could happen, that Great Britain should become the sole consumer

farmer of sugars imported from our islands, by her inability to find a vent for the superfluity at foreign markets, this event cannot happen without the desolation of some of our islands; and it is evident, those will suffer most immediately, whose only dependance for support is rested on this staple. Jamaica will suffer last of all, for the reasons already assigned, and because it is not obliged to rely wholly on foreign supplies, having within itself a very large stock of materials, which if driven by necessity to make proper use of, it would have no occasion to buy many articles it now imports, and more especially several of North American production. This oeconomy, joined to a few sumptuary regulations in regard to certain other imports of luxuries, would effectually preserve it from sinking with the rest. An evil therefore of this species must, in respect to Jamaica, work its own remedy; for as it would, in the nature of things, outlive the smaller settlements, so it might in the end be able to double its products, by attracting the decayed planters from them. Since Barbadoes became less fertile, and consequently less gainful than formerly, many of the inhabitants resorted to Jamaica. The like occurrence would happen, should the other isles be deserted, either by the wearing out of their lands, or the reduced quantity of their staple, both which causes operate to one and the same effect; and the quantity must there sink to nothing, whenever the price shall by any means fall so low, for some years successively, as to make it unprofitable to the planter. This effect invariably must happen in the West Indies, if what has happened there in time past, is a just rule for directing our judgment upon future occurrences. This fate befel indigo, ginger, and coffee successively in Jamaica; neither of which have yet revived there to their former importance, notwithstanding some favourable circumstances. The planters in this island, when driven out of one commodity, whether by heavy taxes, or low prices, have always struck into some other, which they imagined might answer better. But the ruin of sugar works is not so soon repaired, as that of the smaller articles might be. The former require a large and costly apparatus, and great capitals; the latter articles are set on foot with infinitely less expence. To render sugar an article of little profit to the smaller islands, is in effect to depopulate them; for they could advert to no other commodity there, of value enough to make their abode in them preferable to their



their removal into a larger field. In fine, I may comfort the people of Jamaica with this assurance, that if they are not criminally wanting to themselves, they may always be able to gain by virtue, prudence, and right oeconomy, an equivalent for whatever their island can probably lose, under a discouraged branch of their trade; and that they have every reason to hope that any such discouragement would be to them nothing more than a temporary evil.

## I M P O R T S

of sugar and rum from Jamaica into the port of London, from the year 1756 to 1772 inclusive, compared with the whole export from Jamaica for an equal number of years preceding, according to the best accounts:

Year.	Hhds. sugar.	Punch. rum.	Year.	Hhds. sugar.	Punch. rum.
1756	21,039	4,667	1736	20,625	1,442
1757	24,494	5,841	1737	18,072	1,118
1758	33,439	6,749	1738	23,708	1,281
1759	41,313	6,383	1739	19,236	1,431
1760	44,518	5,510	1740	23,996	1,391
1761	36,135	7,421	1741	25,718	1,942
1762	34,126	7,950	1742	19,299	1,881
1763	43,695	8,186	1743	32,383	2,531
1764	41,813	7,908	1744	23,543	2,864
1765	36,515	9,355	1745	25,705	3,212
1766	39,415	8,913	1746	33,341	3,225
1767	41,652	8,360	1747	37,076	5,061
1768	42,393	8,989	1748	38,192	5,024
1769	43,091	9,762	1749	27,668	3,982
1770	39,760	8,743	1750	29,354	4,561
1771	39,136	10,737	1751	27,877	4,671
1772	45,889	12,483	1752	23,229	3,994

Nothing can better shew the improved state of this island than the above comparative table; by which it appears, that the general import from it into the port of London alone exceeds the whole of the general export in former years. The year 1744 was marked with a very severe hurricane; yet we find in the four succeeding years the produce was considerably increased. From 1769 to 1772 the island was

was afflicted with a terrible and long-continued drought, which accounts for the diminution in 1770 and 1771. This observation seems to prove the common opinion, that moderate hurricanes are usually followed with great crops; but droughts are the bane of West-India estates. The augmentation of produce appears to have taken a start soon after the commencement of the last war; the success his Majesty's arms were blest with, introduced very considerable sums into the island, and enriched the merchants; who, by this means, became enabled to advance largely to the planters, and to afford long credit; whilst the discouragements and difficulties, under which the French planters lay, proved an additional spur to the industry of the Jamaica planters. The consequences of all this to Great Britain are extremely visible in the cheaper prices of her colony produce, as will appear by the following comparison:

	Highest price in 1761.			Highest price in 1772.			Lowest price in 1761.			Lowest price in 1772.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Muscovado sugars,	2	8		2	3		1	10		1	10	
Rum, ———		5	3		3			4			2	10
Pimento, ———			9½			7½			6½			6
Coffee, ———	4	10		4	5		4			3	15	
Ginger (white),	2	12		3	5		2	12		2	10	
Cotton, ———		1	4		1	1½		6				9½
Ginger (black), raised by being less cultivated.												
Mahogany, ———		1	1		1			8				5
Fustick, ———	9	5		5	5		7			4	15	
Braziletto, ———	8			6	15		8			6		
Logwood ———	8			4	4		7			3	15	

This naturally leads us to the remark, that in proportion as the articles of our West-India produce become more plentiful in Great Britain, their prices must fall. The only thing to be feared is, their falling too low; concerning which, I have already expressed my apprehensions.

## S E C T. III.

## I N L A N D C O M M E R C E.

What I have to say upon this head, will be comprised in a very small compass, on account of the connexion it has with *money*; which subject I propose to treat at large, in the next section. As the planters

are the first cause of commerce in the island, so money is the mediate agent for carrying it on. Some have supposed 600,000*l.* currency to be the sum required for enabling the planters to buy their annual island supplies, and furnish the general circulation from them to the merchants and other consumers, and from these in revolution back again to the planters. But as credit has been found necessary to, and is become a part of commerce, and as it may be allowed in general that nine months credit is given in this island, therefore one-fourth of the above sum, or 150,000*l.* is sufficient to preserve a due circulation of money in the business of planting. The recruit of mules and steers would annually employ more than this sum, but that the negotiating of paper from hand to hand, answers much the same purpose as money, for most part of the planter's transactions; and as all, or most part of the money in the island comes ultimately into the hands of merchants and shopkeepers, and by them is lent out again, or paid for taxes, or purchase of necessaries from the planters, that sum might probably be sufficient to pay the planter's inland contracts, and enable the merchant to make returns for his dealing with the planter. It is true, the staple article sugar does not pass in payment, as so much ready cash; and the reason why it does not, has by some been attributed to its being kept up at too high prices, so as that it will not answer the merchant's purpose as well as cash. But as the merchants themselves are the common valuers, it is not to be supposed that they always appreciate this article at a losing rate. The case, I believe, is, that our trade having greatly fallen off with the Spaniards, the merchants do not import such large quantities of goods as formerly from Britain, and the influx of money into the island has almost stopped. The average of Negroes they exported to the Spaniards, till within these few years, was about 2,500, which, at 45*l.* round, *£*.

produced	—————	—————	—————	112,500
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And as much more, at least, might be allowed for money in-

roduced by other merchandizes sold with them,				•
				112,500

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*£*. 225,000

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Great part of this money was expended in the purchase of produce, to load back the Guiney ships, and make returns to Great Britain. It is natural to suppose, that after sufficient cash was brought in by this means,

means, to answer the sum required for circulation, the remainder, or superfluous money only, was exported from the island; since the decline therefore of this trade, money may have grown scarce from these very obvious causes, and sugars at the same time ceased to be in such demand as formerly.

For, 1st, Not half the quantity of island produce is now called for, to make up a freight for the homeward-bound Guinea ships.

2d, A proportionable abatement has happened in the demand of sugars, to make return for British merchandize imported, as little, if any, is now ordered for the express design of vending it among those Spaniards, with whom we formerly had Negroe contracts.

3d, The efflux caused by those North American traders, who bring their commodities hither, and carry away money in return.

4th, Some losses probably sustained on sugars purchased here at too high a price, at the time when the British market was suddenly stocked by the accession of the ceded islands, beyond what had been formerly experienced.

These losing bargains, at that particular crisis, rendered many cautious afterwards, and inclined them to ship money rather than produce.

Add to these, the calamity of dry weather, which the island laboured under successively for three years, viz. from 1769 to 1772, which not only diminished the quantity, but depreciated the quality of the produce in general, destroyed many cattle and mules, and, whilst it reduced the planter's fortune and profits in every way, made the annual contingencies much heavier than usually they had been, by the necessity there was of importing large cargoes of provision from the Northern colonies, to prevent a famine. The calamity not only increased the imports from that quarter, but with them increased the drain of specie from the island: so that, by these means combined, the *quantum* of money in present circulation is thought to be far disproportioned to the internal commerce of the island. It is evident, that if by successive bad crops, the island happens to fall short (say) 1000 hhds. and 4000 puncheons, equal in value to 250,000*l.*, the deficiency will not be made up by an increased price, because the other islands, it is probable, will, by having good crops, keep the price from rising, at least any thing considerable. No saving can be made in the mean time on the head of imports; for, on the contrary, they are sure to

augment both in quantity and charge. The balance therefore coming annually *against* the island, it has no other means left of paying it, than by exporting part of its circulating cash, and this chiefly to North America, from whence it receives the additional imports of provision; a scarcity of money must then inevitably follow, and cannot, in ordinary course, be remedied, until, by a succession of better harvests, the annual balances in favour of the island, and great abundance of its native stock of provisions, lessen the demand for foreign supplies, and replenish the fund of circulation to its former standard.

I shall conclude this head, with an estimate of the profits supposed to be gained by the planters, or landed interest, over the mercantile or moneyed interest in this island.

First, in rents, thus computed :

No. Houses.	Town.	Rent per ann.	£.	s.	d.
1665	Kingston,	at £. 50	83,250		
100	Port Royal,	25	2,500		
450	Spanish Town,	50	22,500		
400	Montego Bay,	40	16,000		
500	Savannah la Mar, St. Ann's, } and other hamlets,	40	20,000		
				£.	
				144,250	

Second, in island products :

[1] 15 Beeves used in Kingston, each week,	
at 14 l. per head, is per ann.	10,920
40 Sheep, at 20 l. per score,	2,080
4 Veals, at 4 l. 15 s. each,	988
Allow two thirds for all other towns,	9,325 6 8
Garden stuff, plantains, and ground provisions for 400 families, at four persons to each family, transient persons included, at 7½ d. per diem,	45,625
Towards maintenance of 25000 Negroes, employed as domestics, tradesmen, wharfingers, porters, wherry-men, shipwrights, &c. in plantains, and other plantation produce, not including sugar and rum, at 1 s. 10½ d. per week each,	112,500

Grass

[1] To avoid all appearance of exaggeration, the estimate is put here exceeding low. From the best accounts I have been able to obtain, the number of beeves consumed daily in Kingston and its environs is 4½, which makes the weekly amount about 31, or more than double of what is here stated.

Grafs for 3000 horfes, at 26 <i>l.</i> per head per ann.	78,000	£.	s.	d.
4000 puncheons of rum annually confumed }				
in all the the towns, at 12 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>	50,000			
700 hhds. of fugar, at 20 <i>l.</i>	14,000			
			323,438	6 8
			£.	467,688 6 8

Allowing therefore two thirds of this fum to be deducted, as the value of the materials, time, and labour, employed in earning it, the remaining third may be ftated as clear gain to the landholders, which is 155,896*l.* 2*s.* 2½*d.* and helps to pay their annual balance to the merchants, artificers, and fhop-keepers: fomewhat more might have been added, for the articles of poultry, fifh, hogs, pigs, and other things of the like kind, the profits on which accrue principally to the Negroe flaves, and enable them to purchafe fome additional cloathing, and other conveniences. The confiderable value in fugar, rum, and other country products confumed, and the great fum of money paid for rents, prove the advantage of trade to this ifland, and how deferving it is of the encouragement and guardianship of the legiflature. It is evident, that the honeft part of the merchants refident here contribute largely to the fettlement and improvement of the ifland, and give a very comfortable fupport to a very great number of fettlers, and to the more induftrious part of the Negroes; fo true it is, that trade brings riches to a country, in a thoufand different ways: this obfervation naturally leads me to the fubject of money; which, as it comes into the ifland merely through the intervention of the merchants and traders; fo, to the latter muft be afcribed that fortunate circumftance, that the planters have never yet been driven into the fatal, and moft ruinous, expedient of a *paper currency*; which, by the want of fufficient filver coin, has been the fource of fo much diftreff, confufion, and lofs, to many of the North American provinces.

## M O N E Y.

## C H A P. VI.

## S E C T. I.

**M**ONEY is particularly neceffary in this ifland, to purchafe labourers. In moft other countries the labourer is hired. But although hire is paid him, yet this paffes only from one hand to another,

ther, and the money still remains in the country. But here the labourer must be purchased, and the purchase-money goes off the country; the only satisfaction is, that it passes to, and enriches, our mother country [a]. In this sense money is to be understood only as the symbol of a thing, or measure of external commerce; for, in regard to this species of commerce, in fact, gold or silver coin has very little share; but, in place of it is *credit*; which, so long as the planters of this island can easily procure, and steadily maintain in Great Britain, so long will gold and silver be unnecessary to them in their commercial transactions with the mother country. The planter, for example, who buys Negroe labourers, either sells produce in Jamaica to pay for them, or draws bills of exchange on some merchant in Great Britain for the like purpose; and, in either case, the purchase is made without the use of gold or silver. In treating therefore on the subject, I shall pursue this distinction of external and internal commerce, the latter chiefly requiring the medium instrument *coin*, and the former but little of it, except in dealings with the North Americans. At the first settlement of the Windward Islands, and for some time after, all payments, even the governor's and clergymen's salaries, the public and parochial taxes, were paid in pounds weight of sugar, for they had no coin. But in Jamaica the settlements were scarcely formed, before the privateers supplied the island with vast quantities of Spanish gold and silver coin; and, after the American war ceased, the importation was still kept up by means of private trade, which continued till very lately. Notwithstanding this plentiful resource, the produce of the island was made, by an act of the Assembly, a legal tender for payment of the planter's contracts within the island, and so continued till 1751; when, by the influence of the merchants, who pretended many inconveniencies from this practice, the law was repealed, and it was enacted, that no other payment should for the future be allowed and deemed a good payment in the law, except in current coin of gold and silver; "unless in such cases where both parties might agree for payment in sugars, or other produce of the island." Undoubtedly the framers of this last-mentioned act imagined the constant influx of coin in the course of trade to be so securely and permanently established, as that nothing could possibly happen to put an end to it; otherwise

[a] Inquiry concerning the Trade, &c. of Jamaica, a pamphlet.

it must appear the most absurd in its tenor, and pernicious in its tendency, that the folly or iniquity of man could have contrived; for, as there is no standard coin, nor coinage in the island, the inhabitants must depend wholly upon their casual importations by a trade, which has proved to be surrounded with extreme hazard, difficulty, and uncertainty; and the money, when brought into this island under so many discouraging circumstances, cannot be made to stay in it, but passes away to other countries in common with other commodities: And it is plain, that if the island should export this commodity (which is not produced in it) faster than the emission can be recruited by fresh importations, the inhabitants must in a short time be left without any of it, either to use or to export. The manifest consequence therefore of continuing to export money from the island as a commodity, whilst the channel that ought to replenish the drain is either obstructed, or wholly stopped, must inevitably be, that all internal commerce must be at a stand; taxes may be imposed, but cannot be paid; and the foundations of government must give way to confusion, if, at the same time, an act, obliging all payments to be made in a commodity no longer to be found in the island, should be suffered to remain unrepealed. However beneficial the provision of this act might have appeared on the first impression, or might in fact have been at the time when it passed; yet the circumstances of the island have undergone so great a change by the decay, not to say loss, of its foreign trade since that period, that, instead of becoming a remedy for those evils which were apprehended, it seems tending to produce very signal mischiefs to the planting and commercial interests; I mean, with exception to the merchants resident in Great Britain. The first complaint of a scarcity, as I well remember, was about the year 1760, when the island was drained extremely low by the sudden current its silver took to Hispaniola, on opening their ports there, and the harbour of Monte Christi, to our illicit traders, chiefly North American vessels, most of which went in ballast under Jamaica clearances; and carried off such great sums in gold and silver, to buy up French produce, that our island was extremely distressed; the trade of it languished, and the Assembly caused about 100,000 dollars to be stamped, and issued at two pence each advance on their former rate, in order to keep a fund for the internal circulation. Not long after this, the vessels which used to bring us  
money



money for British manufactures, were some of them seized in the ports, through the avarice of rapacious officers, and others driven away, by the impolitic measure of placing soldiers on board, and treating them as so many smugglers and aliens; to crown all, free ports were opened, and meant perhaps as a lure to draw these frightened traders back to us again. But, as this step alarmed a foreign government, and redoubled its diligence to preclude us from the advantages we expected; so, the risque and difficulty being every way multiplied, it is almost an impossibility now to acquire such an annual supply, as to keep up the measure required for ordinary circulation.

The island produce becoming now of less value than formerly, and likely to diminish still more, by the increase of British territory in the West Indies, and the more extensive cultivation of sugar; whilst the European commodities, and necessary supplies imported, are daily growing dearer; I cannot but consider the island to be by these means brought back to much the same state, as to circulating coin, as it was many years ago; when it was found expedient, from similar causes, to encourage loans to the planter by granting an interest to the lender, much above the interest allowed in Great Britain. It is clearly for the advantage of the planter to pay what he owes, in the produce of his lands; and money ceases to be a natural medium of commerce with him, when his produce comes to be refused in payment of his debts, and cannot purchase money. This is the case, whenever it ceases to answer as an article of export, and cannot be convertible in payment to the Jamaica merchant, except by beating down the price, or, in other words, till the merchant can get it on his own terms. As it is therefore this merchant's interest to buy as cheap as he can; and whilst he can avail himself of the law before-mentioned so far as to reject produce, when tendered in payment, unless he can get it upon his own terms, it cannot be for the planter's interest to deal at all with him; since he has no alternative, but either to surrender his produce for less than its value, or suffer all the consequential distress which his disappointed and irritated creditor can inflict. On the other hand, the contracts being made here, not for so much sugar and rum, but for so much silver or gold, if a merchant cannot receive the produce at such a rate as to be equal to that silver or gold, he will take only money in payment; where men trans-

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acting

acting with each other mean fairly, there can exist no difficulty; but as on either side, as the world goes, the parties are like two fencers upon the watch, to guard their own persons, and wound their antagonist, it would be difficult, if this law was repealed, to contrive so equitable a standard, as that the planter might not exact too much in the value of his produce, nor the merchant depreciate it too low; but no difficulty of this sort occurs in commerce with the merchant in Britain; in *his* hands, sugar is still deemed a good pledge of payment, and every quality of it finds vent, either by exportation to foreigners, or by the grocer, sugar baker, or distiller. In the present dilemma therefore, under which the island labours, it is the planter's true object, to connect more firmly than ever with the merchants in Britain, whose attachment will be strengthened in proportion as their loans to the island are increased, and rooted in the planter's land; from this cause they will grow more vigilant and alert for their own sakes, in procuring at all times a sufficient protection from government, to guard the island against any hostile attempts. In order to shew the utility of this connexion in a stronger light, and to point out the propriety of the means to be recommended, I shall beg leave to examine some of the ill consequences which a scarcity of coin has produced in the island.

It is not easy to find, to any degree of exactness, the quantity of coin in present circulation in Jamaica. The quantity absolutely necessary, I have supposed about 150,000 *l*. According to the best computation I can make,

putation I can make,	£.	s.	d.
The Negroe slaves possess, chiefly in small silver, about	10,437	10	0
The rest of the inhabitants, about	39,562	10	0
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	50,000	0	0
And there rests inert or uncirculating, in the chancery chest, treasury, and private hoards, about	15,000	0	0
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	65,000	0	0

This then is 85,000 *l*. short of the sum required to be in the island, to answer the calls of its internal commerce; and this deficiency, I apprehend, would be much more severely felt than it is, were it not for the annual orders issued by the council, amounting to near 10,000 *l*. and the custom of passing bonds and notes, but chiefly the former.

These bonds, it must be observed, are as well a cause as an effect of the scarcity of coin. From being used at first in lieu of very considerable sums, as from 1000 to 10,000 *l.*, which it might be difficult for individuals to procure in specie, they have, since their more general application to the purposes of commerce, and to loans or debts, from 50 *l.* upwards, gradually supplied the place of gold and silver, and allowed the latter a freer scope to pass out of the country. What the final issue of this kind of paper currency will be, is easy to foresee. It is evident, the scarcity of gold and silver depreciates the value of it considerably; for very good bonds, even on judgment, cannot purchase cash, without a large discount. 8 *l.* and 10 *l. per cent.* bonds have maintained their credit much longer than others; but these bonds, notwithstanding the reduction of interest to 6 *l. per cent.* are not now negotiable without a discount; some jobbers indeed, by exchanging these bonds for 6 *l. per cent.* bonds, with a discount allowed on the latter, have found means to recover full payment, and gained considerably by the bargain; but when I say they are not negotiable without a discount, I mean they cannot be negotiated as a cash payment upon any other terms. It is hardly indeed a question, whether there is at this time sufficient money for ordinary circulation, it being the universal complaint of the inhabitants, that they are not able to procure cash for paying their annual taxes; and others cannot scrape together sufficient for purchasing the common necessities of life. The most exorbitant premiums have been given on the loan of small sums for a short space of time, and the best bonds rejected, without a heavy discount.

From all which it is evident, either that the lending of money is become more hazardous than formerly it was; or that there is less of it in the island: the first cannot be the case, because the plantations are increased, and the landed interest improved, far beyond what it ever was; and therefore there is undoubtedly a want of specie in the island; the principal cause of which, among those that I have enumerated, is an ill-managed trade with the North Americans. It is in vain to think of keeping the circulating cash in any country, whose balance of trade is against it. If the general balance is in it's favour, a large part of that cash will remain in it; but as many branches of it's trade as have a balance against that country,

country, so many channels are there, by which the money steals away. The reason is apparent, from the very nature of trade; which is nothing more than an exchange of commodities.

Jamaica takes lumber, flour, and certain other articles from North America, and to a certain annual value; North America takes melasses, sugar, and rum, from Jamaica, but in an inferior value. If each country took an equal value in products, for their mutual consumption, Jamaica would export no cash to North America; but Jamaica takes three to one more in value; she therefore pays one third in her products, and two thirds in cash and bills of exchange. I have supposed the annual balance with North America to be about 63,000*l*. If only a third of this is paid in money, and the rest in bills, it is enough to strip the island of all it's circulating cash in about three years, unless a supply can be brought in to replace the drain, by our trade with the South American colonies. The misfortune has been, that the improved state of the island, in other respects, by enlarging the demand for North American supplies, has yearly increased the balance against it, while the other trade, which should have replaced this draught, has been gradually declining, and less productive. If the islanders could furnish themselves from Great-Britain, even if the articles came somewhat enhanced in price, it would be more for their advantage, because Britain takes their produce in payment, whereas the North American supercargoes must be wheedled to consent to receive produce for their commodities; and even then, will take only such sugars as they are suffered to pick and cull out for their superior grain and completion; the rest they leave on the planter's hands, to be sent to the British market; a circumstance that in time may hurt the credit of Jamaica sugars at home. Nor is the inconvenience and distress they bring on the island, by this mode of exacting their balance, less pernicious to it's welfare, than the uses to which they afterwards apply this money; for it is well known that very little of it is carried to circulate among the Northern colonies, or remitted to the mother country, but is dropped by the way amongst the French and Dutch, to purchase of them the very same commodities which Jamaica produces. It is notorious, that many of these traders employ their time, whilst they lie at Jamaica, in fitting

up casks; and, as they are provided with *affidavit-men*, they take false clearances, out of the custom-house there, for large quantities of Jamaica produce, sugar, melasses, rum, coffee, indigo, &c. without having, in fact, a grain on board, and repair to Cape *Nicola Mole* at Hispaniola, which is now become their capital rendezvous; here they buy of the French the very articles they refused at Jamaica, and are afterwards so protected by their clearances, either from capture by the king's ships at sea, or seizure by the land officers at their return to North America, that they find it a very gainful trade; for by this means they can import the French produce without paying alien duties, and depreciate all the British West India goods of the like sort, brought to the same market.

This trade is now got to such an alarming height, that more North American vessels are seen, in the course of the year, at the *Mole*, than the whole number of shipping that resorts to Kingston harbour amounts to. I have heard of no less than 400 sail within the year, which either load or call in upon speculation [b]. And so beneficial has this illicit traffic proved to the French, that the *Mole*, which is surrounded by a rocky barren country, destitute of every natural advantage, is now become a populous and thriving place of trade; contains 400 well-built houses; and the harbour, which is extremely capacious and secure, is strengthening by such fortifications, carried on at the expence of the French government, as threaten to render it extremely troublesome to the Jamaica fleets in time of war.

Some of the North American commodities are allowed to be necessary to the island, and not to be had elsewhere; all due care should, therefore, be taken to have such supplies continued; but when the main scope of their trade tends to impoverish Jamaica, and to enrich our most formidable rivals, by furnishing them with money for commodities of the same kind as that island produces, which weakens our colony, and strengthens theirs, so as to make them more powerful when at war with us; surely this should rouse the attention of legislature, to prevent, by every means, the

[b] Two hundred North American vessels, at least, have loaded here *per annum*; and almost every vessel from that continent, bound to Jamaica, touches at the *Mole*, in order to try the market there for their return-cargo.

ruinous effects, which such a drain must certainly lead to, if too long permitted.

Arguing in the character of a planter, let me say, that in several respects, it is in our power to lessen our dependence on the North Americans; namely, by importing from Great-Britain and Ireland, many of the commodities with which the North Americans supply us; and, by good management, providing many others of them within our own island. Might we not, for example, be supplied from Britain with soap, candles, hams, fish, bacon, cheese, and a long *et cætera*, as cheap, in general, as from them? as also with beef, pork, and butter, entirely from Ireland? Corn, in abundance, we may have of our own growth, and lamp oil of our own manufacture, both far cheaper than we can buy of them. How strange, and inexcusable is it, that we should pay so much money every year for their horses, when those of our own breed are so incomparably more beautiful and serviceable! Great quantities of hoops, heading, and shingles, might be provided in the island, were proper methods taken to encourage our own settlers; and indeed the use of so dangerous, and perishable a covering, as the Northward shingles, ought to be wholly prohibited, in prudence and wise œconomy; and either the shingles of Jamaica wood substituted in their stead, as being five times more durable and secure; or manufactories of tiles set on foot in the island, which abounds with excellent clays, adapted to this work! But if we must have shingle coverings, those of our own woods are certainly to be preferred for their cheapness, as they are so much more lasting than deal or pitch pine. The Indian corn might likewise be spared, except in times of unusual drought, if due encouragement, by bounty or premium, was given, to excite the poor settlers to cultivate it largely; and the roads and coasting navigation improved and regulated, by suitable measures, to facilitate the carriage of it from places in the island where it is abundant, to those where it might be scarce. Such prudent endeavours would save many thousand pounds a year to the island of the money expended in purchasing these Northward commodities. But it has not yet been properly attended to: how small a tract of land employed every year in the culture of corn, is sufficient to stock the whole island! A horse here, for example, consumes about twenty bushels

bushels *per annum* : supposing the number of these animals, fed with corn, to be about 20,000, they require 400,000 bushels *per annum*. We may allow about 25,000 given to mules in crop time, and hogs, and near as much consumed by the Negroes and white inhabitants in different preparations, or used in fattening sheep, and poultry; so that, all together, the expenditure of it may be computed at about 450,000 bushels *per annum*; of which, if North America furnishes 25,000, the produce of the island will appear about 425,000 bushels, more or less, according as the seasons are favourable, or otherwise; which (allowing only twenty bushels to one acre for the double crop) require no more than 21,250 acres. Admitting this computation any thing near the truth, we are to infer from it, that the employing of only 2000 acres more, *per annum*, in the culture, might render an importation unnecessary; this however is but an inconsiderable article in our dealings with the North Americans; and some perhaps may think it will be sufficient, if such a quantity be annually cultivated, as to supply the consumption, so far only as may serve to keep down the price of what is imported, and prevent any unusual exaction, such as is apt to be raised when a scarcity happens; however I must say, that, trifling as this article of import may appear, it is by an accumulation of such trifles, that the island may be brought in debt; resembling the situation of many individuals, who, in order to gratify unnecessary or artificial wants, expend so much of their substance as to be very ill able to pay for their real ones.

A scarcity of money in this island, among other evils, is attended with one which affects the planter much more than the rest of the public, and that is, the creating, and multiplying of law-suits; for, as it has been before observed, the planter is a first source of it's commerce, and money is necessary to carry on that commerce, and support credit; but if the *quantum* of money is not proportionate to the commerce, then credit must fail. A want of punctuality in payment disappoints the merchant who is his creditor; that merchant is obliged to disappoint another; that other a third; and so on in continuance, till it affects every individual concerned in the trade of the country. Hence every creditor, in striving to obtain relief, is plunged into law-suits. The planter, under this difficulty,

difficulty, thinks he has a right to defend himself from the impatience and importunity of his creditor, and therefore leads him through the mazes and intricacies of law, in hopes to gain time, and put off the evil day. The consequence is, that, instead of paying his just debt, he pays, in the end, almost double what would at first have been sufficient to have discharged it; and the creditor undergoes no little charge, and uneasiness, in pursuing his remedy through so many obstacles and so much delay. Dishonest men, under pretence that the scarcity affects their circumstances, when perhaps it does not, take the opportunity of delaying and evading their payments; and a discovery of such deceitful behaviour is apt to incense creditors against those who really stand in need of their indulgence, but are unhappily deprived of it by the suspicions which the conduct of others has occasioned. This also may be a principal cause of bribery and partiality among the officers employed in executing judicial writs. For the distressed planter, who would satisfy his creditor if in his power, but cannot, by reason of the scarcity of money, rather than be deprived of his liberty, and linger in a gaol, is drove to use every means of avoiding so great a misery. It is well known, that the favours of such officers, especially of underlings, are seldom obtained upon easy terms; the greater the distress, the larger is the exaction; and the more cunning is used, to elude the penalties, which the law inflicts upon such mal-practices; besides, the great waste and havoc it causes to mens properties, who labour under such distress, is only conceivable by those who suffer, and by those who make them.

The following true case will serve to shew the barbarous tyranny which is exercised, by these inferior officers, over the persons and fortunes of poor debtors. It appears from the assembly minutes, 1766, that one Moses Buzaglo was indebted to Rachael Azavedo, upon judgement, in the sum of 504 *l.* 6 *s.* 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  *d.*; that a writ of *venditioni* had been issued against him for this debt, returnable of August Court 1765; and that, being unable to pay the money, he obtained, from the lenity of the plaintiff, a further time for payment, and likewise a written order to the officer to make no levy, but to return a *nulla bona* upon the writ. This order the officer complied with, as is usual, but demanded 15 *l.* 15 *s.* being the whole fees which would have been due to him, if the plaintiff had insisted.



insisted upon execution of the writ; and the debtor accordingly paid him that sum, through fear perhaps of the consequence, if he had refused. Another writ was issued upon this demand, the following year, and apparently for form sake only, as the debtor obtained a like order from his merciful creditor to the deputy marshal. This was a new deputy (for they are frequently changed), and he insisted in his turn upon payment of 16*l.* for *his* fees; and although the former deputy's receipt was produced to him, he threatened to carry Buzaglo to gaol, unless he was likewise gratified; and the body of the debtor would have been actually imprisoned for this iniquitous demand, if he had not redeemed himself by delivering a Negroe to the deputy, to be lodged in gaol in his stead, and sold for payment of these pretended fees. The hardship of this example will appear in a stronger light, if it is considered, that the priority law of the island makes it necessary for a judgement creditor to sue out his writ once a year at least, though without intention to distress his debtor, but only to keep up his right of priority. Thus the forbearing disposition of a creditor is rendered unbene-  
ficial to his debtor, since every time the writ is sued out merely for form's sake, and without imposing any actual duty upon the marshal, a poor man is arbitrarily forced to pay him a sum of money equal (as in this case) to *three per cent.* upon the whole debt; or in the event of inability, or refusal, is thrown into prison, contrary to the creditor's desire; or compelled to surrender a considerable part of his little property, to the absolute disposal of an unfeeling officer. A poor honest debtor therefore, who is justly an object of his creditor's compassion, and obtains his indulgence for five or six years, may thus be forced to pay for it near half the amount of the debt; and to one who is no way entitled to demand or receive a single shilling; nay, the very property, which the creditor, through motives of humanity or friendship, forbears to seize, is unjustly attached and dissipated by one, who is no creditor, nor has any foundation for his claim, except that of fraud, rapine, and the insolence of office. Is such a wretch less deserving of capital punishment than a common house-breaker? He is a robber of the vilest species, who degrades humanity, and dishonours the dignity and equity of executive justice in a free government, by a conduct so lawless and  
barbarous;

barbarous; who thus shuts up the avenues of lenity, and steals from the poor settler in the colony, the hard-earned fruits of industry. It has been computed by some, that the money expended in the recovery of debts, and other litigated matters in the courts of this island, amounts to 80,000 *l.* currency *per annum*; and that the process at law is yearly carried to the utmost, for so large a sum as 160,000 *l.*, book, note, and bond debts. Hence, the trust committed to a provost marshal and his deputies, appears to be very great, in having so considerable a share of public property at their disposal, in this one branch of his office; and what ruin must fall upon the country, when that large share of property is torn from the most industrious of its people, and disposed of at the discretion of under officers! It is painful but to think on the miseries possibly incident to such a situation; how much more so to behold daily instances; and still more intolerably miserable to experience them! Debtors and creditors may be ruined, with their families; the first, by their effects being sold for a trifle, and the latter by losing the greater part, if not all their debt, as the amount of that trifling sale may be swallowed up in fees and extortion. With a cunning and address capable of evading the penalties of the law, and a hardiness to attempt and perpetrate every villainy that such distresses give opportunity to act, what vast riches may not an under officer amass to himself, and in how short a time! May not Negroes, and other effects, be seized and set up to sale, in such a manner as to conform to the letter, though not the intentions, of the law, and sold for one half, nay a quarter, of their real value; and be purchased at that rate by the officer, or his accomplices, in the morning, and disposed of again before night, with a gain of four times the sum he paid for them; and the money for which these effects were first sold, not paid to the proper creditor, but to that creditor who gave the largest bribe, perhaps one half, to get the other half? In this way, it is not difficult to account how an under officer may acquire a large fortune in a few years, who on his entrance into office was worth less than nothing. If a provost marshal should join with, and abet his deputies in such scenes of malpractice, and if he has a command of money, he may in one year, with 10,000 *l.*,

possess himself of 20,000 *l.*: and during the term of renting his office, which is usually from three to five years, he may amass from 50 to 80, or even 90,000 *l.* Where there is a possibility of such abuses happening, it requires great precaution, and very strict and wise laws to prevent them. If it be replied, that nothing of this sort has often happened hitherto; I answer, we must attribute it to the integrity of the officers, who have been employed, that they have continued uncorrupt amid so many temptations; and such integrity, whenever we meet with it, deserves our praise and respect. But as there is no certainty of always having such honest officers, it will be prudent to endeavour, by effectual laws, to discourage such exorbitancies, rather than rely on the casual soundness of any officer's heart, subject as they are to human frailty, and beset with the allurements of profit, opulence, and impunity. That the laws hitherto attempted to be passed, for this good end, have failed, is to be wholly imputed to the prevailing influence of the patentees and their friends, and to some unfortunate misapprehensions at the board of trade, where perhaps it was never seriously and sufficiently enough considered, how much the prosperity of this colony, and the advantage to be derived from it to the mother country, are depending on a proper regulation of this single office; nor how little the narrow interested views of one or two individuals ought to weigh in competition with the welfare of a whole community. The inhabitants, disheartened by the repeatedly successful opposition made against them, have almost given up the struggle; and patiently have seen abuses ravaging every part of the island, without any hope of speedy redress, except by the miraculous interposition of divine Providence. Were estates to be sold here as they are in Great-Britain, and the lands made extendible for payment of debts, the fortune of a debtor would reach much further in satisfaction of his creditors. It is true, a law was passed here, in 1752, for this purpose; and an act of parliament (5 Geo. II.) likewise tends to make lands in the colonies equally liable with personal assets; but neither of these laws have carried any effective operation, for want of a proper form of an extent writ. And if (for example) a debtor has, in the course of his life, spent all his personal estate, and that after his death his heir at law should enter

upon, and sell his lands, the creditors upon judgement have under these laws *no remedy*; they cannot lay an extent upon the lands under a *new purchaser*, and must lose their debt; *at least it has been so determined in the courts at Jamaica*. Such extents as have been tried here have usually miscarried at law, through their imperfections, which one should suppose might very easily be cured in a new act of assembly.

To answer the objections urged against making lands extendible for bond and simple contract debts, as strengthening the hands of oppression, by investing the creditor with too much power, to the injury of the debtor; to prevent such an ill consequence, and fix a just balance of relief between debtor and creditor, it may be proposed, that the creditor shall not be at liberty to extend the estate of a planter debtor, where the real value thereof appears to amount to one half more than the amount of his debts; this value to be enquired of by a jury, and taken upon oath, in case of such debtor's being sued, and of a *nulla bona* being returned upon the writ of *venditioni*. And where the debt amounts to more than one half the value of the land, that then his estate shall be committed in trust, after the manner proposed in the former part of this work, and subject, if thought advisable, to the further limitation; that if the trust estate should not clear off the debts within a certain number of years (according to circumstances), it should then be sold for payment of them, and the overplus be paid to the proprietor. Some law to this effect would preserve many planters and their families from ruin; it would make them more cautious of contracting debts, and more thoughtful about discharging them; their fortunes would go much further than at present towards paying their debts, because they would not be exhausted in fees, bribes, law-charges, and fraudulent sales; and the fair creditors would be universally benefited, by having a better and more certain security for their demands, accompanied with far less delay, and with none of that fatigue, anxiety, and expence, which are become so heavy a grievance to them under the present mode of recovery.

It is, I believe, too true, that, numerous as the distresses are which attend the want of money, and particularly in the oppressive manner in which, by reason of a scarcity of it, the merchants of the island may be driven to prosecute the recovery of their demands, the heaviest

weight of the calamity falls upon those who are least able to support it. The rich planters can, in some measure, save and assist themselves, by conciliating the friendship of some merchant in Britain, and thus extricate their affairs out of the hands of their Jamaica creditors; but the poorer planters almost generally, for want of having importance enough to treat with any established house of note in Great Britain, are obliged to deal entirely with merchants residing in Jamaica; whence, as they are imposed upon with higher prices for every article of supply they have occasion for, so they often are liable to make a wrong choice of men; and what by the knavish extortions of their creditors, and the rapacity of the officers employed to seize their effects for debt, it seems almost a wonder, that any of them should escape from ruin; more especially, when the circumstances of the country are such, as that the utmost severities in exacting payment claim some colour of justification from the necessity of the creditor, whose charity most commonly begins at home. This shews, therefore, the expediency of reforming the credit laws, and controuling the means of recovering debts in this colony, so that the poorer settler may derive that protection from their salutary provisions, which he is unable to obtain by having recourse, as the rich planter may, to the British merchant; and, as I would omit nothing in my power conducive to the growth and prosperity of this colony, I propose, in the sequel, to give a few admonitions to these friendless, but useful body of men, from which I may hope they will draw advantage in their future dealings; but I shall first say something on the means of remedying a scarcity of money in this island, which is an evil that extends its mischief to all ranks, the rich as well as the poor, the merchant, the planter, and the Negroe labourer.

## S E C T. II.

A restraint laid upon the importation of mules, horses, and horned cattle (except heifers), would be one means of keeping several thousand pounds of the money, which, for want of such a check, is now carried out of the island for purchasing these articles. Instead of *importing*, the penn-keepers and settlers should be encouraged by every proper method to breed them. The merchants here do great service to the country, so long as they export the manufactures and produce  
of

of it, to gain those things, in return, which are necessary to it, and could not any otherwise be obtained; but they cannot be too strictly withheld from sending away its coin, to bring in those very implements of agriculture, which the island itself is capable of furnishing. The mischief indeed lies chiefly with the men of landed property; for the merchants seem rather their mediate agents employed to procure those things from abroad, which, if the planters were wise, they might have full as cheap, and much better, at home. Mules cost at the Spanish Main from 10*l.* to 12*l.* *per* head. If the Dutch at Curacoa purchase and ship them to Jamaica, they seldom will take any thing except cash in payment, and sell them at 18*l.* or 20*l.* *per* head; so that they gain nearly *cent. per cent.* on the consumers. If they were all imported in British bottoms, the evil, upon the whole, would be somewhat lessened; yet, after all, the advantages to be reaped from this trade, in point of shipping, are too diminutive to merit much attention; for the burthen of the vessels, employed in it, would be so small, as to add but very little to the British tonnage, and they are for the most part manned with Negroes and Mulattoes. This trade drains away much of the old hammered silver, and the milled rials; and indeed renders them so scarce, that it is to be feared, the want of them must some time or other prove very distressful to the Negroes, who would fall into a miserable state, if ever the island should be deprived of small silver. In respect to the traffick carried on with the Northern colonies, a prudent and vigorous exertion of industry, to supply within the island many of the enumerated articles that are now imported from them, must naturally tend to keep that money in the island which is now suffered to go out of it in payment of a balance to those colonies. This being the capital mischief, no means should be neglected to counteract it, whether by lessening the importation of some articles by our native products, or importing others from Great Britain and Ireland. But here it is necessary, to say, that these kingdoms should co-operate so far as not to burthen the articles, which the planters want, with duties, so as to make them come at an exorbitant price to the planters, and force them to deal with the North Americans in preference. This was the case in regard to Irish beef and herrings, which in 1765 were raised considerably, occasioned by a duty laid by the Irish parliament upon their *exportation*. The duty on herrings was 7*s.* *per* barrel, which

which brought them to the price of 32*s.* In 1766, this duty being taken off, their herrings immediately fell to 23*s.* The duty on beef exported was, and still, I believe, continues, with the charges, at about 1*s.* 5*d.* *per* barrel; and if this was taken off, the price would probably fall to 73*s.*; and, with the additional charges of shipping and freight, would even then come to the planters at above 6*d.* a pound currency, which is the price of fresh beef in the country parts of Jamaica. But, with the duty and charges, it costs them 9*d.* *per* pound; which is doubtless no encouragement to the planter to buy Irish beef, when he can get the best North American, or even fresh Jamaica beef, so much cheaper [c]. Other countries, in order to extend and establish their staple manufactures, usually grant bounties upon their exportation, and only lay duties upon what they import from other states, and that are not necessary to carry on those manufactures; but Ireland runs counter to this well-known principle of commerce, and in this instance has done the very reverse, by taxing her exported staple; which is much the same, as if the British parliament should impose duties upon British fabrics of wool, leather, and iron, exported from Britain. Indeed I must say, that the late impositions upon glass ware, paints, and paper, on exportation to our colonies, comes very home to the example. But if their revenue gained some temporary benefit from this incomprehensible stroke of policy, I am persuaded they will be no great gainers by it in the end; since it was this measure first put the North Americans upon entering largely into the exportation of salted beef. Vast tracts of their tobacco land have been converted into pastures; and although they have not yet attained to equal perfection with the Irish in the art of curing it, there is no doubt but they will daily improve. The demand for it in our own, as well as the French West-India islands, is already very considerable, and may probably increase every year, till this article of their export becomes of so marketable a quality, and so well established, that no Irish beef may be sent for. I have seen some North American mess beef of so fine a quality, and

[c] Duties on the following exports from Ireland to the colonies are now, as I am informed, as follows:

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Beef, <i>per</i> barrel,	1	0	} besides fees.
Pork, ditto,	1	6	
Butter, <i>per</i> cwt.	1	9	
Herrings, <i>per</i> barrel,	1	0	

so well prepared, as to shew, that the art of managing it is very well understood in some parts of that continent. What however comes from them, in general, to the West-India market, is coarse, black, and much inferior to the Irish; but as they afford to export it at 18s. to 20s. sterling a barrel prime cost, which is by 30s. cheaper than the Irish, this cheapness is thought to make some amends for the inferiority of quality, since five barrels of it may be had for the price of two Irish. Practice, and an increasing demand, may in time bring this manufacture to maturity among them, and then the Irish will find their error; for it is not difficult to suppose, that the North Americans (so conveniently situated as they are for supplying the West-India islands, and devoting their thoughts to make this one of their principal staples) may come to exclude the Irish wholly from these markets. The savings, which I suppose it possible to make, of the North American imports, are;

1st, By import from Britain and Ireland;	£.	
Beef and pork, one half, or	15,000	
Fish, one half,	13,750	
Soap and candles,	2,500	
Puncheon staves and heading,	15,000	
Hoops,	1,000	
Articles of provision and luxuries,	9,000	
		56,250

2d, By encouraging the settlements in Jamaica, and other internal regulations, to save, in the articles of beef and pork, by fresh beef and hog's flesh, one half, or

	£.	
	15,000	
Corn,	4,375	
Lamp oil,	1,500	
Horses,	2,250	
Hoghead staves and heading,	10,000	
Hoops,	1,000	
Shingles,	4,500	
Live stock,	250	
		38,875

£. 95,125

The



The present imports from North America being	£.	
supposed about		183,075
Deduct the above sum of		95,125
	Remains, £.	87,940
The present exports thither being supposed about		119,625
Deduct the above sum of		87,940
	Remains, £.	31,685

It appears then from this scheme, that we should pay for all necessary North American commodities with produce of the island; and, instead of becoming indebted to them a balance to be paid in silver, there would be a balance coming to us of 31,685*l*. But, without carrying our ideas so far, suppose we should trade with them only upon even terms, or nearly so; this is all we can desire, and it is all that is wanted to stop the emigration of our silver. The additional imports from Britain and Ireland, being paid for in produce, would take no money from us. By a steady perseverance in the plan of rejecting (as far as we are able) those articles which the Northward traders bring us, and which the island itself is so capable of furnishing in large quantities, we should keep near 40,000*l*. a year in it, which otherwise would be sent out of it; and this sum, instead of going to enrich and strengthen the French colonies, would remain to circulate in Jamaica, to the vast improvement of its settlements, and the unspeakable advantage both of its external and internal commerce. Upon the whole, therefore, we might reasonably expect to keep up a sufficient stock of circulating coin, unless, by any sudden disaster, the North American imports should at any time happen to advance beyond their natural limits, so as to bring a balance once more against us; but as far as human wisdom, the protection of Britain, and our own unabated attention to our true interest, could prevent or retard it, we might hope to throw such an event at too great a distance to excite apprehensions. Nor ought the North Americans to condemn the people of Jamaica, if they should steadily pursue such measures and regulations in their commerce, which appear essential to their own security and well-being; for I am certain, that no North American merchant, if he is a good subject, will take upon him to justify the smuggling

smuggling traffic, which his brethren carry on with Hispaniola, so much to the detriment of the British islands; or blame the people of Jamaica, for adopting such maxims of policy, to save themselves from distress, which the constant example of other trading communities dictates; and which the North Americans themselves would be very willing to practise, (if they could) in their intercourse with Great Britain. All wise governments, which have laid restrictions upon the export of money, have done so, that the subject, when he goes to foreign markets for articles of importation, might not run to the coin, instead of carrying thither the product and manufactures of the country.

Since the export of coin and bullion, for purchasing foreign commodities, is a great and manifest hurt to the domestic industry of any state; such governments therefore prohibit the importation of foreign manufactures, and import nothing but what is absolutely necessary for subsistence, and carrying on the home manufacture. Thus, Henry the VIIth, of England, established very severe laws against the exportation of bullion; and obliged the merchants who imported foreign commodities into his dominions, to invest their returns in the natural produce of England, which consisted principally of wool and corn: had not the king taken these measures, the whole money of the nation would have been exported, and the superfluous natural produce of England would have lain upon hand. It would not operate to the same end, if we should absolutely prohibit the exportation of coin in exchange for North American productions. Such a prohibition, I think, could never be effectual, so long as the balance of that trade is against us; for this must be paid in coin, bullion, or bills of exchange, at the option of the North American creditors, who have many other markets to resort to for sugar and rum; consequently, are not obliged to come to Jamaica for these articles, or else go without them; and who would certainly take less of them after such a prohibition: the truth is, they can do without us, whereas we cannot wholly do without them. So, if we were to tax their commodities upon importation, they would not be hurt by it: the planters of Jamaica would pay the tax; but the North Americans perhaps, in return, might lay exclusive taxes upon Jamaica produce, imported into their country; which would render our condition so much worse, as it must necessarily depreciate the staples of the island at their market, and occasion

more money and less produce to be exported from Jamaica, to pay for North American commodities.

The great object, therefore, is to get the balance on the right side ; our produce will then pay for all that we import, and our coin will stay in the island. Now, although we are very able to supply shingles, hoops, hoghead staves, and heading, from our own woods ; but nevertheless pay to the North Americans all the emoluments of manufacturing theirs, together with freight, &c. ; yet, perhaps our settlers in general would not willingly enter into this kind of manufacture, without raising the price so high at first, as greatly to discourage the planters from dealing with them ; at the same time, therefore, that every just encouragement is given to induce their going largely upon the manufacture, the prices ought to be fixed and limited by law, upon an equitable rate, according to the different species of wood ; and all other proper regulations should be enacted in regard to dimensions and thickness. Until so desirable an event can be brought about, the planters may remedy the evil in some degree for the present, by uniting together, and importing annually those needful articles of supply, which are neither to be obtained within the island, nor in themother country, in some of the ships which come every year to load. In consequence of the decay of our foreign trade, many of these ships arrive in ballast, and others with very little freight ; a certain number of them might be engaged to touch at North America, to take in the supplies principally wanted ; and the planters, by thus procuring these commodities at the first hand, would be stocked at a cheaper rate, better in quality, and in a regular established mode ; the goods would be paid for by bills on Great Britain, who would become a considerable gainer in the article of freight, and Jamaica would of course export far less of its coin. The balance of the North American trade being in favour of Britain, bills of exchange upon the British merchants would be the same at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and other of their trading towns, as so much cash ; because such bills will buy equal value of their current money, and sometimes are above par : but the North American supercargoes, who bring goods to the Jamaica market, do not want bills of exchange ; coin and bullion answer much better in gaining advantageous bargains at Hispaniola, where ready money will always tempt the French planters to sell  
their

their produce at a very cheap rate. Besides, as bullion is in general dearer in Great Britain than in France, it must form a valuable article of export from Hispaniola to France, who is evidently able to make prodigious advantage of it in her general trade with Britain. It is no wonder, therefore, that the French merchants, in their colony, should collect as much as they possibly can for exportation to Europe; nor that they should draw it in such large sums from the North Americans; since the articles of Hispaniola produce are at all times to be obtained much cheaper in that island than similar produce can be got in Jamaica. In the former island they have more middling and petty settlers, who never export; and, being less loaded with taxes, and high prices of their European necessities, than our planters, can afford of course to sell their sugars and melasses at a cheaper rate. I am well convinced, and, I think, the gentlemen of the island will, upon reflection, be equally so, that no means they can use will keep their money within the island, so long as the balance of their commerce with North America is on the wrong side. While the affluents with the Spaniards subsisted, money and bullion poured in upon the island in such plenty, that the balance was easily paid, without any perceptible diminution of the current coin; and therefore no enquiry was ever made into the state of the trade carried on with the North Americans; unfortunately, as I have before remarked, the balance has since been increasing in proportion as the ability to find money for it has decreased. Does not prudence therefore require, that the Assembly should now examine into the circumstances of this trade, with the utmost accuracy, every year, by ordering an exact account of exports and imports to be regularly laid before them, and estimating the value of both, according to the best informations in their power to obtain? If then they should perceive the balance to be, as is supposed, very largely *against* the island, they will have discovered one genuine source of the evil; and the next step must be to lessen, if they cannot wholly remove, it.

## S E C T III.

IN 1681, an act of this island fixed the interest of money here at 10*l. per cent.* In 1739, it was reduced to 8*l.*; and, in 1752, to 6*l.* on Jamaica loans; and by the same authority raised to 5*l. per cent.* on British loans. The foundation of this latter, which is called the

*Credit Act*, was upon this principle, viz. "That 5*l. per cent.* on British "loans is the natural interest of money;" *because*, it was found, at that time, "that the planters could freely borrow money of the British "merchants at *that rate*." But the late war, the loans to government, the great annual sums paid to foreigners for their share of the national debt, the vast strides dissipation and expensive living have made in the mother country, the great advanced value of lands, and, in short, of the whole stock of conventional property in the nation, together with the encreased demand for silver in the East India commerce, and to pay balances against the nation in her dealings with foreign countries, have generated such an extensive employment for the mercantile boards, as to destroy the basis of that principle: in short, it no longer exists; and this has lately been made more publicly apparent, by the arguments brought in support of a bill, for enabling the West India proprietors to borrow money of the Dutch at 5*l. per cent.* which shews, that there is not a sufficient temptation to induce the British merchants to furnish these colonies with the loans they require, at the accustomed rate of interest; for otherwise it would be needless to have recourse to foreign money-holders. The money-holders of Great Britain find a thousand ways of gaining 5*l. per cent.* within the kingdom. Even the commissioners of many turnpikes have given this, to procure money; and seldom any can be borrowed here from a merchant, even upon mortgages on good landed security, for less. Whilst money could freely be come at, on payment of 4*l. per cent.* it answered a merchant's purpose extremely well to borrow, in order to supply his West India correspondent, by which he secured the benefit of a consignment, and cleared 1*l. per cent.* on the article of interest; for he borrowed at 4*l.* and received payment from his correspondent at 5*l.* But it is plain, this speculative trading on borrowed money has been overdone; and the recent examples of bankruptcy among some West India merchants, must necessarily render the monied men extremely cautious how they trust their principal on such insecure bottoms. In respect to the opulent and well-established merchants, it is evident, that, whilst opportunities offer of gaining as much by putting out their money at home, as they could gain by sending it abroad, they will rather chuse to employ it at home. It may deserve attention therefore, whether raising the interest upon British loans to 6*l. per cent.*

*cent.* may not operate to draw the knot tighter with the British merchants, save the planters from a tribe of villainous men in Jamaica, and put the island into a more flourishing condition? and whether this augmentation may not acquire them a preference in loans beyond the other islands? I may ask any dispassionate planter, who has discharged debts on bond and judgement to creditors in the island, how much *per cent.* he has paid over and above the legal interest of his debt, taking in all fees, bribes, charges, and expences? or what premiums he has paid upon loans, or money, or even paper, upon pressing occasions, when, the merchant in Britain having declined advancing for him, he has been driven to establish his consignments to a factor in Kingston; or to take up loans in the island of some rich Jew? I am very sure, if he answers fairly and candidly, he will appear to have paid 16*l.* or 20*l.* *per cent.* instead of 6*l.* Does not this grievance, of which so many seem to be perfectly sensible, call upon them to save themselves by so easy a remedy? The sound of paying 6*l.* *per cent.* interest to the British merchant terrifies those very men who are actually, though perhaps unconsciously, through an inattention to their affairs, paying twice or thrice that sum to creditors and usurers in Jamaica. Too many planters there are who keep no account of their disbursements; and others think no longer of a debt than while they are harrassed with prosecutions for the recovery of it; with many of these a debt *settled*, as they term it (*i. e.* by giving a bond) is the same as paid; because they are relieved from the present urgent anxiety which it occasioned, and leave it to future time and occurrences to help them out at the next shift. But supposing, on the other hand, an increased interest secured by law; this may probably induce the British merchant to grant a reasonable forbearance, where it can be serviceable to his correspondent. Another advantage, and that no small one, would certainly happen; many of the planters, ever since the British merchants declined advancing, have applied themselves to get largely into debt with money-lenders in Jamaica. Upon raising the interest to be paid on British loans, much clamour would undoubtedly follow, and every endeavour be used by the Jamaica creditors, to raise the interest on all contracts within the island to 1*l.* *per cent.* more; they would chiefly attempt this by calling in their money, and distressing the planter, in hopes of forcing him to comply with their measure.

measure. In this event, as the planter, by borrowing money in Great Britain, would be enabled to take up these debts, so he would presently secure himself against all those mischievous litigations which he might have reason to expect from his Jamaica creditors. The landed property of this island will be always an ample security for ten times the money it can ever have occasion to borrow, so long as it is duly protected by the power on which it depends; and it is evident, that the more money the merchants of Great Britain invest in the island, the better assured it will be of that protection; as they will become so much the more deeply interested in the same common bottom. The plan proposed would put an end to those destructive bargains now so frequently made in Jamaica; where, while money is not to be procured in Britain at the present rate of interest, and the currency is grown so scarce, many distressed persons are driven to negotiate loans, on paying a premium of 10 *l.* and in some cases of 15 *l.* and 20 *l. per cent.* besides the legal interest. Pursuant to a contract of this sort, a planter borrows 1000 *l.* of a Jew, for five years, but receives down no more than 900 *l.* the premium being 10 *l. per cent.* or 100 *l.* upon the whole; and at the end of the term, he pays the Jew the full sum of 1000 *l.* and has paid him 6 *l. per cent.* interest during the time of forbearance, in all 1400 *l.*; so that the Jew gains upwards of 11 *l. per cent.* on his bargain. Now, I will suppose that, by raising the interest upon British loans, this planter, having a responsible estate, should want 1000 *l.* from a British merchant; is there a doubt, but he would be supplied upon very different terms? But further, if at the expiration of the five years, this planter happens to be unable to pay the Jew principal, or interest, what is the consequence? His bond on judgement is rigorously sued, the expences of prosecution make an addition of at least 5 *l. per cent.* to the debt, increasing in proportion to the planter's difficulties in making payment, and the necessity he is under of bribing the officer, every three months, to prevent his Negroes from being seized, and sold for half their value; the remedy for him is pointed out by the Jew, who, from pretended motives of lenity, or friendship, consents to make up the matter, on his entering into a fresh bond; consolidating all the interest, and law-costs, into principal; and allowing another exorbitant premium.

Thus,

Thus, step by step, have several been led on to the ruin of their families. Examples of this nature, if they do not prove the present rate of interest allowed on British loans to be below the natural value of money, considered as relative to the planter's wants, will prove at least, that the law ought to enable him to deal with *honest men*, who might readily accommodate him, if the interest was so regulated, as to incline the British money-holder rather to lend it in Jamaica, than at home. It may be argued, that there are unthinking men and spendthrifts in all countries where money is to be found, who are prompt enough to take up sums upon usurious contracts; and that the example I have stated tends to demonstrate no more, than that such bargains may often be made in Jamaica, as well as in other countries; but, that this is no indication of a positive necessity existing for raising the interest higher; a measure by which the more prudent and thrifty may be very much affected. I can only say in reply, that I have known of such engagements entered into by men of very respectable character and property here, merely to enable themselves to comply with payments, which could not be deferred, nor be otherwise paid; and that, without some douceurs of this kind given by the borrower, it is scarcely practicable, in the present situation of things, for a planter to borrow money in Jamaica. If this difficulty proceeds either from a scarcity of coin in this island, which raises the value of it in the hands of monied men, or from the British merchant's ability to make more of his money, in any other way than by lending it out at 5 *l. per cent.* interest to the Jamaica planters, it amounts to the same effect; and there is no mode of coming at it, except by making money more plentiful, or by raising the interest. But if there is, in fact, a scarcity of coin in the island, and that there is, every one seems agreed; then, raising the interest with respect to contracts within the island, can answer no purpose as a remedy, but will only serve to multiply the planter's distresses; but, raising the interest on British loans cannot fail of operating to his relief; since it is acknowledged, that money was never more abundant in Britain, than it is at present; and of this there needs no other proof than the high price of provision, and almost all the necessaries of life; a circumstance which is justly regarded as an almost infallible criterion to judge of the proportion of money in any commercial country; and this receives further



further confirmation from the state of things in Jamaica, where provisions and necessaries of the island produce are every day growing cheaper, without any increase of population; a sure index that money is daily growing scarcer there.

The only difference to the planters will be, that they will owe so much the more to merchants in Britain, which they now owe to traders and money-jobbers in Jamaica; and that they will pay their loans in produce, which might not be accepted upon equally good terms by Jamaica creditors. This mode promises, therefore, to be far more beneficial, of the two, to the planter; who, I believe, are almost to a man convinced, that money is not easily to be come at in Britain at *5 l. per cent.* Had it been easily attainable, there would have been no necessity for recurring to the Dutch money-holders; but, considering the vast sums now lying out in Great Britain at *5 l. per cent.* it seems reasonable to conclude, that the additional profit of *1 l. per cent.* may be a temptation to multitudes there to call in their loans, and accommodate the planters with all they have real occasion for; and it is obvious, that if a British merchant is himself unpossessed of a fund, it may answer to his advantage extremely well to borrow at *5 l. per cent.* (the highest rate in Britain) or even from foreigners, to lend the planter; by which transaction, he may be a clear gainer of *1 l. per cent.* over and above the emoluments accruing to him from factorage of the produce annually consigned, in return for his advance. One of the greatest difficulties resulting to a planter from a scarcity of coin in this island is, that, although he may possess an estate worth fifty thousand pounds, he may not be able to procure money enough to pay a sudden demand to a Jamaica creditor of five hundred pounds; and that, for want of this sum, an ill-natured creditor there, has in his power to distress and damage his estate, to five times the value of the debt, by levying on his Negroes. The produce of the land is, in other countries, a legal tender, or else so speedily convertible, as to become equivalent; but here, neither sugar nor rum will be accepted as money, unless the creditor pleases to take them; and he may insist on payment in coin, although there is no mint in the island, no coin peculiar to it, the channel by which it used to be supplied stopped up, a perpetual efflux by an ill-managed trade with North America, and so little remaining

remaining for circulation, that the inhabitants can with difficulty provide enough to pay their taxes, or purchase their daily subsistence. These unhappy circumstances will justify the planters in ceasing to contract debts in Jamaica, and in remitting their produce to the British merchants, in whose hands it will have all the value of money; and with whom they have it in their power to establish their credit upon such a certain foundation, as may relieve them from many of the present embarrassments to which they are subjected by a scarcity of money, and by the advantages which this scarcity affords malicious, crafty, and knavish men an opportunity of making, to the very great detriment of the planting interest.

## S E C T. IV.

A reformation of the currency would probably be another means, if not of introducing more money, at least of keeping more in the island. A regulation of this sort would prevent those secret robberies committed on the public, by *clipping villains*. It was proved by experiment, that by these execrable practices, 49*l.* 15*s.* of current silver was abridged 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* of its real value, and found to weigh no more than 39*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* which was a debasement of above 21*l.* *per cent.* The allowing such base coin to pass current by its denomination, is not only an injury to many of the holders of it, who take it in payment, not knowing it to be counterfeit, but in effect is an encouragement to these clippers to become coiners; and as clipping is a gainful and secret method of robbery, penalties cannot restrain it. The only sure way of putting a stop to it, is to make it unprofitable; which can no otherwise be done, than by making all light money pass only by its *weight*. This method of weighing money may occasion some trouble at first, but a little time would remedy it; for the hammered money only may be required to pass by weight; the milled coin, unless carrying some suspicion on the face of it, or wanting a certain and considerable part of its full weight, might be allowed still to pass by tale; and if all the milled money was permitted to pass for a certain small proportion more than its weight, equal to the workmanship, it might encourage the introduction of milled money into the island, preserve it from being melted down, and hinder much of it from passing off as bullion. A suitable reformation being effected

in the currency, there is reason to believe, that the reverse of what is now done, would be practised; the light money would be kept up for exportation, because of the trouble of passing it by weight; and heavy milled money would circulate, with this advantage, that a larger value would come in place of a less. Various have been the plans for remedying a scarcity of money here. Among others, it has been proposed, to obtain a small silver milled coin from Britain, appropriated to the circulation within the island; that is to say, such a quantity of it as might enable the housekeepers and Negroes to carry on their marketing for butchers meat, poultry, hogs, fish, corn, eggs, plantains, and the like. In the French islands, their inland commerce was, for a long time, supported by a small silver coin remitted from France; and they now retain the most part of it, having been under no necessity of sending it back in course of trade; so that they have undoubtedly experienced very great convenience from it. A coin of this kind might be so alloyed, as to make the nominal but a small proportion above the intrinsic value. We may suppose, for example, a milled silver coin struck at the mint in Great Britain, of the intrinsic value of five-pence sterling, which should pass current in Jamaica at seven-pence halfpenny, *exch. 140 l. per cent.* equal to about  $5\frac{1}{4}d.$  four-tenths sterling. This coin would be remitted from Britain at about  $11d.$  in the pound profit upon Jamaica, or  $4l. 11s. 8d. per cent.$  which the mother country might be allowed to gain, for the expence of coinage, and remittance to the island. And supposing, twenty thousand pounds worth of this money to be remitted over, the whole profit thereon to Great Britain would be no more than  $916l. 13s. 4d.$ ; which is a trifling loss, compared with the many advantages deriveable to the island, from so useful a currency; for it would not pass off again, but would form a very considerable aid to the internal traffic of the inhabitants. Such a coin might be remitted in his Majesty's ships appointed to this station, be lodged in the receiver-general's office, and issued thence to the troops for their additional pay; who, in the space of one or two years, would bring the whole of that sum into circulation. A sudden scarcity of money in Jamaica put the legislature, a few years ago, upon an expedient of keeping as much from export as was thought adequate to the demands of circulation; they caused the foreign gold and silver coin, to a certain amount, to be impressed with a *G. R.*; and raised

raised the numerary value of the dollars from 6s. 6d. to 6s. 8d.; and of the milled doubloons from 4l. 15s. to 5l. Here was an advance of about  $3\frac{1}{4}$ l. *per cent.* on the silver, and of  $4\frac{1}{4}$ l. on the gold coin. A great temptation therefore offered to the debasers of coin; this was naturally to be expected, and accordingly happened. Mints were set at work, not only in the Northern, but in the Dutch, and other colonies, to say nothing of the industrious coiners in Jamaica, who, to gain these *per cents*, and as much more as they could, poured in so great an abundance of base doubloons, as to interrupt the commerce of the island. These coiners were not conscientious enough to make their doubloons of more than 3l. value each, so that they drove on a trade very beneficial to themselves, and ruinous to the island; for all that the people gained by the event was, that their heavy money was bought up with this base coin, and exported; and thus, with all the appearance of more money in circulation, they in fact were reduced to less than they had before the act passed. Yet the counterfeit doubloons were easily to be detected, and no great number of them would, probably have crept into circulation, if what generally happens in a dearth, whether of money or other necessaries, had not occurred at that time, *viz.* the inhabitants were glad to take for their pressing occasions almost any trash, that wore the least semblance or colour of money, rather than be wholly destitute. In regard to the hammered money, the making it pass by weight must, as I have before remarked, have effectually put a stop to a counterfeit coinage of it, and thrown it at once out of circulation. We may, from this and other examples, conclude, that augmenting the current valuation of money can answer no purpose as a restraint upon exportation, but will generally operate, more or less, to the impediment of trade. Thus it was observed, that the advance of one-fourth upon the real value of the silver coined in France, purposely for the circulation of Canada, did not keep the money from going out of that colony. Experience proved, that money could not have a regular circulation, nor make any stay there, but by paying in *commodities* for whatever was imported from France. In this case, the colony would have retained her money at home; but having not merchandizes of sufficient value and quantity, to export for all she received, she was obliged to pay the balance in silver, and thus all her money was drained back to France, by the ne-

cessary effect of their mutual commerce: to this it is attributed, that their trade was never established advantageously for either party, but continued declining until the English acquired the whole. Canada had always drawn more from France than she had been able to pay; doing just as a private person would, who with an income of 3000*l.*, should spend at the rate of 4000*l.* Now, although Jamaica has more in value of native commodities to export, than the amount of all her imports, yet, in respect of her North American commerce, she is much in the same predicament as the Canadians were; for, if the North Americans will not take value for value in commodities of the colony, it is the same in effect, as if no such commodities existed; and the balance is paid in the one case, as it must ever be in the other, with *silver*; which remark furnishes the strongest argument possible, to shew the disparity between her commerce with the mother country, and what she carries on with the North Americans. The latter are to her as so many foreigners, who, as it were, *prohibit* her commodities in return for what they supply her with, and drain her of her specie; but the mother country encourages the growth of the one, and leaves her in quiet possession of the other, or at least the greater part of it, by taking sufficient of her commodities to answer the value of her British and Irish supplies. It has been thought, however, that the Canadians drew no small advantage by the money which annually came from France, to support their establishments. This was computed at 120,000 crowns a year, which furnished their circulation at least so well, as to preserve them from the dangerous expedient of a paper currency; and, as the supply came regularly, it could not fail of giving them a sensible relief, even though the money returned home almost as soon as it could possibly be transported back again. Further, all augmentations of the numerary value of the current coin, must inevitably injure creditors under permanent contracts, such as bonds and mortgages, and therefore must prove extremely detrimental to many in Jamaica; where so vast an amount of debts is continually resolved into securities of this nature. A planter, for instance, when dollars are current at 6*s.* 6*d.* borrows 2600*l.* upon bond or mortgage; the numerary value is afterwards raised by an act of the legislature to 7*s.*; and the planter taking advantage of this law, repays the loan with this advanced denomination. In this case, he has borrowed 8000 dollars, which he repays with

with no more than 7428  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; and consequently profits what the creditor is forced unjustly to lose upon the contract, no less than 185*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* which comes to upwards of a year's interest upon his loan. If an augmentation of this kind could be confined solely to what passes in the internal commerce from hand to hand, by way of barter, it would produce no ill effect whatever; but it is impossible, in a trading colony, to hinder it from intermixing with contracts, or accumulating in the merchant's hands; and in regard to the merchant, whenever the intrinsic value of the current coin is not in exact proportion to the denomination, he will find the way of striking the *mesme proportional*; that is to say, if the just value of a dollar be 6*s.* 6*d.* and no more, he will not give more goods for a thousand of them, current at the increased denomination of 7*s.*, than he would have given for the same number at the just rate of 6*s.* 6*d.* There is no doubt, but that advantages in trade have been taken of the planters under this circumstance; for, however they may vary the denominations of their current silver, no alteration is produced by it, for the better, upon the market value of their produce; since, the exchange between the island and Great Britain continuing the same, and the value of their produce being measured by the rise and fall at the *home market*, and not by the fluctuations of their currency, the traders in Jamaica will sell their goods, and buy the planter's produce, according to the intrinsic value, and not according to the current denomination of the coin; or rather, I should say, they will more generally take advantage of the denomination when it is increased, and sell their goods agreeably to it, though they will not receive produce in payment at the same rate. Thus, supposing the dollar raised to 7*s.* they will sell only a nominal 2600*l.* worth of their goods, the real worth of which is no more than 2414*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*; and receive payment in produce, estimated, according to the former price of the dollar, at the intrinsic value 2600*l.* An augmentation of the numerary value of the currency is therefore the same in effect as raising the price of the trader's goods so much *per cent.* above their accustomed market rate. The trader will make a further profit, by importing dollars from foreigners at *par*, and sending them into circulation at their augmented rate. First, he will gain by exchanging them at their advanced value for the planter's produce; next, he will gain, when these dollars return to him again, in exchange for

for his goods; so that, after profiting on this double transaction, he may either send them back again into circulation, or export them at the same price at which he imported them. It is possible, that the coin, thus raised in its numerary value, may circulate for a considerable time; that is, it will continue to circulate so long as the traders find it more convenient to their interest, to draw advantage from the planters by suffering it to remain, than to ship it away in remittance: but whenever sugars or bills cannot be had at such a price, or course of draught, as to form a good remittance; or, that there is an extraordinary demand for silver at the British market; or that, by failure of crops, or other causes, the balance of trade lies *against* the island; the traders will collect the silver money, not too much impaired in weight, and remit it to their correspondents. As, by a debasement or advance of the coin, the merchants profit by never losing sight of the nominal price, compared with the intrinsic, and raising their goods proportionably in rate; so, if the coin should be made current at a price below its intrinsic value, it cannot possibly remain in circulation; but all that escapes the melting-pot, or clipper, will be sent away as merchandize. It is of importance therefore, to fix its current value by a true and invariable standard, or at least, as near to it as possible. The act of 6th Geo. III. requires the silver received for duties in America to be of 5*s.* 6*d.* the ounce sterling: this then must be regarded as the standard by which the current value should be ascertained, especially as it is the same price now generally given for silver at the London market. The dollar, at 5*s.* 6*d.* the ounce, is worth 4*s.* 9½*d.* sterling, which is equal to 6*s.* 8*d.* eight-tenths Jamaica currency. If we were, therefore, to consider the silver coin here merely relative to the circulation, or internal commerce of the island, and not as an article of merchandize, the dollar ought to pass here at 6*s.* 8*d.*, instead of 6*s.* 6*d.* its present rate. But the operations of trade will not admit of this distinction; and the misfortune is, that if the legislature should make them current at 6*s.* 8*d.*, the merchants would immediately, by a proportionable rise in the rate of their goods, find means to collect them as usual, and remit them as merchandize. The merchant at present buys them in Jamaica at 4*s.* 7½*d.*, and sells them in London: at 4*s.* 9½*d.*, or about 2*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* *per cent.* profit; but as we are to oppose to this the charges of remittance, so the present rate of 6*s.* 6*d.*

will not be found to vary much from the true *par* of exchange between the two countries. The advantages of such a remittance have been supposed considerable, because it is observed that the Jews, who chiefly make their returns from the neighbouring continent in specie, will never pay any money that comes to their hands, and is of due weight, but either remit it upon their own accounts, or dispose of it to the merchants and factors for light money; on which transaction they receive a premium of 4, 5, or even 6 *l. per cent.* for the exchange; which premium the merchants could not afford to pay, if they were not reciprocal gainers in the event. But, I think, it is not safe to assert, that a remitter of dollars, purchased here at 6 *s. 6 d.* the present current value, may be always a gainer; for as the charges attendant upon the remittance are large, and the price of silver may fluctuate at the London market, so it should rather be deemed an adventure in trade, which may, or may not, turn to account; though in general, perhaps, the *certainty* of such a mode of payment, which is not subject to all the casualties and waste of sugars or rum, nor, like bills of exchange, to delay and protest, may compensate for the charge of remittance, in paying a balance of account between merchant and merchant. During the last war, the price of silver was extremely variable in London; in the year 1761 it was 5 *s. 8½ d. per ounce*, or 2½ *d.* better *per ounce* than at present; it was therefore, at that time, a very eligible remittance. It will be owned, that the value of dollars (considered as a commodity in trade) is one thing, and their value in circulation another. They are certainly distinct, if the circulation in any country can be disengaged wholly from the pursuits of external commerce; but so long as they connect together, or act and re-act upon one another, it seems difficult, if not impracticable, to regulate the value by any other way, than a determinate standard, which may accommodate to each object; the present rate therefore of 6 *s. 6 d.*, though in fact too low for the circulation (simply considered), is justly supposed to come nearest the *par* of exchange between this and Britain, or 40 *l. per cent.*; for, supposing the average value of the dollar to be 4 *s. 9 d.* sterling in London, then, 6 *s. 6 d.* being at 40 *l. per cent.* exchange equal to 4 *s. 7½ d.* sterling, the difference is only one penny halfpenny, or a little more than 2½ *per cent.*, which was the price of freight in last war. In judging therefore on the advantage or disadvantage



A Jew is to remit the amount of 2925*l.* to his London correspondent; he sends one third by bills of exchange, drawn payable at 90 days sight; one third at 60 days; and the remaining third in dollars, purchased in Jamaica, at 6*s.* 6*d.* each.

Nett money received, 945 15 0

Nett money received, 950 12 6

Nett money received, 952 2 5

The remittance in dollars then, under these circumstances, appears much more eligible than good bills at ninety days, and somewhat superior

perior to good bills at sixty days; to render bills preferable, they ought to be at thirty days; which are better than silver, even when it is at 5*s.* 6  $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* the oz. in London, though not equal to it at 5*s.* 8*d.* or the price it bore during some part of the last war. The usance of planters bills has generally been at sixty days: to this inconvenience of a long usance they were subjected, by the nature of their remittance, which could not be converted into money in less time than two months from its arrival in port; and as the market has grown more plentifully stocked with sugars of late years, by the increase and improvement of our West India settlements, so it consequently happened, that the sugars lay longer on the merchant's hands before they could be brought to an advantageous sale; and longer credit was given to the sugar-bakers, and other dealers, to induce their becoming buyers; by which means the usance is now protracted to ninety days, or about three months (reckoning the days of grace), and may probably be spun out still longer, if the market at home, by an increasing annual importation, should cause sugars to become a drug in the merchant's hands. As a continued scarcity of sugar therefore at the home market would give what came to it a quick sale, proportioned to the exigency of the demand, and enable the planters to draw their bills at a short sight; so a tardy sale, and slow demand, must necessarily protract the usance of their bills: and hence, considering the present state of the sugar trade, and the rapid improvements likely to be made in our West India settlements, upon the assistance of *foreign loans*, it is reasonable to conclude, that sugar, from the quantity to be imported, will every year grow less and less entitled to a prompt sale, and the planters bills in proportion be drawn at a longer usance, and therefore more and more depreciated as a remittance, in comparison with silver money; so that every thing indeed seems conspiring to promote the drain of foreign coin from these colonies, until no more remains, adapted for remittance in the course of their trade with Britain and America; for I think it very improbable, that the planters in general should ever arrive at that degree of independence and high credit, as to be intirely clear of debt, and able to draw bills on their merchants payable at so short a sight as to become equivalent to a remittance in specie.

In this embarrassed situation, it will certainly be prudent for them to consider and execute some plan of relief; lest they should, in a few years more, come suddenly to experience more distress, from the total loss of all their heavy silver, than they have hitherto lamented, under only a partial deprivation of it: the first and most obvious remedy will be, the retrieving their credit by some effective laws; the next, by taking all proper measures to get out of debt, and learning to think a moderate, but disencumbered, fortune much easier attainable, better preserved, and more comfortable in the enjoyment, than a vast speculative one, under the constant oppression of heavy interest, law-suits, a servile dependence, and unceasing anxiety of mind. Palliatives here will only procure at best a temporary relief; they must lay the axe to the very root of the evil; and, in addition to what I have already presumed to suggest, some enquiry should be made into the real circumstances of their trade with North America: as well as some care be had of their money wanted for common circulation; or some means tried for supplying this want, before it is too late.

#### S E C T. V.

THERE are industrious Jews in this island, who carry on a profitable business by purchasing dollars with ryals of the old plate, which are of bad quality. According to the present denominations of the currency, a single dollar of 6s. 6d. passes in exchange for ten ryals; which, at  $7\frac{1}{2}d.$  each, amount to no more than 6s. 3d. or 3d. *per* dollar loss to the person who changes for these ryals. The purchaser therefore of one thousand dollars, for which ten thousand ryals are paid, at the usual rate of ten to a dollar, gains instantly 12*l.* 10*s.* by this defect in the establishment of the island currency; and 22*l.* more by the difference in the value *per* ounce. This loss has chiefly fallen upon the soldiers and indented tradesmen, who have received their pay and wages in dollars, and were obliged to lay them out immediately in the purchase of small necessaries, chiefly among the Jewish shopkeepers, who have made very considerable sums by the exchange. This remark, and others which I have occasionally touched upon, may serve to shew the expediency of a minor coin in the island, proportioned to the greater, that the poorest class of inhabitants may not suffer

suffer such defalcations from the little they receive for their subsistence; for this is an oppression upon them, and ought, if possible, to be removed; but which must unjustly continue while the standard value of every dollar is three-pence above the standard value of the minor coin, or ryals, and while there is no other coin introduced adequate to the fraction of three-pence. This leads me to observe, that, perhaps, a small copper coin might be found extremely convenient here, as enabling the lower class of inhabitants not only to exchange their silver without a drawback, but likewise to keep down the prices of the small necessities of life; which is a matter that has been thought of great importance to every trading community; and is especially of moment to this island, where the Negroes, who supply the markets with small stock, and other necessities, as well as the white families supplied from those markets, must be very much distressed, if they should ever be wholly deprived of a minor currency accommodated to their dealings with each other. For these reasons it has been always found adviseable to preserve farthings and halfpence of copper in the British circulation, for the sake of the poorer inhabitants. The intrinsic value of an halfpenny currency being equal to one farthing four tenths sterling, a coin might be struck in Great Britain of this proportion, which would suit in change for the silver money now current. Two hundred thousand of them, which probably might be sufficient, would cost only 2,316*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling. They might be impressed with the arms of the island on their reverse, and be sent over in any of his majesty's ships ordered to the station, by which their freight would be saved. These, together with the ryals of old plate, would probably continue always in circulation, and supply, to a great extent, the necessities of the internal commerce; whilst, at the same time, they would establish a measure for the lowest kinds of barter, or traffic, that can be carried on by the Negroes, and poorer housekeepers, who are put to great difficulty and loss, by having no other than a silver currency, of too high value for their ordinary occasions. The inhabitants would grow more thrifty than at present they are; for they being accustomed to handle none other but a silver coin, the lowest denomination whereof is equal to five-pence sterling, learn to set no higher value upon five-pence, than an English beggar does on a farthing: lastly, by having a competent stock of small

money for the usual necessities of life, the inhabitants would become less sensible of any inconvenience by the loss of their heavy silver, which might then pass away from the island in course of trade, without producing any material effect upon the circulation. I may here remark, what has before been hinted, that the doctrine of coin, or money, as generally explained with respect to its operation in any country carrying on a foreign trade, must be confined solely to the effects produced by or upon it, by the spirit and nature of that trade; but, when it is spoken of merely as relative to internal commerce, or measure of value among the inhabitants for their marketing, and other trifling dealings with each other, we are not to affix the same ideas to its operation. The inhabitants, in this case, have only to agree among themselves what the measure of value shall be, and one substance will serve the purpose almost as well as another; so, among a people thus circumstanced, a money of brass, iron, lead, or even leather, might support a due circulation, equal to their ordinary wants. To make this idea more plain, we may assimilate this people to a parcel of school-boys living together in a kind of distinct community, who cast leaden *dumps*, to which they give a certain determinate value, and which pass current among them from hand to hand, in exchange for marbles, tops, apples, and the other commodities of similar nature, which they usually possess. If they step beyond their own little circle, and extend their dealings with the pastry-cook, or the toy-man, their leaden currency here first alters its effect; and, if it be admitted at all as a measure in this forensic commerce, it will be received by the pastry-cook or toy-man only for its intrinsic worth. A leathern money was formerly introduced in France, in the reign of their king John, who was taken prisoner by the English.

Among many of the African states they have, at this day, no other currency than cowries, or shells. Formerly, the great trading towns in England had their respective coinages, and even the tradesmen of different classes were privileged to coin their private copper farthings, or *tokens*, for the conveniency of paying their workmen.

All light and bad money has the same operation; the merchants refuse to meddle with it, and it is thrown back to circulate chiefly in the retail branch of internal commerce; in which its passage from one person to another is so rapid, that its imperfections escape notice. We  
may

may observe therefore, that, within a certain limit, it signifies but little what the quality may be of the coin in circulation; and as within that limit the greater part of internal commerce is comprehended, so in providing for the exigencies of this commerce, the principal point is to find out the quantum of coins of different species answerable to it; but this is attended with much difficulty, because there is little other ground-work to go upon than theoretical calculations. The African states have no occasion for gold or silver coins, because they pay their balance of trade with gold dust, ivory, gum, and slaves; but in Jamaica the Negroes are differently circumstanced; for they have their dealings chiefly with the retail shopkeepers, who are a sort of middle-men between them and the merchant importers; these shopkeepers, who, for the major part, are Jews, look with great circumspection on the coin they receive, knowing, that if it is too much depreciated, it will not pass on the merchant; whenever therefore they take diminished money from the Negroes, it is with design to profit upon them; and this has usually been managed, by giving but a trifling value of their goods for it; and then, by watching opportunities to change it for heavy money; and, as the light money reverts into circulation, and can have no outlet by trade, so it continues to run current so long as any heavy money can be picked up; when this is exhausted, the shopkeepers begin to cry down the light and counterfeit coins; the Negroes are unable to carry on their traffic; and a general confusion ensues. This has very lately been the case, and proved the source of much hardship to them. When silver was abundant in the island, they found some remedy for the want of a minor coin, by making an imaginary division of the ryal in their dealings with the retail shops: they were able, for instance, to supply themselves with small quantities of four or five different commodities for one ryal; but, as soon as the light and bad money was cried down, their distresses must have been very lamentable; for a Negroe, with the whole of his weekly pay or acquisition, could then purchase scarcely half as much as before. These remarks may serve to shew the utility of a copper coin, if it were only calculated for the relief of these poor people; such a coin would resemble the light money in one respect; it would not pass off the country, but it would not partake of any of its bad effects.

Whatever

Whatever endeavours may be used, or provisions be applied, to retain a sufficient quantity of coin, for the internal convenience of the inhabitants; we may be assured, that in the present state of their external trade, it is impossible to prevent the Spanish gold and silver currency from leaving this island; because, conformably to what has been before demonstrated, the people of Jamaica can no more hinder this coin from emigrating by the North American hands, whilst the balance of their trade with North America is against them, than the North Americans can stop the efflux of what they receive, whilst the balance with Britain is against them. In proportion as produce at Jamaica is undervalued by the traders, or bills of exchange are in general discredit, or drawn at too long sight, so will the demand be there among the mercantile people for gold and silver, to make up their remittances; and in proportion as this demand increases, gold and silver foreign coin must become scarcer in the island; similar to what has happened in the Northern colonies, where, the inhabitants not having a sufficiency in value of exports, to discharge the whole demand, in return for their British imports; the price of silver among them rose in proportion to the balance of debt against them; the rate of their currency was advanced by law, year after year, until they were obliged to substitute paper bills, in place of metals; and raised the exchange with Great Britain, till two shillings sterling became equal in some of the provinces to 1/. nominal currency, or one pound sterling equal to ten currency; which is an evil, that I hope the legislature of Jamaica will guard against by every prudent measure; and happy shall I be, if any hint I have presumed to offer may direct them to an effectual remedy; the subject I have ventured to handle is intricate in its nature; yet, if we may be allowed to judge of it by analogical reasoning, it seems, I think, probable, that as the individuals, who are thrifty and disencumbered of debt, have generally a command of money, so the same rule of conduct, when attended to by a whole community, may lead them into possession of the same advantage; in this view, the system of management pursued by one wise man, is but an epitome of what the multitude should follow; and nations may seem to acquire their credit, opulence, and independency, in the same track of œconomy, by which private fortunes are gradually improved, and brought to maturity.

turity. It may be a proper supplement to these remarks, if I should now close this section with some cautions to the planter, in forming his mercantile intercourse. Whilst I bestow all due encomium upon the real merchants of this island, who are men of worth, and actuated by the most generous principles, I cannot withhold my strictures from those low retailers, and hucksters here, who arrogantly style themselves *merchants*, although they are the mere scum and offal of trade, resembling those scrophulous excrescencies of the law, called *pettifoggers*, who likewise take the liberty of entitling themselves *lawyers*, although utterly unworthy of being classed among that honourable society. These pedlar-merchants are the very bane of Jamaica, and against them I must advise all the inexperienced planters to stand perpetually on their guard. No race of mankind are more profligate, more griping and extortionate; more replete with quirks, quibbles, lies, arts, and deceit of every kind, than this species of vermin. No persons can be more liberal in offers of credit, or inveigle, nay even force, their goods upon the unwary planter, with more specious lures of flattering and friendly language; but none are more inexorable and inhuman in exacting payment, even to the ruin of the unfortunate man who confides in them. Add to this, that they are continually in litigation, which as it brings them acquainted with all the sophistry and iniquity of law-juggle, so they are the better enabled, in collusion with the deputy marshals, to ravage a debtor's property, and persecute him to the utmost with the more unfeeling rigour and cruelty. The best apology to be made for them is, that they chiefly sell on commission, and therefore may seem to be under a necessity either of gathering-in their debts, and remitting within a certain time, or hazarding the future favour of their constituents at home. Having no capitals of their own, nor any extensive correspondence, their dealings are proportionally limited; it is out of their power to advance for the planter the means of improving his estate, but they are armed with the means of destroying it. An eager thirst for gain, and anxiety to make quick sales of the goods entrusted to them, induce them to sell without much discrimination or enquiry: whoever chuses, may run in their debt; but those planters are more particularly their object, who, heedless of the consequence, are ready to contract



tract debts with any one that will trust them ; who buy goods without enquiring the price ; and settle a long account, without casting their eye upon any other part of it than the sum total.

They think it impossible, that a man, who professes so much friendship and esteem for them ; who interests himself so warmly in their affairs ; treats them with such a profusion of civility and deference ; and flatters their pride so agreeably, in the most servile and fawning terms, can wish to serve himself at the expence of their credulity. A false pride, and affectation of consequence, make some planters put the best face on their affairs, and lead them too inconsiderately into schemes for aggrandizing their fortunes ; in too great hurry to be rich, they are always poor ; not satisfied to grow opulent by degrees, and continue independent as they proceed, they too soon plunge themselves deeper than is consistent with their safety. These unhappy men see themselves cheated, and cannot help themselves ; they are no longer masters of their time, nor the produce of their labours ; their effects are wrested out of their hands, and they receive just what the pedlar chuses to allow. They must take their common supplies at the most unconscionable price, and dare not complain, nor controvert any article ; they buy the vilest goods at the dearest rate of the market, and are forced to sell their own produce at the cheapest. The account swells every year, no reduction is made, distresses increase ; and, at length, when they are broken down with fatigue and chagrin, their estate is brought to a sale, and will scarcely pay their debts ; the pedlar then steps in, and makes it seem an obligation conferred, if he condescends to take possession of it, in full of all demands. No fortune can withstand the wiles and stratagems incident to these knavish connexions ; yet, the circumstances I have described have fallen to the lot of numberless planters, who trusted too implicitly the fair speeches of their pretended mercantile friends, and suffered themselves to be conducted step by step into bankruptcy, and the grave. I would seriously advise the honest planter, not to shift his business from one correspondent to another, merely that by so doing he may be enabled to multiply his credit for a time ; when this practice comes to be detected, as it may easily be, he must expect no quarters from any of them ; for no person in trade will repose any confidence in a man who varies his dealings so artfully, and contrives to run in debt with

with twenty creditors instead of one. Let him above all things endeavour to fix his negotiations with a merchant of established character, known probity, and extensive trade, either in Britain, or Jamaica; let him cultivate that merchant's esteem and confidence, by candour, openness, sincerity, and all possible punctuality; this once attained, he need not fear to have all the scope of credit allowed him, that any reasonable man can expect; nor need he fear to obtain extraordinary assistance, if any unforeseen calamity should befall his affairs. As for those unhappy planters who have unguardedly involved themselves in distress, by relying too credulously on fair words, and empty proffers of service; and who would fain pay their just, as well as *unjust* debts, if they could; and want only a moderate allowance of time, which their insatiable and persecuting factor refuses to grant; let me recommend to all who are in this predicament, to mortgage their estate, without delay, to a merchant of known integrity: it is better even to trust a man of reputed integrity, than a notorious pick-pocket: it is better to bear the burthen and heat of the day for the *gentleman*, than the *villain*. To conclude, let them shudder at the thought of giving up their labour and inheritance to fugitive transitory strangers, whose regard for them, or the land in which they live, extends no further than the prospect of exacting a speedy and competent fortune out of both; on which they have in view, to maintain themselves comfortably in some other part of the world. In the island, the merchant of fixed residence, large capital, and liberal sentiments, should be sought after, in preference to these birds of passage: in forming a connexion with a merchant in Britain, the choice may be regulated by the advice of some opulent and experienced planter; and although mock-merchants are to be found even here, yet, for the generality, the West India merchants in Britain are men tenacious of their character, and abhorrent of mean practices; these are the men, who, satisfied with holding a responsible security in the property and toils of the planter, will patiently contribute their support till his mine is dug, and the ore brought to that degree of perfection in the furnace, as to enrich and recompense both parties [*d*].

## S E C T.

[*d*] Since the foregoing was written, the *act* (13th Geo. III. cap. 14.) passed, “for encouraging the subjects of foreign states to lend money upon the security of freehold and leasehold estates in any of his Majesty's colonies in the *West Indies*, &c.”

## S E C T. VI.

The course of exchange between Jamaica and Britain, was formerly 35 *l. per cent.*, but since raised to 40 *l.*; at which it has remained

Whilst this act was in agitation, the assembly of Jamaica, being apprized of its tendency, passed a bill to the same effect, only allowing 6 *l. per cent.* interest, instead of 5 *l. per cent.*, which clearly shewed, that their sentiments were in favour of the project. Some little opposition however was made to the act of parliament while in its progress; because, several evil consequences were apprehended, as well from letting *aliens* into the possession of property in our colonies, as admitting them to share in the profits of consignment; and some other objections were also taken upon other accounts, which seemed to have been grounded upon the tenor of the act, as it was at first framed. These objections were over-ruled, and the act, after several material alterations, was exhibited in its present form, which is less exceptionable.

It took its rise from the distressed condition of many principal landholders and settlers in the *new islands*, who had purchased their lands at a very exorbitant price, and borrowed largely to settle them: the returns being no way answerable to the sanguine expectations they had formed, they became in course very deeply involved in debt, both to the crown, and to monied men in England, who saw no chance of being paid, except by supporting this scheme; as some monied men in Holland, who had cash to lend at 5 *l. per cent.* (which is much more than they could make of it abroad), were inclinable to put it out upon mortgage in our islands, provided they could be secured by a law in a due mode of recovery.

It was urged (among other arguments) in favour of the act, " That the lands in the new ceded islands were purchased at a vast price; that, by the late bankruptcies in the kingdom, money was grown so scarce and valuable, that all the channels in which it used to flow into the colonies were stopped up, and the poor settler left incapable of carrying his estate to any tolerable perfection, or of complying with his engagements, for want of being able to procure money for the necessary supplies, stock, and advances.

" That not above a *tenth* part of the lands in those islands was yet brought under cultivation; and of that tenth, one *third* belonged to persons who had not yet erected works, nor were able to do so, unless assisted by loans.

" That there being *not the least prospect* of settling them by means of any funds then within the British dominions, the greatest part of them must revert to the crown without being paid for, and remain uncultivated and useless, unless loans were procured.

" That the increased quantity of money by means of foreign loans, would produce the happiest effects upon the British shipping, commerce, and manufactures, by finding more employment for the first, more materials for the second, and more extensive consumption for the last.

" That foreign loans would not tend to raise the price of Negroes or utensils; for, that the planters, with money in their hands, would be enabled to make more punctual and regular payments, be supplied better, and at a cheaper rate than they were at that time.

" That such loans would not lower the price of sugar. For, although the produce of our colonies may be greatly increased by them; yet, the *increase will be gradual and slow*; besides, the consumption of sugar is thought to be every day increasing in Europe and America, and will continue to do so. That the principal part of the increased quantity of sugar has come from Jamaica and Granada; both of which are now in *their prime*; and that it is *high time their younger sisters should be ushered into the world*, and accomplished as children of the same parent. That some of the old islands are daily falling off, and *Dominica* is more adapted to the culture of coffee and cacao, than sugar. That the additional quantity, therefore, to be expected from St. Vincent and Tobago, cannot be thought capable of influencing the market, when we consider the rapid increase of population in

remained unvaried for many years: this has been ascribed to its numerous and valuable productions, and the money imported from the neighbouring fountain heads. The coins formerly current here are

our American colonies; and since this article is deemed by the very lowest class of the people, in the remote parts of Great Britain and Ireland, as a real necessary of life. That it is likewise making its way into the extensive empire of *Russia*, which (it is supposed) may, in a few years, take off from us an *immense quantity* of that produce: so that the proprietors of estates in the *old islands* need not fear any diminution of price from any increase of quantity in the *new islands*; which, there is the *greatest* reason to believe, will not keep pace with the increase of consumption."

These are the most material illustrations I have seen upon the subject; from whence it is very evident, that the *new islands* were meant to be served at the expense of the *old*; and, notwithstanding the inferences are plausible, yet there is much remains to be proved, that is taken for granted, and must be left to the test of time and experience. The great stroke was, to pay off a very large debt, contracted by the *new ceded islands*; and money stood engaged in Holland for that purpose: but it is not so certain, that the Dutch will advance large capital sums to the other islands that may be desirous of borrowing; or, that such loans will redound, *in the end*, so greatly to the advantage of the kingdom, as has been speciously represented. The best to be hoped from the scheme is, that if there is really that want of money in the kingdom, the West India merchants or middle-men may borrow from foreigners, to lend out in the colonies; and if they can take up their loans at  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  or  $4\%$  *per cent.*; there will be a saving to the nation annually of  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$  or  $1\%$  *per cent.* on the score of *interest*. But taking the matter the other way, it is acknowledged, that most of the produce from our West India islands is spent or consumed in Great Britain and Ireland; if foreigners there fore advance upon the credit of this act to our planters, without the intervention of a *middle-man*; it is clear, they will gain or draw from this kingdom annually  $5\%$  *per cent.* on the sums so advanced; which will be in a proportionably large amount to the principal lent.

If we rate this principal at *two millions sterling*, I believe it will be thought not too much for what may be wanted at an average in all our islands; for we may be assured, that the call there for loans will increase in proportion to the facility of meeting with money-lenders; but estimating the whole at two millions, the annual sum then drawn out of the kingdom by foreigners will be 100,000*l.*; and as it is certain this loss must fall upon the national stock, so this act operates really in the same manner, as if the *nation* (not her *West India* settlers) had borrowed the money; it makes no difference in the balance of political arithmetic; and then the matter comes to this question, Whether the nation might not have borrowed so much money upon a lower interest, *i. e.* upon more advantageous conditions? and what will be her genuine profit *per annum* (deducting 100,000*l.*) upon the increased quantity of produce to be made in consequence of this loan, supposing she should consume all that increased quantity herself, and re-export *none* to *Russia*? I should be glad to see these questions satisfactorily answered. Moreover, I much doubt the truth of the grounds upon which some other of the positions are built. I doubt if there is really that want of money in the kingdom; or whether, if the colonies had offered  $6\%$  *per cent.*, which is  $1\%$  *per cent.* better than the money-lenders in Great Britain can make by lending at home, they might not have been supplied with all that was *absolutely necessary* for them, without any loss to the nation. The contrary, I know, is stated in the preamble of the act, in order to justify the measure; but, although the parliament may be said, on this account, to have recognized the fact, yet, I believe, there are few persons who seriously regard it in this light. Upon the very principles of the arguments urged, the slower and more gradual the increase of produce advances, the longer will the loan continue unpaid, and the more money will go out of the kingdom for interest. If it be said, that the alien will take his remedy, and recover his principal by bringing the mortgaged premises to a sale; this is not likely to happen so long as he can receive punctual payment of  $5\%$  *per cent.* interest;

are specified in the following table, with their rates, as the same were regulated by act of assembly, passed in 1681:

Gold coin.	Silver.	Sterl. val.	Val. in curr.	Val. in present curr. proportioned to the sterl.
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Spanish Doubloon	}	15	4½	20
or				
French Pistole,	}	3	10½	5
Piece of				
Seville,				
Mexico				
or	}	3	10½	5
French Ecu,				
Peru piece	}	3	10½	5
of eight,				

And :

but it will be his best advantage to let the incumbrance rest at the option of the borrower; and as the act gives an effectual mode of proceeding against the borrower, so the latter will think himself under a stronger obligation to pay his interest punctually, that he may claim the longer time for payment of the principal; which he will be in no hurry to discharge, so long as any part of his estate remains unimproved.

That this act may be of service to many distressed settlers who have good lands, I do not doubt; but in a general *national* view, I can only regard it as an opportunity given to foreigners, of lending upon the highest security of the *national faith*, in order to gain more in this channel, than they are able to gain by purchasing into the public funds of this, or any other state in Europe.

It may be acceptable, after what has been said, to give the heads of this act:

Cl. 1. states the difficulty of procuring loans from the subjects of this kingdom, and enacts that aliens may lend money on security of estates in his Majesty's West India colonies, at interest *not exceeding 5 l. per cent. per annum.*

2. That, in case of non-payment, suits may be brought and prosecuted by such aliens, or their attorneys, at common law, or in the court of chancery in the respective colony, praying a decree for sale; and the plaintiff or complainant be entitled to the same remedy for debt and costs due, as any British subject, except obtaining directly or indirectly the actual possession of the mortgaged premises.

3. The court of chancery may decree the sale of such mortgaged premises, where the mortgager has consented to a sale.

4. Service of writ or process of the court on the known attorney or agent of such alien residing within the jurisdiction, to be deemed good service; and, in case the defendant shall not appear and answer, the court, upon coming in of the master's report, may make a final decree for payment with interest.

5. The alien mortgagee, refusing to receive payment of the sum when lawfully tendered, the mortgager is, in that case, to pay the same into the bank of England, with the privity of the accountant-general of the high court of chancery of England, pursuant to the method directed by act 12 Geo. I. and according to the general rules of court, and of act 12 Geo. II. for the benefit of the mortgagee, his executors, &c. and to be vested in government security.

6. A

Add all their fractions, or minor aliquot pieces, were proportionably rated." The act of parliament passed 6 Queen Anne (1707) ch. 30, in order to remedy the inconveniences that attended the different rates, at which the same species of foreign silver coin were current in the American colonies, endeavoured to reduce them all to the following standard rate, according to which it enacted they should pass for the future, *viz.*

	Dwts.	Gra.	Sterl. val.	Value at 140 % per cent. exch.
Seville piece of eight, old plate, of	17	12	4s. 6d.	6s. 3½d.
Ditto, ——— new —	14	0	3 7½	5 0½
Mexico, ——— —	17	12	4 6	6 3½
French Ecu, ——— —	17	12	4 5	6 2½
Peru piece of eight, ——— —	17	12	4 6	6 3½

The halves, quarters, and other parts, in proportion to their denomination, and light pieces according to their weight. It likewise ordained, that Seville, Pillar or Mexico pieces of eight; of full weight, shall pass for 6s. a piece in current money; and that Peru pieces of eight, and dollars, shall be regulated according to this standard table. This act was not attended with the success expected from it, for trade will break through every restraint of this nature; the different circumstances of these colonies, in respect to their balance of trade, and the means or opportunity of supplying themselves with silver coin; their having none other but *foreign coin* for their circulation and export; and of course the fluctuating value of the ounce of silver among them, have caused them to deviate very considerably from this standard. If we suppose, for example, the following to be the rates of exchange now in use with the several colonies mentioned, and take the statute rate of 5s. 6d. sterling, as the standard value of the ounce of silver; a clearer judgement will be formed how greatly the colonies have been obliged, by the necessities of their trade and situation, to vary from it.

6. A certificate of the accountant-general, under his hand, for the payment, to be a good and effectual discharge to the mortgagor.

7. And until the mortgagor, or his representative, shall petition the high court of chancery for an order to receive the sum so paid into the bank, the accountant-general is to place the same in government security, and from time to time pay the dividends, interest, &c. arising from it, to the person entitled to the sum so paid in.

8. The said court of chancery, upon a petition in a summary way from the mortgagor, or representative, to order payment of such sum.

9. This to be deemed and adjudged a public act.

Rate

		Rate of Exchange.	Current value of the dollar.	Proportional or current value of oz. silver.	Standard value of the oz. silver sterl. changed in- to curr. according to the rate of each.
			s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Boston,	—	133½	6 0	6 11	7 4
New York,	}	175	8 0	9 2½	9 7½
East Jersey,					
Nevis,					
Montserrat,	}	165	7 6	8 7½	9 1
Pennsylvania,					
West Jersey,					
Antigua,	}	125	5 7	6 6	6 10½
St. Kitt's,					
Virginia,					
Maryland,	}	145	6 6	7 6	7 11½
North Carolina,					
South Carolina,		700	33 0	38 1	38 6
Jamaica,	—	140	6 6	7 6	7 8½
Barbadoes,	—	135	6 0	6 11	7 5
Quebec,	}	110	5 0	5 9½	6 0½
Montreal,					
Halifax,					
Annapolis,					

The foreign coins at present used here in circulation are,

	Gold.	Silver.	Weight, dwts. grs.	Value sterling.			Current value.		
				£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Spanish doub. doub. }			17 8	3	9	4	5	0	
loon, milled, }									
Ditto, Ditto, doub- }							4	15	
loon, hammered, }									
Ditto doubloon, milled,			8 16	1	14	8	2	10	
Ditto ditto, hammered,							2	7	6
Ditto pistole, milled,			4 8	17	4		1	5	
Ditto ditto, hammered,							1	3	9
Ditto half pistole, }			2 4	8	8		12	6	
milled, }									
Ditto ditto, hammered,							11	10½	
							Gold.		

Gold.	Silver.	Weight. dwts. grs.	Value sterling.			Current value.		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Ditto quarter ditto, } milled,		1 2	4	4		6	3	
Ditto ditto ditto, hammered,						5	11½	
	Mexican dollar,	17 8	4	8		6	6	
	Half ditto,	8 16	2	4		3	3	
	Quarter ditto,	4 8	1	2		1	7½	
	Eighth ditto,	2 4		7			9½	
	Cobs [e], or ham- } mered pieces of 8, }					5	0	
N. B. Guineas and	Pieces of 4 ryals,					2	6	
Moidores, Tab. VII.	Pieces of 2 ditto, } or pistorins, }					1	3	
	Ryal or bit,						7½	

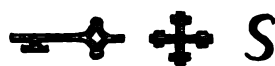
The Spanish milled dollars are generally of full weight. The Spaniards are so exact in adjusting this money to 17 dwts. 8 grs. that a very great quantity of them, upon examination, has been found to fall very little different from this standard, at an average. I have not noticed the weights of the hammered gold or silver pieces, their alloy being different from the other marketable milled pieces, and so much clipped, filed, and depreciated, as to be greatly below the value at which they are suffered to pass current. The milled double doubloons, having been raised by an act of assembly some years ago 5s. each above the hammered, have continued ever since at this advanced rate, by general consent of the inhabitants, although that act was disallowed by his Majesty. They were led into, and still remain in, this error from a vain notion, that advancing the price is the means of keeping them in the island: I have already endeavoured to shew the fallacy of such measures; in consequence of which, the island in fact is impoverished 6 *per cent.* for every one hundred pounds worth of this coin that is brought into circulation. The pistorins and half pistorins, if of full weight, are not fit for a remittance to Europe, as they are coarse silver, at least 6*d.* *per* ounce sterling under standard silver; their baseness is sufficiently distinguished by their black complexion. For this reason, they have escaped the fate of the better coins, and are per-

[e] From *Coba*, Spanish cant word for a *ryal*.



mitted to remain in the island, where, together with the old hammered dollars, pieces of eight, and ryals; which are so much diminished by wear, clipping, and sweating, as not to be exportable, they form the chief part of the silver in present circulation. It is not surprising, that the dollars should eagerly be bought up, with these pistorins and ryals, for exportation; but rather, as the profit is so large, we should wonder that a single milled dollar, of full weight, remains in the island; for 624 of these ryals, intrinsically not worth more than 17*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* will buy sixty dollars intrinsically worth here 19*l.* 10*s.* currency. There is no country, perhaps, where the coins in circulation are more in need of a strict examen and reformation than in this island. When the Spaniards were in possession of it, it is supposed their circulation was almost wholly carried on with copper money. Large quantities of it, stamped somewhat like the pistorins, have been dug up in Spanish Town, the hills adjacent to it, and other parts; but no gold nor silver coin was ever found, that I have heard of; nor does it appear, that the English forces, who conquered the island, acquired any booty of this sort; it is probable therefore, that either the Spaniards possessed none, or that what they had was carried away with them when they retired to Cuba. It is certain, that when they first withdrew, they were in expectation of being reinstated again, which perhaps induced them to bury their copper money; and this seems further confirmed by the report of some Spaniards, who have since declared, that a list of these interments, with the marks by which they might be discovered, is still preserved in a register at Cuba, by way of ascertaining and perpetuating the claim of the descendants under the original proprietors. These copper pieces are extremely thin, and equal in weight to about one farthing each sterling; some of them are divided or cut so as to be current at  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ , and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the whole; and in general, they are so much worn, so effaced with age and corrosion, that the characters and letters upon them are almost undistinguishable. I have subjoined a delineation of one of the more perfect, and the reverses of two others. The inscription appears to be, CAROLVS ET JOANNA, HISPANIARVM REX ET REGINA; Charles and Johanna, King and Queen of the two Spains (the Old and the New); for Mexico, or Nova Hispania, was, long before the era of this coin, annexed to the Spanish dominion. Some of the pieces seem inscribed with Joanna only, others with Ferdinand and Joanna, and

*To face p. 684. Vol. I.*  
*Plate 4*





and one of them I have seen having three crowns placed side by side on a parallel line, but the latter was so imperfect, that the inscription could not be traced: the causes of this variety I shall endeavour to explain. The coins, of which I have given a representation, were probably struck soon after the year 1517; for it was in that year the emperor Charles Vth passed into Spain, and held the government jointly with his mother Joanna, who was the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and relict of Philip, with whom, and Ferdinand, she reigned in common until their respective deaths [f]; after which, she probably held the scepter in her own hands, during the minority of her son Charles.

The Spaniards first colonized in Jamaica about the year 1509; the emigrants are said to have been for the most part vagabonds, or wretches banished for their crimes, who probably were unpossessed of silver coin; what little trade they afterwards carried on with the shipping that casually touched here, or with the neighbouring colonies, could not be more than sufficient to stock themselves with cloathing, and a few other necessaries; they had neither fleet nor troops, nor other expensive establishment; and consequently no remittances in coin from Europe to pay any such contingencies; these remarks may seem to confirm the preceding supposition, that the Spaniards of this island were not at any time very opulent. It must not however be forgot, that colonel Jackson is said to have attacked it about the year 1638, plundered the town, and divided the spoil with his soldiers; and that he likewise levied a considerable sum upon the inhabitants, to save their houses from being burnt. If this account is true, he was certainly more fortunate than general Venables in 1655. But to return, several of these copper pieces are stamped with different marks, as an anchor, a key, a crosslet, &c. which perhaps were intended, at different times, to vary their current value according to the scarcity or plenty of money in the island; but whatever might have been their intention, it will at least be some gratification to the curious, to be acquainted with these *minutiae*; and it may please in reflection to think, that some of these pieces were the first coin ever known in Jamaica. Their antiquity, I hope, will plead my excuse for dwelling so long upon them [g].

[f] Philip died in 1506. Ferdinand in 1515.

[g] They were probably pieces of 4 rees.



TABLE H.

Sterling reduced into Jamaica currency.

EXCHANGE									
Sterling		Currency		Sterling		Currency		Pence	
£	s	£	s	£	s	£	s	£	s
1		1	8	1		1	4	1	6
2		2	16	2		2	9	2	12
3		3	24	3		3	12	3	18
4		4	32	4		4	16	4	24
5		5	40	5		5	20	5	30
6		6	48	6		6	24	6	36
7		7	56	7		7	28	7	42
8		8	64	8		8	32	8	48
9		9	72	9		9	36	9	54
10		10	80	10		10	40	10	60
20		20	160	20		20	80	20	120
30		30	240	30		30	120	30	180
40		40	320	40		40	160	40	240
50		50	400	50		50	200	50	300
60		60	480	60		60	240	60	360
70		70	560	70		70	280	70	420
80		80	640	80		80	320	80	480
90		90	720	90		90	360	90	540
100		100	800	100		100	400	100	600
200		200	1600	200		200	800	200	1200
300		300	2400	300		300	1200	300	1800
400		400	3200	400		400	1600	400	2400
500		500	4000	500		500	2000	500	3000

General Table of Exchange.

Table showing the exchange rates between various currencies, including Sterling, Jamaica Currency, and others. The table is organized into columns for different currencies and rows for various exchange rates.

TABLE III.

Dollars contained in currency.

The dollar at 6s. 6d.

Currency.	Milled Dollars	Shillings currency.	Milled Dollars	Pence currency.	Milled Dollars
1	3 0 6	1	1 2	1	1 2
2	6 1 2	2	2 5	2	2 5
3	9 1 8	3	3 7	3	3 7
4	12 2 5	4	4 9	4	4 9
5	15 3 1	5	6 2	5	6 2
6	18 3 7	6	7 4	6	7 4
7	21 4 3	7	10 0	7	7 7
8	24 4 9	8	11 8	8	8 8
9	27 5 5	9	13 1	9	9 9
10	30 6 2	10	14 3	10	10 0
20	61 4 3	11	15 5	11	11 1
30	92 2 5	12	16 8		
40	123 0 6	13	20 0		
50	153 6 8	14	21 2		
60	184 4 9	15	22 5		
70	215 3 1	16	23 7		
80	246 1 2	17	24 9		
90	276 7 4	18	26 2		
100	307 5 5	19	27 4		
200	615 3 1				
300	923 0 6				
400	1230 6 1				
500	1538 3 7				
600	1846 1 2				
700	2153 6 8				
800	2461 4 3				
900	2769 1 8				
1000	3076 7 4				

TABLE IV.

Value of dollars in currency.

The dollar at 6s. 6d.

Milled Dollars.	Currency.	Milled Dollars	Currency.
1	6 6 1	1	9 3
2	13	2	17 2
3	19 6	3	25 2
4	1 6	4	33 0
5	12 6	5	40 3
6	19 6	6	410 2
7	25 6	7	58 1
8	212		
9	218 6	10ths.	
10	3 5	1	2 0
20	6 10	2	2 0
30	9 15	3	3 0
40	13 0	4	4 0
50	16 5	5	5 0
60	19 10	6	5 3
70	22 15	7	6 3
80	26 0	8	7 3
90	29 5	9	8 3
100	32 10		
200	65 0		
300	97 10		
400	130 0		
500	162 10		
600	195 0		
700	227 10		
800	260 0		
900	292 10		
1000	325 0		

TABLE V.

General Pars of Exchange.

Value of the dollar currency.	Value of the oz. of silver currency.	Par of Exch. the dollar 4s. 6d. sterl.	Par of Exch. dollar 4s. 6½d. sterl.	Par of Exch. dollar 4s. 7d. sterl.	Par of Exch. dollar 4s. 7½d. sterl.	Par of Exch. dollar 4s. 8d. sterl.
s. d. q.	s. d. q.	Currency.	Currency.	Currency.	Currency.	Currency.
6 6 0	7 6 0	144½	143	141½	140½	139½

TABLE

## TABLE VI.

Shewing the value of one grain of gold, and every three grains of silver, and of one pennyweight of gold, proportioned to the rate of exchange in Jamaica, and the medium prices of gold and silver in Great Britain.

N.B. The Bank of England will take no pieces of gold coin that are deficient above six grains of their standard weight, or in the proportion of 1 s. in 2 l.

Rate of Exchange.	Value of one grain of gold.	Value of three grains of silver.	Value of one pennyweight of gold.
£. 140.	d. 100ths.	d. 100ths.	s. 1000 parts.
	2 73	0 56	5 4775

## TABLE VII.

For more readily casting up sums in sundry coins current at Jamaica.

No.	Old Ryal or Bit piece.				Pistole hammered.			Double Doubloon hammered.			Guinea.			Moidore.			Cob, or hammered pieces of Eight.		
	£.	s.	d.	q.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1			7	2	1	3	9	4	15		1	8	9	1	18	9			5
2			1	3	0	2	7	6	9	10	2	17	6	3	17	6			10
3			1	10	2	3	11	3	14	5	4	6	3	5	16	3			15
4			2	6	0	4	15		19	0	5	15	0	7	15	0	1		0
5			3	1	2	5	18	9	23	15	7	3	9	9	13	9	1		5
6			3	9	0	7	2	6	28	10	8	12	6	11	12	6	1		10
7			4	4	2	8	6	3	33	5	10	1	3	13	11	3	1		15
8			5	0	0	9	10		38	0	11	10		15	1		2		0
9			5	7	2	10	13	9	42	15	12	18	9	17	8	9	2		5
10			6	3	0	11	17	6	47	10	14	7	6	19	17	6	2		10
11			6	10	2	13	1	3	52	5	15	16	3	21	6	3	2		15
12			7	6	0	14	5		57	0	17	5		23	5		3		0
13			8	1	2	15	8	9	61	15	18	13	9	25	3	9	3		5
14			8	9	0	16	12	6	66	10	20	2	6	27	2	6	3		10
15			9	4	2	17	16	3	71	5	21	11	3	29	1	3	3		15
16			10	0	0	19			76	0	23			31	0		4		0
17			10	7	2	20	3	9	80	15	24	8	9	32	18	9	4		5
18			11	3	0	21	7	6	85	10	25	17	6	34	17	6	4		10
19			11	10	2	22	11	3	90	5	27	6	3	36	16	3	4		15
20			12	6	0	23	15		95	0	28	15		38	15		5		0
30			18	9		35	12	6	142	10	43	2	6	58	2	6	7		10
40	1		5	0		47	10		190	0	57	10		77	10		10		0
50	1	11	3			59	7	6	237	10	71	17	6	96	17	6	12		10
60	1	17	6			71	5		285	0	86	5		116	5		15		0
70	2	3	9			83	2	6	332	10	100	12	6	135	12	6	17		10
80	2	10	0			95	0	0	380		115			155	0	6	20		0
90	2	16	3			106	17	6	427	10	129	7	6	174	7	6	22		10
100	3	2	6			118	15		475		143	15		193	15		25		0

The pistons or pieces of two ryals, the half and double pistoles or doubloons, which are likewise current here, may be easily computed with the help of this table, and are therefore omitted. When silver is at 5 s. 6 d. the ounce sterling, then the dollar is really worth in currency 6 s. 8 d.; consequently the current value here of the dollar, or 6 s. 6 d., supposes the sterling value per ounce of silver about 5 s. 4½ d. So when the price of gold is 80 s. the ounce sterling, the real value of the pistole in currency is 1 l. 4 s. 3½ d.; but it is current at 1 l. 3 s. 9 d., which answers to the price of gold at 78 s. 4 d. per ounce sterling. The late coinage standard in England was about 77 s. 6 d. per ounce; at present it is risen to 77 s. 10½ d., which makes the value of the pistole about 1 l. 3 s. 7½ d. currency.

TABLE



## TABLE VIII.

Duties payable upon importation into Great Britain on the following commodities, being of the produce of Jamaica.

			Sterling.
		£. s. d. 20ths.	
Sugar Muscovado,	per cwt.	6 3 18	
Succades, wet and dry,	per lb.	6 18 3	
Rum single, pr. per gallon,	{ Custom os. 4d. 16 1/4		
	{ Excise 4 8		
		5 0 16 1/2	
Ditto double, pr. per gallon,	{ Custom os. 4d. 16 1/4		
	{ Excise 8 8		
		9 16 1/2	
Pimento,	per lb.	1 14 3/4	
Ginger,	per cwt.	4 10 4	
Ditto Green add.	per lb.	4 13	
Cotton,		Free.	
Coffee,	per cwt.	4 13 6 3	
Indigo,			
Sago,			
Mahogany,			
Fustick,			
Ebony,			
Brazilletto,			
Nicaragua,			
Logwood,			
Acacia,	per lb.	9 6	
Aloes Hepatica,	ditto.	4 13	
Aloes Socotrina,	ditto.	1 2 12 1/2	
Cassia Fistula,	ditto.	3 9 1/2	
China Root,	ditto.	1 7 10	
Coral,	ditto.	7 15	
Guaiacum Bark,	per 112 lb.	11 7 10	
Lemon or Orange Peel,	per lb.	1 13 1/2	
Winter's Bark,	ditto.	1 11	
Cowitch,	ditto.	3 7 1/2	
Essence of Lemons,	ditto.	1 10 7	
Guiney Pepper,	ditto.	2 6 1/2	
Long Pepper,	ditto.	2 6 1/2	
Gum Guaiacum,	ditto.	9 6	
Jalap,	ditto.	9 6	
Oleum Palm. Christ.	per cwt.	5 7 1	
Pomegranate Rinds,		Free.	
Contrainerva Root,	per lb.	7 15	
Sarsaparilla,	ditto.	7 15	
Tamarinds,		1 18 1/2	
But if preserved, they are rated as Succades,			
Vanillas,		7 2 3 1/2	
Cacao, if for Re-exportation,		1 2 5	
Ditto, Home Consumption,		11 11 12	

\* The coffee imported from Mocha in the East-Indies pays no higher duty, although it is sold in London (or at least as coffee under that description) for just double the price of Jamaica coffee.

N. B. By 5th Geo. III. c. 45. § 11. the additional inland duty of one shilling, laid on coffee of British plantation growth by act 32 Geo. II. is taken off. And by 5th Geo. III. c. 43. no coffee to be imported into Great Britain in less packages than 112 lb. nett weight, on pain of forfeiture. By the same act, no rum is to be imported into Great Britain in any cask or vessel that does not contain sixty gallons at the least, on pain of forfeiture; excepting only for the use of the seamen actually on board, or belonging to the ship or vessel importing the same, not exceeding two gallons to each seaman; and, excepting it is brought without fraud or concealment, for the private use of the merchants or traders importing the same, or designed as presents, and not by way of merchandize; in which cases it may be admitted to an entry, and payment of duties, instead of being forfeited.

TABLE

TABLE IX.  
RATES OF FREIGHT  
From LONDON to JAMAICA in Time of Peace, as the same were  
settled 11th Sept. 1771.

	Sterling	£.	s.	d.		Sterling	£.	s.	d.
Measured Goods, the foot	q	1	0		Chairs of ditto, with arms, each	0	7	6	
Iron ware in casks, the cwt.	0	1	6		Chairs of other ordinary wood, the bundle containing two,	0	5	0	
Solid and loose iron, not in casks, ditto,	0	1	0		Chairs of ditto with arms, each	0	5	0	
Iron pots, ditto,	0	4	0		Cabinet ware in cases, the foot,	0	1	0	
Fish teachers and furnaces, ditto,	0	3	0		Ditto bureaux, drawers, desks, &c. uncased,	0	1	0	
Coppers and teaches, ditto,	0	3	6		Tables and other strong cabinet-ware uncased,	0	0	8	
Stills, the one hundred gallons, ditto,	0	15	0		Couches uncased, each	0	18	0	
Worms, ditto,	0	15	0		Sofas uncased, ditto,	1	4	0	
Lead and pewter, ditto,	0	1	0		Coaches with carriages and wheels, ditto,	9	9	0	
Cordage, ditto,	0	1	6		Chariots with ditto and ditto, ditto,	7	7	0	
Cheese in casks, ditto,	0	2	0		Four-wheel post-chaises, with ditto and ditto, ditto,	7	7	0	
Puncheons of fine goods, each,	0	15	0		Two wheel chaises with tops, ditto,	4	4	0	
Ditto, coarse ditto, ditto,	0	12	6		Ditto ditto without tops or kitterings, ditto,	3	3	0	
Hogheads of fine goods, if very large, ditto,	0	17	6		Sedan chairs in cases, ditto,	4	10	0	
Ditto ditto, 20 bushel hds. ditto,	0	15	0		Waggons with double shafts and broad wheels, ditto,	8	0	0	
Ditto, coarse ditto, oats, beans, bread, and earthen-ware, if very large, ditto,	0	15	0		Ditto with narrow wheels, ditto,	6	0	0	
Ditto ditto, 20 bushel hds. ditto,	0	12	6		Carts with broad wheels, ditto,	3	10	0	
Tierces of fine goods, ditto,	0	12	6		Ditto with narrow wheels, ditto,	2	10	0	
Ditto coarse ditto, ditto,	0	9	0		Ploughs with wheels, ditto,	1	10	0	
Barrels of gunpowder, ditto,	0	5	0		Ditto without wheels, ditto,	1	0	0	
Ditto of oil, containing 30 gall. ditto,	0	6	0		Cart wheels, broad, the pair,	1	0	0	
Ditto, beer, the ton being six ditto,	0	6	0		Ditto, narrow, ditto,	0	10	0	
Barrels of tar, and other coarse goods, ditto,	0	5	0		Wheel-barrows, each	0	6	0	
Firkins and jugs of grutts and raisins, ditto,	0	2	6		Ditto packed, ditto,	0	3	0	
Kegs, ditto,	0	1	0		Bricks, the thousand,	1	0	0	
Worm tubs packed, with the hoops unbent, the one hundred gallons of the still,	0	8	0		Pantiles, ditto,	1	10	0	
Butts and vatts filled, the one hundred gallons,	0	12	0		Plain tiles, ditto,	0	15	0	
Ditto and ditto, empty, ditto,	0	9	0		Pots without drips, each	0	0	6	
Puncheon packs, each	0	2	6		Drips, ditto,	0	0	9	
Hoghead staves, packed, ditto,	0	2	6		Coals, loose, the chaldron,	1	0	0	
Wood hoops, the thousand,	2	10	0		Jars of oil, containing 30 gallons, each	0	15	0	
Truss hoops for sugar hogheads, the set,	0	5	0		Other jars in proportion.				
Ditto for rum puncheons, ditto,	0	4	0		Hampers, the dozen bottles,	0	2	0	
Sugar pot hoops bent, the thousand,	0	10	0		Crates of glass, the large size, each,	1	5	0	
Ditto unbent, ditto,	0	7	0		Other crates in proportion.				
Ox bows, the dozen,	0	1	6		Round crates of earthen-ware, —	0	7	6	
Ox yokes, the pair,	0	2	6		Smiths bellows, from 10s. to 15s. each.				
Chairs, (mahogany, walnut-tree, cherry-tree, &c.) the bundle containing two,	0	7	6		Fire engines, from 1l. to 5l. each.				
					Grindstones, from 2s. 6d. to 7s. each.				
					Flag stones, the ton,	1	0	0	
					Fire stones, the foot,	0	0	5	
					Passengers, the ship's part,	6	0	0	
					Horses for coach or saddle, each	13	0	0	
					Mules, ditto,	9	0	0	

TABLE

## TABLE X.

## RATES OF FREIGHT

From JAMAICA to LONDON.

				Sterling.		
				£.	s.	d.
Sugar, Muscovado,	_____	_____	_____	per cwt.	0	3 9
Rum,	_____	_____	_____	per gallon,	0	0 6
Coffee,	_____	_____	_____	per lb.	0	0 1
Pimento,	_____	_____	_____	ditto,	0	0 1½
Indigo,	_____	_____	_____	ditto,	0	0 1½
Ginger,	_____	_____	_____	ditto,	0	0 1
Cacao,	_____	_____	_____	ditto,	0	0 1
Cotton,	_____	_____	_____	ditto,	0	0 1½
Bullion,	40 s. per cent. and 2½ per cent. m. of war					
Tortoise-shell,	_____	_____	_____	per lb.	0	0 1
Mahogany,	}	_____	_____	per foot,	0	0 1½
Zebra wood,						
Cedar,						
Logwood,	}	{	_____	per ton,	{	1 10 0
Brasileto,						
Fustic,						
Nicaragua,						
Ebony,	}	{	_____		{	1 15 0

## A P P E N D I X TO VOL. I.

THE several papers following having come too late into my hands, to be inserted in their proper places, I shall make no apology for subjoining them here; not only as they serve to correct or corroborate facts related, but also to throw a light on the affairs of this island, in the earlier state of its government; and, in order to render them more conducive to these purposes, I have introduced them by way of annotations, with proper reference to the page or passage with which they are more particularly connected.

*Antecedent to the Revolution, &c. p. 173.*] The Duke of Albemarle, at his first arrival, in 1687, called an assembly, which was duly elected; but one of his privy counsellors (a Roman catholic) having charged one of the members of assembly with saying, “*salus populi suprema lex*,” in the course of a debate in that house, and the assembly justifying and protecting their member, they were dissolved; the member was taken into custody by order of governor and council, by the same order compelled to enter into a recognizance in 4000*l.* and afterwards indicted and fined 600*l.* for this pretended offence.

After the dissolution of the assembly, the judges and most of the principal officers in the island were displaced, without any cause assigned; and particularly the provost marshal, whose office at that time it was, as it still is, to make all returns of the members chosen to serve in assembly; and one Waite, an indigent person, put in his room. One Father Thomas Churchill, a Romish priest, who called himself *pastor of his majesty's catholic subjects in this island*, had the chief hand in effecting these regulations. Colonel Hender Moleworth, the preceding governor, was forced to enter into security in 100,000*l.* to appear and render himself in England; seven of the principal inhabitants offered voluntarily to be bound in that sum for him, and by this means they became obnoxious to the duke, and his advisers; however, the bond was taken. A new assembly was then

called ; and, upon this occasion, the freedom of election was scandalously violated, by making troopers, indented servants, sailors, and other persons, unpossessed of any property, occasional freeholders ; carrying them from parish to parish to vote ; putting fictitious names to the lists of voters ; and imprisoning many considerable gentlemen, under pretence of a riot ; who afterwards had fines imposed on them, to the amount of 2,240 *l.*

Two other gentlemen were imprisoned, and threatened to be hanged, only for moving a *habeas corpus* for their friends, at the time of their commitment. Another gentleman (doctor Rose) obliged to give bail in 10,000 *l.* only for saying something in relation to these undue elections, and repeating what he had heard the new judges say in open court, viz. " That the people should be ruled with rods of iron."

Many of the best and ablest of the inhabitants, being terrified at these oppressions, stole off privately from the island, and took refuge in England. The new provost marshal made such returns of representatives as he was directed by the governor and council ; and, by the most indirect means, excluded those who were duly elected, but returned others who were least worthy to serve in the house. This garbled assembly, composed chiefly of Roman catholics, passed several laws, which were sent to England, to be confirmed by king James II. ; and father Churchill was deputed to solicit them ; but that king having just before withdrawn himself, the good father was afraid to make his appearance. Nevertheless, after king William came to the crown, this body of laws was presented to him by another person ; but their evil tendency being known to the merchants and others in England, who had concerns with the island, they petitioned against them ; and being heard by their lawyers, before the king in council, his majesty remitted the consideration of these laws, and the illegitimacy of the assembly that passed them, to the next lawful assembly which might be convened. Upon this award, several of the wealthiest of the inhabitants, who had attended on this business, with a great many witnesses from Jamaica, returned to the island. And his majesty, being informed of the before-mentioned irregularities and oppressions, caused all the bonds, so illegally exacted, to be vacated ; the judges and other officers, who had been turned out by the duke of Albemarle, to be reinstated in their

their respective posts and offices; and all the unreasonable fines to be immediately remitted.

It has been said by some writers, that this duke was sent to the government of Jamaica, as to a sort of banishment, for his *zeal against popery*; but, from the foregoing detail of the proceedings, the contrary is evident; and considering the known principles and bigotry of his master James II, it is more credible, that he was sent, among other views, to favour the Roman catholics, and persecute the protestant subjects there; for this design, he carried with him a gracious declaration from the king to the catholics, confirming to them the free toleration and exercise of their religion; in consequence of which, they presented a very flattering address to the duke, upon his arrival, who received it in the most favourable manner, and conducted his measures afterwards by the advice of their leaders, whom he had taken into his confidence.

Address of the Grand Jury of Jamaica to his Majesty King  
William III, 1690.

May it please your Majesty,

WE the first grand jury (at St. Jago de la Vega, this last Tuesday in November, 1690, for the body of this your majesty's island of Jamaica) since your majesty's happy accession to the throne, cannot forbear rendering our humble thanks to Almighty God, for his inestimable goodness and mercy, in that, when, according to the weakness of our human understanding, all hopes of enjoying any longer our religion, laws, and liberties, were taken from us, he was pleased, in our utmost distress, to shew his miraculous power, in raising your majesty to be the glorious instrument of our deliverance from that *Philistine bondage* that had extended itself into these the remotest of your majesty's dominions; so that the laws of your majesty's kingdom of England, and this island, which should have been our swords and spears, for the defence of our natural rights and privileges, were not to be found among us; but our *task-masters*, with an absolute, arbitrary power, attended with a tyrannical oppression of all that durst adventure to be honest, in order to compleat our ruin, would not allow us our freedom of electing our representatives to make laws, but were resolved themselves to be smiths to forge them.

Under these circumstances we might still have lain, had not your majesty, in your great wisdom, sent his excellency, the earl of Inchiquin, for our governor; who hath already, by his great experience, made so large a progress in settling our affairs, that we doubt not but he will, in a short time, accomplish what is so happily begun, &c. &c.

*Proceedings during the government of the earl of Carlisle, p. 184.]*  
The following is an extract of a letter addressed to his lordship, written, as supposed, about the year 1677, by Mr. Nevil, who seems to have been an intelligent man, though prejudiced against gentlemen in the island, whom he speaks of with the utmost malevolence; at the same time studious of ingratiating himself, his advice, and his friends, into the earl's good opinion; I shall therefore omit those passages, which seem to have been merely dictated by his personal resentments, and interested or malicious views.

My Lord,

I shall not presume to trouble your lordship with any description of Jamaica, in those particulars which only can prove mere repetitions of every man's relation that has been there, further than what is necessary to explain my thoughts of the improvement and advantage, public or private, that has or may be made of it, with the obstructions and dangers, whether casual or natural, which seem to threaten it. The largeness of the island, the many and good harbours, with the abundance of wood therein, are taking praises with those who only think of it in comparison with populous countries, that are defective in the like; but I am very sure they will soon fall under your lordship's consideration, as some, if not the greatest, inconveniencies that belong to it. An island, of about 300 miles compass, as this is, with not above 10,000 inhabitants, besides slaves, in it, must needs have those few disposed at great distance in the neighbourhood, if, as here, they plant round the sea-coast only; this makes it difficult, and of great inconveniency, to the inhabitants in their domestic affairs, as well as to unite for common safety against any invader; whilst the harbours, at the same time, being too many to fortify, or be defended, leave such invaders a free passage, in and out, to destroy their dispersed plantations.

The

The woods also, in the absence of the masters, become inviting receptacles to the slaves, who will never be unwilling to improve such an opportunity; these are not mischiefs like the common accidents to European nations when invaded, which, after some recess, soon return into order again; but happening here, must bring assured ruin; because, its nourishment and support in people and trade, depending upon the reputation the island has at home, that destroyed, the place is consequentially so; and this, I remember, upon our discourse of it, Sir Henry Morgan did always say to colonel Byndlofs, and the men with us; that if he were now a privateer for the Spaniards, as he had been against them, he would not doubt to ruin the whole country, by burning and destroying the sea-coast plantations; and though that cannot be the Spaniards interest in these parts. (if we let them be quiet), to stir a nest of hornets, and force them into privateering again; yet the French, having little to lose, and many poor rascals to employ in Tortuga, do not want knowledge of our island, nor will enough, in case of war, to put in execution; since it is certain, the planting part once discouraged, the privateering trade must subsist, by devouring the Spaniards, as formerly; which produces another benefit to the French, by disturbing their hereditary enemy; so that, so far I conceive with Sir Thomas Lynch in saying, that planting, and not privateering, is the true interest of England in this island; yet, I cannot but think the greatest mistake that could have happened in doing it was, the forcing the planters, for want of conveniences, to run to the North side of the island [a], where ground cost at least 3 *l.* an acre the clearing from wood; though I allow the ground to be as good for canes when, with great charge and labour, cleared; yet the vast expence for want of savannahs, as in fencing a competent quantity of pasture for cattle, is a burthen scarce supportable; besides the open condition they are in to all invasions, and revolts of the Negroes. My lord, I have insisted the more on this particular, because it has been occasioned by the manner of the former governors their proceedings, in setting out the savannahs and other lands on the South side; which, had they been but granted in moderate and improveable portions, would have proved a greater quantity, than the in-

[a] The great mistake was, in the opinion of most others, the very reverse; that is to say, in flocking to the South-side coasts, and neglecting the North-side, which was much healthier.



crease of people for many ages could have employed by planting; but, on the contrary, several particular persons have obtained title to five, eight, ten, nay 20,000 acres a man, and left no room for neighbourhood on that side; whereas these delicate savannahs, if divided into proportionable parcels, had given a comfortable support by cattle, &c. to the planter's family, without the charge of clearing, whilst his neighbouring plantation had been going on in its improvements. This, my lord, foreseen and practised, had perhaps given a security in the beginning to the most improveable and best-situated colony we have in the Indies, both for the commodities it produceth, and the annoyance it might give to any of our trading enemies, that have dominion in these parts; nor had it then been subject to foreign disturbances, the people living united to resist them; and the enemy, landing on the North side, would have found nothing of value to destroy, nor useful to carry away except fresh water; and this, I am persuaded, might yet by your Lordship's wisdom be remedied, if you would obtain a law, for escheating all lands that have paid no quit-rents, and are not likely to be improved by the owners on the South side; which, at some additional rents certain to the present improving properties, fee-farms, or the like titles, for long terms of years, might by law be granted to the real planters, who should require it.

#### FOREIGN TRADE.

The next thing to be wished for is, a *trade with the Spaniards*; but so many obstructions will arise from their jealousies and interests in the beginning, as will require a more than ordinary care in conducting it, and some assistance here and at home to make it practicable. It is not unlikely that we, instead of the Dutch [6], had been the convoys and shares in their rich flotas, if we had given them no more frequent cause of enmity to us in these parts than they have done. But, my lord, to gain a trade with them, I cannot but think the likeliest way would be; first to make some sure contract with the undertakers at Madrid, for supplying the Spanish West Indies with

[6] In 1669, Spain, for want of ships and sailors of her own, began openly to hire Dutch shipping to sail to the Indies, though formerly so careful to exclude all foreigners from thence. And so great was the supply of Dutch manufactures to Spain, &c. that all the merchandize brought from the Spanish West Indies was not sufficient to make returns for them; so that the Dutch carried home the balance in money.

Negroes [c]; and this I am confident would be easily effected, if your lordship would induce his royal highness [d], and the African-company, to endeavour it; since I once tried the matter, and found by advices from Spain, that they were ready to treat with us, and to break with the Hollanders, who supplied them from Curacoa. The method then thought of for carrying on the work, if your Lordship pleases, shall be presented to you. Another great and effectual step towards trading with them, would be for us heartily to endeavour to make the navigation in these parts safe; for since we have left disturbing the Spaniards ourselves, and getting the profit that occurred thereby, it should be our interest, methinks, not to suffer any other to do it, and least of all the French; who, since Sir Henry Morgan shewed them the way to take Panama, are the only people in the world in those parts we should fear, as they must live by rapine, and gather strength, whilst our privateers wear away, or are drawn off to planting. I must confess, I think there is no difference at our being at war here with Spain, and suffering others effectually to be so; for should Panama fall into the French hands, the manufactures of France would supply the South Sea, and all the world would be theirs: nor could all the strength of Europe ever recover that, when once fortified by them. I fear, I shall trouble your lordship too much with politics; but yet I cannot but think, that a trade with the Spaniards would be worth all the cost of reducing the French to nothing on Hispaniola; and the Tortuga, if a breach with them should ever happen to give opportunity for it; and I am confident, that the Governor of Jamaica for the time being, would find the Spanish ports open to all the ships commissioned to that end; so that, private trade would more than recompense the charges of the war, and open the way to a public one, under some regulation of perpetual guarding these seas against privateers, who, so long as they have protection from France, will continue to infest them. This true maintaining of the peace, would leave the Spaniards without excuse for their perpetual injuries in the Gulph of Florida, and make them disarm these privateers, they now have just cause to keep at the Havannah; which place is situate at the entrance of the channel,

[c] It was first effected about the year 1669.

[d] The Duke of York.

that it will be impossible to avoid their search, by all the forces could be placed in station there, to guard the passage through; but some do pretend, that the taking of the Havannah is practicable, which I will not deny; but that it is necessary, I can never admit; for when we should attempt it, a war with the Spaniards in these parts must again break out, and then an end to improvement begun and designed at Jamaica. Then, if the French should afterwards take it, and make it one of their stations, what would be the consequence of such a bridle in our jaws, and the reins in the French hands?

And now, my lord, I will presume humbly to offer to your lordship my opinion on the foregoing particulars, and it is briefly this. *First*, that peace with the Spaniards in these parts is to be preferred to war. *Secondly*, in order for us to have such peace, it is necessary to prevent the French from making war upon them here; for otherwise, whilst we grow weak, they grow strong, to our hazard and loss, as much (if duly considered in every view) as to that of the Spaniards. *Thirdly*, that an absolute quitting of these seas is not only very necessary, but very feasible and easy. *Fourthly*, that the doing of it would produce private trade, and perhaps, in the end, produce public. *Fifthly*, that before this can be done, it is absolutely necessary to end the controversy about cutting logwood at *Campeachy*, &c. either by saying plainly it is ours; or by disclaiming it, to the peril of the cutters. Waiving much more that might be said concerning this colony, as it stands in opposition, or conjunction to, foreign trade and interest, I shall presume to enlarge something further, and speak of it, as I think it bears to this nation, or itself.

#### HOME TRADE.

As for the thriving and lasting commodities, we can expect from the growth of it, they are only sugars, ginger, cotton, indigo, anotto; for as to that pleasant spice called pimento, and cacao, the first of them must needs be soon exhausted, since the trees from whence it is gathered are, without hopes of replanting, always cut down for it [e]. The second, I fear, is as unlikely to thrive,

[e] This was formerly the practice, till the visible scarcity of the trees taught the settlers a better economy, by gathering the berries, without felling them.

notwith-

notwithstanding the daily hopes and attempts about it; and it will not be impertinent for me to offer the reasons I have for my opinion in this particular; if it were only to prevent your Lordship from wasting money and time about it; should you be ever persuaded, like others, to make the trial. The Spanish Negroes, who came in after our conquest of the island, and of whom some yet remain free, did always forebode, that no cacao which the English planted would thrive; which hitherto has proved a true prophecy; though their reasons for it be only superstitious; for, upon examination, they impute the good success the Spaniards had in that plant, to the religious ceremonies used at the first putting it into the ground; which was always done with great processions of friars, and other religious orders, who consecrated the walk to that purpose; but, considering the Spanish policy in consecrating, their way of making cochineal, vanillas, and managing their other profitable productions in the Indies, not hitherto, with all the industry of their neighbour, discovered; together with the ill success the English have at this time in their cacao walks, as the Negroes foretold, I am of opinion, that, under the ceremonies of religion, the Spaniards hid from their slaves some necessary secret in its planting; and I am the more confirmed in it, because it is not a native plant of this island, but first brought hither from the Caraccas, a remote province at the bottom of the Gulph of Honduras, from whence perhaps they from time to time received their plants, with their private way of setting and cultivating them [c]. Besides the aforesaid commodities, which I conclude as lasting as their usefulness, there may also

[c] The practice of the English, in keeping their walks constantly clear of grass and weeds, and cutting down all trees in the neighbourhood, which were necessary to give shelter, entirely contrary to the custom of the Spaniards, has been assigned as the chief cause of their failing, even after they began to bear. I find the following remarkable entry, in the journal kept by Sir William Beeston.

“ 1664, Dec. 4. About this day appeared first the comet, which was the forerunner of the  
“ blasting of the cacao trees; and after which time, they generally failed in Jamaica, Cuba,  
“ and Hispaniola.”

Trapham says, the North side is most proper for this tree, the rains falling there most opportunely for it; but that the rains on the South side being deficient about the period of its bearing, it pines for want of due moisture. Many or most of the Spanish walks were on the South side; but as it is certain that the seasons have altered since their time, so this may be thought a further cause of the failure of such walks in these drier parts of the island.

arise in time great profit by the *bides*, to the English, as formerly did to the Spaniards; and I have known Sir Thomas Lynch reckon his savannah lands in this country (of which he possesses a great quantity) a surer interest than his plantations, though considerable, by reason of the great number of beasts that might be bred upon them.

The next thing, my lord, I shall take notice of, is

#### THE GOVERNMENT;

which his majesty has been pleased to manage hitherto by a governor, possessed, as to the executive part, of all power, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, assisted by counsellors appointed here for his advice, but in some cases restrained; these, in time of the *petty parliament* (called assemblies), supply the place of a *house of lords* as to the legislative part, but are no court of judicature, nor of appeal, either then, or at any other time; and *although their power be not of much use*, yet by the little they hold their places by (which is an immediate nomination from his majesty either in the governor's patents, or by privy seal) *they have a considerable influence over the people*, and can almost with impunity, if not well pleased, vex and disturb the governor in most things he attempts, or does; so that before your lordship takes out your warrant for your patent, nothing is more necessary to be considered, than the men appointed for your council; for being not of your own choice, nor such as can piece in one interest for the king's and your lordship's service, you will find yourself always made uneasy by them; *but, being such as you may for principles confide in*, you will find every thing besides, facile. I pray pardon me, my lord, if I presume to go further, and say that it is absolutely necessary, they should, as it is practicable, be all of one interest; so it is truly so, that they be not of some mens interest, that have governed, here already.

I shall make mention next of the *lower house*, or house of

#### ASSEMBLY;

which consists of about thirty-six members, elected by the freeholders of the several towns and precincts, and two for each; and *these*,

*these, as much as they can, strive to imitate our English house of commons; and when they are not in good humour, can be as troublesome.*

For, the revenues of the island being to be raised by their act, they are so jealous, that they *will lay no taxes, but from two years to two years*; because an *instruction* hath been hitherto given to the governors (and indeed is made a kind of fundamental policy here), *to keep a strict hand over them, that their laws, of what nature soever, shall last no longer than that time, except ratified under his majesty's great seal, and sent back.* This point is worth your lordship's serious consideration, and may admit of alteration; for, instead of keeping the people in due obedience, it is the main spur to disloyalty; some laws, in my opinion, being absolutely necessary in all communities, to be fundamental, and no ways subject to accidental dissolution or change; as to instance only in a few: first, such as require obedience to the sovereign authority; next, those that respect possession, succession, or inheritance; and lastly, such as have regard to the ordinary support of the government, and the defence of the whole, against foreign or domestic disturbance. But in all these, is Jamaica wholly defective, and consequently very subject to trouble and mutation. This might easily be remedied, if some laws were first considered of here, that might provide for all those several heads, and be afterwards remitted back from England under the great seal, to be the foundation of their government, and guides to their proceedings in their assemblies: without such way, this place may soon have the like convulsions as Virginia hath lately had; for let us consider the time that Sir Thomas Modiford governed here (being about five years); *during three of those, this place had no laws at all*, he having held but one assembly, and that at his first coming; whose laws for two years he suspended, pretending to have transmitted them for ratification; but so contrived, that my lord Clarendon, their chancellor, should be the person should take care of doing it; which being neglected, as it was not unlikely it would be, amongst his greater concerns, Sir Thomas made by that means *his will his law*, governing by that in his own breast; and

to this day; they have had no proceedings of his, during that time, either ratified here, or there.

Another thing of pernicious consequence to this place, has been a law, he at first introduced, and hath ever since continued (by those that got by it) from two years to two years; which is, "that all the laws in force in England, are so here." A thing ridiculous in itself, and extremely troublesome in its consequence; for why should a mighty volume of statutes, one half of which are either useless or vexatious to ourselves in England, be at one time introduced in Jamaica, where, in a hundred years, the people cannot be considerable enough in number to have occasion for the hundredth part of them?

But this, Sir Thomas invented, that he might encourage a parcel of pettyfoggers to set the people together by the ears, in the endless labyrinth of law; and encourage vexatious and troublesome proceedings: so that the whole wealth of the island came into the hands of attornies and solicitors; and the grievance became so great, that the assembly, in Sir Thomas Lynch's time, made a law, "that every man should plead his own cause." This did rather hurt than good; for the lawyers being suppressed, and the laws continuing as voluminous as before, the cunningest knave carried all before him; and indeed none but such as intended to cozen every body durst, or did, become administrators to the dead, or guardians to their children; so that, perceiving the wolves increase, they were forced to let go those tamer devourers the lawyers, who, like dogs much increased again.

My lord, this is worthy your lordship's consideration, that statutes adapted to the place might be culled out at home, and ratified among the fundamental instructions, as to what are necessary to be sent, under the great seal, for the perpetual governing of this country; by which means, matters will not be so intricate as they now are; nor the colony discouraged by the litigiousness of knaves; besides, my lord, if some laws of the several kinds aforesaid were perpetuated, then might a governor act for the service of his majesty, and the good of the colony, without fear; which he can never do ~~down~~ some revenue for the support of himself be made perpetual; for, to be at the mercy of the rabble every two years,

for what shall defray his expences, is a trouble not to be supported; and which forces the governor upon *little popular tricks*, to insinuate himself, and *give content here*.

My lord, I cannot chuse but think, that more is necessary to be said of this matter, though I confess what is here discoursed of by me, may seem impertinent; since it is likely your lordship has had better information concerning things, from other hands, than I am able to give; but nevertheless, since I have gone so far, I will proceed to take further notice of

#### THE GOVERNMENT WITHIN THE ISLAND;

Which, according to instructions from the king, hath a great, *if not too much, conformity* with the practice of the kingdom. Here is first a

##### COURT OF CHANCERY;

Which is held by the keeper of the great seal of the island, who is at present the governor, and suppose will still be so. The proceedings here in equity, are much in the nature of those in England; but, besides that the governor is keeper of the seal and chancellor, he hath thereby the granting of all lands, with a fee belonging to it; as also the naturalizing all strangers, as well Jews as others; having for every Jew upon his naturalization, as I remember, 120*l*.; he likewise thereby grants care of souls, administrations, guardianships of children, probate of wills, marriage licences, and other matters ecclesiastical. So much, my lord, in short, for the seal. ~~The next court is what they call~~

##### THE GRAND COURT;

Which hath a chief justice, assisted with three or four more other judges, *at the pleasure of the governor*; but of this court issue all original writs, and process, directed to the provost-marshal general, or his deputies, who supply the place of sheriffs, all over the island. The grand court hath all the jurisdiction incident to the king's bench, common pleas, and exchequer courts of England, and is held by way of grand sessions on terms, at the town of St. Jago de la Vega. The next court considerable, is that of *common-pleas*, held at the town called *the Point, (now Port Royal)* by judges certain, who can  
hold



hold the plea only under five pounds, by writs of *justitias*, issued from the chief justice of the island. There are three other courts of the like nature with this. Besides these, there are quarter sessions held in every precinct, of the same power with those in England, having *custos rotulorum*, clerk of the peace, &c. There are also, besides these common law courts, a

#### A COURT OF ADMIRALTY,

held by one or more judges, wherein my lord Vaughan placed Sir Henry Morgan, col. Byndles, &c. which court exercises all power that the admiralty can do in England.

These are all the ordinary courts here, of the island: but, upon occasions criminal, courts of oyer and terminer are by the governors, erected; where they have been pleased, some of them, *upon extraordinary design to hang a man, do sit as judges themselves*. As for the military power, it has usually been in the hands of the governors assisted by a lieutenant general (at present Sir Henry Morgan, who is such by patent), and a major general (at present vacant by the death of major general Bannister). The latter, besides the command that the title implies, has been in some sort commissary general of the musters; which is a place absolutely necessary, and of great use for the strict observing that the proportions of Whites be kept up according to the law, in which consists a great part of the security of our lives.

#### MILITIA.

The number of men in arms (all Whites above sixteen years of age that have been one month resident here being enrolled) amounts to about 5000, under colonels, &c. They muster in the nature of a militia; but upon occasion, a little more subject to martial laws. Besides, those at the *Point* do, in their turns, keep guard at the fort there, and also serve instead of constables, and watches, to keep the streets quiet at night. The officers in pay are only the governor of the fort, and one or two more. Exercise is all the duty of the soldiers; except that a squadron of the Governor's own troops (commanded at present by capt. Hender Moleworth, one of the council) mounts every Sunday, to wait on the Governor's coach to church, if at St. Jago. The commanders are generally of the council, but all  
at

at the disposal of the governor; as indeed all other places are, both military and civil, except the two general officers before mentioned, the twelve counsellors, and the patent offices. The next thing I shall observe to your lordship is,

#### THE REVENUE, AND GOVERNOR'S PERQUISITES:

The former of which arises principally by the customs, or imposition upon wines, brandy, beer, &c. and all other imported commodities, imposed by act of assembly, from two years to two years; *for longer they will not trust the governor to omit of necessity the calling them; lest such laws as are sent home for ratification, which are for their interest and safety, should become void, for want of such meetings; and so for the future, they might be forced to live under such as the king's royal pleasure should appoint them.*

This revenue is not much, but it is sufficient at present, to pay the governor 2000*l. per annum*; a lieutenant governor 600*l. per annum*: out of it; with some salaries to the commander and other officers of the fort, customs, &c. besides a little surplussage for fortifications, and other incidents; so that indeed it is, or ought to be by the establishment, at least 3500*l. per annum*. There are also his majesty's quit rents for lands granted; which if all were paid that are due, would amount to near 2000*l. per annum*. But because great quantities are set out, but not improved, I believe it scarcely yields 1000*l. per annum*. This might however be remedied by a necessary law, and escheat. This quit rent has been hitherto a perquisite of the governors, by reason that his majesty, by his original charter of settlement of the island, was pleased to free it from answering any profits to the crown for a certain number of years, seven or eight whereof are unexpired. No account is demanded by the crown, and the governors have been wise enough not to let the country call them to account for the rents of the lands, which they *as stewards to his majesty* have right to receive [*f*]. Something further is worth your considering upon this subject; of which I shall, at your lord-

[*f*] The planters undoubtedly thought it better not to call them to account, than by so doing entrap themselves, by bringing on an enquiry after their lands, for which no quit rents had been paid; and the governors connived at their short payment; and default of settling arrears, rather than lose their own perquisite, by disclosing the mysteries of their stewardship to the crown.

ship's pleasure communicate my thoughts. This is all, my lord, that I can properly call revenue, though there are other profits that accrue to the governors by divers ways.

#### OTHER PROFITS OF THE GOVERNMENT;

as by the seal of admiralty, forfeitures, fines, &c. But, not to make my account longer than the matter requires, I shall briefly declare that which, I believe, the government is *uprightly* at present at worth; not mentioning the bye, casual emoluments, such a place may bring in between 5 and 6000*l.* *per annum* from England; 2000*l.* from the country establishment; the quit rents 1000*l.*; and the profit accruing from the seal for naturalization about 1200*l.* or 1300*l.*; this is, truly, near the matter, though some will undervalue it, and reckon it much less; others again are as extravagant in their computations; calling it 10 or 12,000*l.* *per annum*. I must confess, I believe, a governor of your lordship's qualifications and qualities, would soon find it *increased* by the country's kindness; nor would any man, I humbly conceive, in the nation, find it so easy as your lordship would do; whose name, by honest Sir Henry Morgan's means, is as generally mentioned with honour and good wishes by the people, in their healths, as if they had found the good effects of your lordship's government already; and next to his majesty's and his royal highness, no healths are so often drank, especially at his and at his brother-in-law col. Byndless's tables; and these are the two men indeed, who have the true and most prevalent interest in the country; Sir Henry, from his eminent and famed exploits in these parts, together with his generous and undesigning way of conversation; col. Byndless, by the same generosity and frankness of conversation, mixed with one of the most able understandings I ever saw or met with; and were my judgement considerable to your Lordship, I should not stick to own, few clearer thinkers are to be found in the world, &c. &c.

Reflecting how tedious I have been, I am ashamed: yet I hope your Lordship will excuse it, since it proceeds from a disinterested zeal to your service; though I must confess, there is no man in the world, except the king's commands and business, shall be so embraced by

by me ; for, like every body else, that has had the honour of your lordship's acquaintance, I am one of your true admirers, and shall, upon all occasions, endeavour to express myself, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble, &c. &c.

### Heads of Lord CARLISLE'S SPEECH at the Meeting of his First Assembly.

That he would not say, the body of the laws, which he had now brought, were altogether the same that were sent home last. The council of plantations having had but one day of meeting after they came ; neither could he answer for the exactly transcribing of them, because the great seal was affixed to them two days before he came away ; and so had no time to compare them [g]. Those, he said, that were present when his commission was published, might observe some alteration in the model of the laws, the style and title being changed to "*the king and the assembly*" (instead of governor, council, and assembly) ; which the assembly had no reason to be displeased at, it being a greater honour than any plantation ever yet had.

That the laws, for the future, were to be made like as they are made in *Ireland*.

That the assembly were under great obligations to his majesty, for his particular care, and [b] *extraordinary charges*, in maintaining this island ; and therefore he hoped, it would oblige them to such suitable returns as his Majesty might be pleased with. That the king looked upon this island as his *darling plantation*, and had taken more pains to make this place happy, than any other of his colonies. That, among other acts he should send them on the morrow, the first would be, the *act of the revenue* ; and that there was a necessity of making some *dispatch* of it, because of arrears due to the forts, and officers, &c. for

[g] This was artfully insinuated ; for they had been altered very materially in several clauses ; but he chose to plead ignorance, that he might not be called upon to explain the reasons of such alterations.

[b] These *extraordinary charges* are explained, in the speech of Sir Thomas Lynch, to mean a *frigate*, which his majesty sent out for protecting the trade of the island from piratical captures ; this would be thought strange doctrine now-a-days, and a very whimsical argument for inducing a people to submit themselves, in return for such a mark of favour, to an arbitrary form of government.

which people were yet unpaid, and for the building whereof they stood obliged to Sir Henry Morgan, for his care and pains.

That his majesty was displeased with them, for passing some acts in former assemblies, without using *his name*; and that never yet any such thing was done in any of his plantations, or dominions. That, in the act of militia, last made, there was a clause left out, saving *the governor's power*; but he hoped none would be willing to derogate from *the power his majesty gave his governors in his commissions*. And that, if scruples did arise amongst them, he hoped they would repair to him, before they passed any act, *that he might satisfy them*. That he much coveted things might be so managed, as that the king might be fully satisfied with them; that the restraint, which both he and they lay under in the new laws he brought over, could not be altered; for that he had *no power* to do it, but should be glad if he had. That he always had been accounted a man of property, and was in nothing more affected than to do good to this place; *and came with an intent so to do*; and therefore would not, *by his power*, lead them into inconveniencies, or their posterity.

At the Court at Whitehall, the 23d Feb. 1682, by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, and the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council.

Whereas, by the powers given unto *Charles earl of Carlisle*, late governor in chief of the island of *Jamaica*; and, in his absence, to the commander in chief for the time then being, dated the 3d day of November, in the 32d year of his majesty's reign, his majesty hath been graciously pleased to authorize and empower the governor and council, and assembly of the said island, to constitute and ordain laws, which are to be in force until his majesty's pleasure be signified to the contrary; and forasmuch as, in pursuance of the said powers, an act has been passed, at an assembly held in the said island, on the 28th of October, 1681, intituled, "An act declaring the laws of England in "force," his majesty is pleased to signify his dissatisfaction with, and disallowance of, the same; and, *according to his majesty's pleasure thereupon expressed, the said law is hereby repealed, void, and of none effect*.

JOHN NICHOLAS.

Extracts

Extracts from the Speech of Governor Sir *Thomas Lynch*, to the Assembly, on the 5th of September, 1683, upon signifying to them the above Disallowance.

From your last session, gentlemen, we may begin to date the prosperity of the island; for it was then you gave his majesty all the testimonies of duty you were capable of, by entirely submitting all your concerns to *his sacred will*; and by your ready and chearful taking every offensive clause out of the act of his *revenue*. It was then you framed your most seasonable petition and discreet address, wherein you acknowledged that duty, and professed that gratitude, which is due to *so great a benefactor, so excellent a prince, as our king*. It was then likewise you made such prudent and humble application to *our lords* at home, that I may, without hyperbole, if I might without presumption, say, it has rendered them so favourable, that they seem concerned for us as *bired advocates, as guardian angels*: the happy consequences thereof are so obvious, I need say nothing; for who does not know how gracious the *king* is? how obliging the *lords* have been? how great our credit abroad, how perfect our union here? *all mankind agrees in it*. And see, *heaven* seems pleased, as well as *the king*; for, if the last year it appeared brass, this it seems to melt in silver showers, to rain blessings on us; for who has ever seen Port-Royal so full of ships, or known the planters to have sold their goods so dear? If we have met with some losses at sea, have we not borne them with that equanimity and silence that become merchants and reasonable men? Our trade is nevertheless increased, so that we have more seamen and vessels than any of the king's colonies in these Indies. And are not you all my witnesses, that, within fifteen months past, every man's freehold throughout this great island is almost risen in value from 50 to 200 *per cent.* [1]? So that we have actually experimented what is commonly said, "*concordia res parvæ, &c.*" Peace and agreement make little and young colonies thrive; whereas discord

[1] This happy change of affairs in the island, was intirely owing to the king's revocation of his *Irish model*; for had he not retracted from that point, most of the planters were preparing to withdraw from thence, into some other country; but their constitution being restored, and, in such a manner as gave it stability, this not only occasioned many to return, who had already left it, but attracted many others to come and settle in it; particularly merchants, who before, had thought themselves insecure, for want of certain permanent laws to protect them, and settled modes of justice.

and quarrels ruin those that are great and prosperous. I must therefore again say, and waive my part in it, your conduct has done this; what is more valuable, it has procured us a most particular mark of the king's grace and favour; this, gentlemen, appears best in his majesty's own letter: I dare not presume to tally it with any comment, for *it is all the king's; every syllable is good; every period infinitely gracious*. The gentlemen of the council have entered it in their book. Here it is for you to record, not only in your journal, but in your memories, so that you may discourse it to your children, they to your posterity, so that generations to come may know it. *Bless God for it*, and recur to it as another kind of *magna charta*! And you have, gentlemen, that clause in the charter of the governor, that continues assemblies, and declares *their laws must depend on the king's pleasure*. You must needs have heard those of Virginia, Barbadoes, and others, do so to this day; yet they are *ancient colonies*, have cost the king *nothing*; but have and do render considerable benefit both to him, and the nation. Notwithstanding this, and that wise and just princes manage their *prerogative*; yet our prince has been so *singularly gracious* to relax his, pass your laws, and here they are in your own words; by which act and *grace* his majesty is pleased, for *seven years*, to foreclose himself the use of *that power, which all divine and human rights vest him with*.

This, gentlemen, is a consideration *so extraordinary*, a grace so obliging, that you can better comprehend, than I express it. Certain it is, another kind of prince, in such a kind of juncture, when his lawful authority was libeled, would have made no such concessions, when pressed for *money*; and on report only of our losses by pirates, *been at the charge* to send us *another frigate*. These things are *extraordinary*, so is all the king has done for us; and by it, you see, that *princes are the perfect representatives God has on earth*; you can no sooner shew your submission and dependence, but you shall receive good, and have protection.

Your [k] "*Declarative Law*," gentlemen, is suppressed, as you may see by the orders, that speak the thing, but not the reason of it; for my part, I cannot comprehend why some have so violently affected it, since we are all English, and nobody has denied us any na-

[k] The law before-mentioned, declaring all the laws of England to be in force in Jamaica.

tive right; and that the king's dominions being personal, as well as local, so we may, *without offending his majesty*, claim suitable laws and protections, which, all the world must confess, we now have. Pray, if you were to take all the laws of England together, would they not, like the Roman spoils, depress and stifle the silly mortal that coveted them? What if, in disorderly times, and under a weak ministry, any thing *has been wrested from the king*, that impedes the exercise of his authority? you are too prudent, too dutiful, to expect he should transfer the margin of it to another world; and consider, does not reason tell us now, what *Aristotle* long since told the world; and *Aristotle* was born a Greek, and bred a philosopher; that is, he was a wise man, in a country of liberty, yet said, "*bonus rex præferendus optimis legibus;*" *that a good king is preferable to the best laws*; there being much more in the execution, than in the precept. The Roman history seems to confirm this; for we read in it, that the world was easy under Augustus, Titus, Trajan, and those other just and wise princes; yet their *wills were their edicts*, and their *edicts were laws* to that vast empire. I do not say this to recommend what is *arbitrary*, but by way of *advice*. We bless God for good princes, who, like wise and tender parents (as in this matter), only deny us what would hurt us. In Henry VIIIth's time, Empson and Dudley, with other rapacious officers, by putting supernumerary penal laws in execution, so vexed the people, that lord Bacon says, they turned laws and justice into wormwood and rapine. For this reason, a discreet Frenchman said of his sovereign, "that France was obliged to the king more for contracting their laws, than enlarging his dominions;" which makes me fancy, laws to young colonies are like physic to the body; wherein, not only the quantity, but the nature, and due preparation of the medicine, is considered; for that only which makes it fit, makes it operate well. But because the *best of kings must die*, and good laws do remain; and that such, if they are not strong barriers to bad governors, yet they are certain rules to good ones; you have therefore great reason to desire them, and I do comply with you in it; my sense, as well as interest, being bound up with yours in this, and every thing that may be for your service, and the common good.

I must not end, gentlemen, before I tell you, we have great obligations to our friends in England; who have ingeniously acted their parts,



parts, and particularly, Sir *Charles Lyttelton*, and Colonel *Baeflon*. By their letters and accounts, which I here put into your hands, you will see how kind, and solicitous they have been. I must therefore say, if you are desirous to express your gratitude for his *majesty's grace*, and his *ministers favour* to us, you must do it actually. I shall leave the method and consideration thereof wholly to you ; for I would not, by my advice or directions, lessen your merits, or anticipate any act of your duty ; but would have all arise from your own sense, that your honour may be the greater, and my satisfaction will not be less ; for I have no ambition, nor the least vanity ; God has been pleased to put me under such fatal circumstances ; pains and diseases have taken away my health and limbs. His providence, and the unhappy voyage of my sons and their mother !—what is there then under heaven that I have to desire ; but to see you happy, the laws settled, and the island prosperous, *which God Almighty grant ! Amen !*

This high-flown speech, which shows the political creed of these times, was worthy of a *Doctor Manwaring* ; but it got for Sir Thomas the reputation of being a very *loyal* subject.

*Satisfied the late army with his majesty's royal gift, p. 216. L. 22.]*

This was in lieu of their pay ; and being put into the hands of proper persons in England, they laid it out in an assortment of various goods, so managing, that by the time the proceeds came to be divided amongst the soldiers, the value was considerable.

The distribution was made in the following manner, in October 1662 :

To the regiment quartered in Liguanea, commanded by			
col. Samuel Barry,	—	—	2,652 5 7
To ditto at Port Royal, Morant, and Yallahs, late			
D'oyley's, now colonel Thomas Lynch's,	—	—	2,582 4 1
To ditto at Guanaboa and Precinct, late Barrington's,			
now colonel Cornelius Burrough's,	—	—	2,840 12 6
To ditto at Spanish Town, Angels, Passage Fort, Old			
Harbour, and parts adjacent, late colonel Philip			
Ward's, now colonel Thomas Ballard's,	—	—	2,671 3 0
			<hr/>
			10,746 5 2
To the troop of horse, commanded by capt. Robert			
Nelson,	—	—	1,527 15 0
			<hr/>
Total,			12,274 0 2

On

*On board the fleet were embarked about 4000 soldiers, p. 223. l. 20.]*  
 I have mentioned in the note, that this seems not to agree with some accounts. Venables (in his narrative of the expedition, wrote by way of apology for his conduct, which had been blamed) says, that the whole number of soldiers, embarked in England, was only 2,500; if we add to these the marines, or regiment of seamen under Goodson, consisting of 1200, the whole is 3700, which is not much short of the above account; but of the number, Daniel asserts, there were not many more than a thousand veteran soldiers.

*Note (a), page 223, relative to the secrecy of this expedition, &c.]*  
 General Venables gives us this narrative on the subject. "The Irish war being ended, the lord Broghill and myself were at a general council of the officers voted to attend his highness, with some address from the army, in order to the settling and planting Ireland; which business being almost perfected, it was his highness's pleasure to acquaint me, that he intended some other employment for me; I desired to know it: after some time, the design was imparted to me, and the justice of it, which I desired to be cleared to me before I accepted of it; in which particular, being satisfied, by the following dilemma, viz. That either there was peace with the Spaniards in the West Indies, or not; if peace, they had violated it. To seek reparation, was just on our part. If we had no peace, then was there nothing acted against articles with Spain."

In another place he says, in answer to an anonymous writer who had asserted, that the secrecy of the design caused honest men to desist from it. "This is not true; for some, not out of conscience, but for other engagements and employments, or the dissuasion of friends, or disgust against his highness, did decline the voyage; but not in reference to any injustice of the quarrel that I know of, who have more reason to know it than this man. But I suppose he would have all protestant designs made publick; that each private man that engages in the service might have his conscience informed, or the publick popish enemy acquainted, to prepare for resistance. As for the officers, so many as scrupled were satisfied in the justice of the quarrel; and indeed this anonymous writer gives enough to answer himself; viz. the Spaniards wrongs to our plantations, and that no articles of peace extended to the South of the Tropic. But because he was  
 " not

“not consulted with, that he might be like a ghostly father to the  
 “soldiers, to counsel them, he concludes, that all men that went,  
 “were men of no conscience, and pinned their faith upon other men’s  
 “sleeves; but all rational men know, that *to discover a design, is*  
 “*to overthrow it.*” And again: “I was acquainted so far with  
 “the design, as to know, the *lawfulness* of it; and as to the rest,  
 “though I desired to know, the same was the *state’s part*, not mine,  
 “they being accountable for it, not I; yet, *the officers that scrupled*  
 “*any thing, had their doubts answered.*”

*Seven thousand men were landed, p. 226. l. 24.]* General Venables differs from most other accounts: he says, they were in all 6551, including the marine regiment under Goodson; according to this account, they stood thus:

2500	soldiers,	} brought from England.
1200	seamen,	
1851	horse and foot, raised at Barbadoes.	
1000	foot, raised at St. Kitt’s, Montserrat, and Nevis.	

Total, 6551

*Desborow, a favourite of the protector, &c. p. 227, l. 31.]* “There  
 “were some *discontents*, and *complaints* in the fleet about the *unsound-*  
 “*ness of the provisions*; about which I being spoken to by the officers,  
 “I desired those that informed me, to acquaint general Desborow with  
 “it; and he was so incensed against me, that he publicly fell out  
 “with me, told me that I sought to hinder the design, and raised an  
 “untrue report.—That he had for twelve years seen transactions of  
 “affairs, and had an *end*.—I replied, the end he aimed at I knew not,  
 “but was certain his language would produce no good to the design,  
 “but hurt.—I afterwards enquired of a friend the reason of his passion;  
 “and was told, no information against the victualers of the navy  
 “would be heard, with any other acceptance; and that although ge-  
 “neral Desborow himself was no victualer, yet it was believed upon  
 “very strong presumptions, *he had a share in the profits of the place*,  
 “and therefore would receive no complaints against the victualers of  
 “the navy, but with reproach, and passions against the informer;  
 “his own interest, the private, and not the general cause, en-  
 “gaging him on their behalf, it being his own concern as much as  
 “theirs.” *Venables Narrative.*

*The following day their forlorn, &c. p. 229, l. 18.]* “Adjutant Jackson was charged, and the charge proved on oath, that first, “contrary to orders, and my daily practice, he marched without any “to search the woods to prevent ambushes. Secondly, he took no “pikes, or very few, and placed them in the rear, as though he feared “our horses only. Thirdly, he put other officers in the van, and “himself brought up the rear; near enough to claim honour, if it “were gotten, and in a safe place to run if there were occasion. “Fourthly, he was the first man that was seen to run, of the whole “party, and would not be stopped. Yea, for eagerness to be gone, “at the stop my regiment gave him, which caused a croud, he took “hold of them that were before, and thrust them aside, that he might “make way for himself to be foremost in the retreat.—Myself coming up, saw him upon a pillow, with a woman by him weeping, “as if for him. I, supposing him wounded, asked him how he did; “he replied, Sore bruised.—I asked the woman what her concern was “for him; she said, that her husband was slain, and that her name “was Jackson.—I told her she ought rather to look after her husband, than a stranger.” *Ven. Narr.*

*The general imputed this unhappy defeat, &c. p. 231, l. 13.]* Our “planters we found most fearful, being only bold to do mischief, “not to be commanded as soldiers, nor to be kept in any civil order; “being the most prophane, debauched persons, that we ever saw; “scorners of religion, and indeed so loose as not to be kept under discipline; and so cowardly as not to be made to fight; so that, had “we known what they would have proved, we should rather have “chosen to have gone ourselves, as we came from England, than to “have such for our assistants, who, we fear, with some others put upon “us in England, have drawn heavy afflictions upon us, dishonour “upon our nation, and religion.” *Ven. Narr.*

So the commissioners, in their letter to the governor of Barbadoes; “To say the truth, your men, and the men of St. Christopher’s, led “all the disorders, and confusion: and having conferred with the “officers this day, they all agree, that these people will never be “brought to march to the place again.” *Ven. Narr.*

*To serve as a swabber on board the hospital ship, p. 232, l. 14.]*  
 “ Justly, for the benefit of the sick and wounded, who owed their  
 “ sufferings to his misbehaviour. A sentence too gentle for so noto-  
 “ rious an offender, against whom some of the colonels made com-  
 “ plaint, for whoring and drunkenness at Barbadoes; but, not being  
 “ able to prove the fact, he escaped: though, considering his former  
 “ course of life, the presumptions were strong, he and a woman lodg-  
 “ ing in one chamber together, and not any other person with either,  
 “ *which was enough to induce a belief of his offence*, he having *two*  
 “ *wives in England*, and standing guilty of forgery; all which I de-  
 “ fired major general Worsley in joining with me to acquaint his  
 “ highness with, that he might be taken off, and not suffered to go  
 “ with me, lest he should bring a curse upon us, as I feared. But  
 “ his highness would not hear us.—After this, both perjury and for-  
 “ gery were proved against him, in the case of a colonel, or general,  
 “ at Barbadoes, ruined by him by that means. Upon the complaint,  
 “ and with the advice of the said general, I rebuked him privately;  
 “ which he took so distastefully, that, as it afterwards appeared, he  
 “ studied and endeavoured nothing but mutiny; and found fit matter  
 “ to work upon, as with an army that has neither pay nor pillage,  
 “ arms nor ammunition, nor victuals, is not difficult; but this I came  
 “ to understand afterwards.—We also proceeded against a serjeant,  
 “ who in the last skirmish threw down his arms, crying, ‘Gentlemen,  
 “ shift for yourselves, we are all lost;’ and so ran away. He was  
 “ hanged, with his fault written upon his breast.” *Ven. Narr.*

*Convinced of the general's cowardice, p. 233, l. 1.]* There was not the least foundation for such a charge. The general had given repeated and most unquestionable proofs of his personal bravery, both in England and Ireland, as well as in the campaign at St. Domingo. In England he was engaged in action, in Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, Salop, siege of Nantwich, fight at Lea-bridge, Christleton, and Montgomery, and in North Wales; at the siege of Dublin, and in Ulster.

*But he turned a deaf ear to this seasonable remonstrance, p. 234, l. 16.]* Venables says, there was nothing to be got, for there was not almost any thing when Jackson took the island formerly; and as to their money

money and moveables, if they had any, he supposes, they were carried away, upon the first notice of the approach of the English forces. *Ven. Narr.*

*When the fleet arrived at Barbadoes, &c. p. 235, l. 31.]* “The  
“first business we fell upon at Barbadoes, was the seizing of all  
“Dutch vessels, according to his highness instructions. General Penn  
“put his own nephew, one *Mr. Poole*, to take the invoices, and bills  
“of lading. *Mr. Winslow* and myself urged, that he should not act  
“but by commission from us, and that we would put a cheque upon  
“him; he told us, he had power of himself to commission; and re-  
“fused ours, and would not admit of a cheque, nor suffer us to see  
“original invoices; only one I saw, which was conveyed away im-  
“mediately; and the number of elephants teeth in it, which I remem-  
“bered exactly, were 191, was in the copy of it; but only 150 were  
“to be found. I urged the falshood of the copy, and desired to see  
“the original; at last they brought in 181, and said the other ten  
“were my mistake; but I had taken the number into my memorial,  
“and could not mistake it. However, by this one account, I had  
“reason to believe, the rest of the invoices were curtailed accordingly.  
“*Mr. Winslow* and myself considered how to remedy this, but find-  
“ing the seamen our enemies, and at last to scorn us, and adhere to  
“their general, we were constrained to be patient by force, and com-  
“mit the thing to private remembrance, till time should serve.”—“*Penn*  
“afterwards passed all these accounts himself, and gave a discharge for  
“them to his nephew.” *Ven. Nar.*

*Two thousand privates were sick, p. 241. l. 6.]* According to *Venables*, the loss at *St. Domingo* amounted to about 700; and their number, at their first muster, after their descent at *Jamaica*, was no more than 5851, including the sea regiment, but exclusive of wives and children. *Ven. Nar.*

*Embraced this opportunity of returning home, p. 241. l. 13.]* He lost his senses in a disorder he calls the calenture; and in this condition was put on board ship by the advice of his physician, and consent of the officers, who sent by him a memorial to the protector, which, among other articles, contained the following:—July 18th, 1655. “That

“ for the better ordering and regulating the commonwealth, and  
 “ encouragement of such as desire to live under a civil settled  
 “ government, his highness will be pleased to send such constitu-  
 “ tions and laws, as his highness shall think fit, for the govern-  
 “ ment of this place; or impower such in the place, as his high-  
 “ ness shall approve of, to make and constitute from time to time  
 “ such wholesome and necessary laws, as shall be most fit for the  
 “ ordering and government of things here; and to erect a court or  
 “ courts of justice and equity, for deciding of controversies between  
 “ party and party; and power granted, to allow such officer and  
 “ officers as shall be employed, such salary as shall be thought  
 “ needful.”

Signed by the field officers, on behalf of themselves  
 and the rest of the army,

Richard Fortescue,	Richard Holdipp,	Francis Barrington,
Samuel Barry,	Edward D'oyley,	John Read,
Philip Ward,	Henry Bartlett,	Michael Bland,
Henry Archbould,	William Smith,	William Jordan,
Andrew Carter,	Vin. Corbett,	Robert Smith.

A singular declaration was transmitted by them to England the  
 same year.

“ *Forasmuch* as we conceive the propagation of the gospel,  
 “ was the thing *principally aimed at* and intended in this expedi-  
 “ tion, it is humbly desired that his highness will please to take  
 “ order, that some godly, sober, and learned minister, may be sent  
 “ unto us, which may be instrumental in planting and propagating  
 “ of the gospel, and able to confute and stop the mouth of every  
 “ caviling adversary and gainsayer; and the rather, for that two  
 “ of the ministers of the army are already dead, and a third lieth  
 “ at the point of death.” *Thurl.* vol. iii. p. 661 and 681.

*Which on the part of Venables are said to have been very humiliating,*  
 p. 241. l. 32.] They were probably not less so on the part of  
 Penn. The reason expressed in the warrant for the commitment  
 of Venables, was in these words: “ Whereas general Richard  
 “ Venables, being general of the English forces sent into America,  
 “ hath

"hath without licence deserted the army committed to his charge, contrary to his trust, these are therefore, &c." He says, that whilst he lay in the Tower, though he was much importuned, by many of his friends, to own himself in fault, and throw himself upon the protector's clemency, yet he still refused; that, among others, general Penn desired him "not to yield to acknowledge any fault, nor submit; and promised *he* never would;" that he (Venables), *though, he had no reason to trust Penn's word*, told him he would not; for that he knew of no fault he had been guilty of, therefore would confess none, nor would so much prejudice his own innocency as unjustly to charge himself; "yet" (adds he) "*Penn did, and so got his liberty a week before me.*" At length, he sent the following petition to the protector, which, he says, was extorted from him, by the importunity of his friends, and especially of Mr. Eaton, "whom he had ever honoured as his chiefest friend, and who over-intreated him to do, what all other persuasions, besides menaces, could not induce him."

To his Highness the Lord Protector, &c. &c.

The humble petition of Richard Venables,

Sheweth,

That your petitioner being made sensible of his highness' displeasure, conceived against him, for his return home without his highness' licence (his distemper depriving him of ability so maturely to consider the thing, as the weight of the matter did require); he cannot in his conscience but endeavour to remove the great prejudice your highness hath contracted against him, for that inconsiderate act; but most humbly implores, that your highness, in clemency, would be pleased to commiserate his sad, weak, condition and sufferings; and to move your highness' indignation occasioned (by that indiscreet act) against him, and grant him enlargement from his sad confinement; and as in duty bound, he shall not only endeavour, but ever pray, &c.

*Richard Venables.*

In consequence of this submission, he was released on the 30th of October 1655, after being imprisoned from the 20th of September



tember preceding; and upon delivering up to the protector his American commission, and his commissions of colonel of a regiment of foot, of commander in chief of the forces in Ulster, and of the town and castle of Carrickfergus in Ireland.

*The mutineers began by breaking open and plundering some houses,* p. 281. l. 14.] The account which Sir William Beefton has given, differs in some particulars from this, but not materially. He says, that the *rump parliament* about this time being up again in England, no recruits came for the army, and they had no pay, which made the soldiers deem themselves neglected; and there was a general expectation that all would be called off, and the island deserted. This gave occasion to the regiment seated at *Guanaboa* (formerly commanded by colonel Barrington, but now by lieutenant colonel Tyson, who was set on by a discontented reformed officer called lieutenant colonel Raymund, who lived near him) to mutiny, and set up for themselves; saying, they would live no more as an army; and on the 2d of August 1660, they declared, they would have the island parceled into colonies, and make constables and civil officers. General D'oyley, not being able to appease them by fair words, drew some forces to the town; but being uncertain whether these might not fail him, if they should come to the push against their comrades, he provided a vessel to lye off the harbour in readiness for his embarkation, in case matters should grow desperate; and in the mean time employed major Hope, and other officers, to expostulate with the men, and convince them of their danger, if they should obstinately persist; on the other hand, promising them pardon, if they would deliver up their leaders, the two officers above mentioned. With much difficulty they were at length persuaded; and the next morning conducted down the two delinquents; who were instantly brought to their trial, convicted, and shot; but the mutineers would not return to their quarters, without first plundering several houses in the town. Raymund is said to have been a man of extraordinary abilities; and it is added, that his want of other employment (having a capacity equal to the greatest) made him thus overbusy, and too active in moulding the unfortunate Tyson to his purpose, whose heart was much better than his head; and who did not perceive the danger he was incurring, before he had involved himself too far.

Hickeringill

Hickeringill has given us an epitaph wrote for him, the best part of which I shall insert, pruned of a little of it's fustian, just to satisfy the curious reader, and not for any merit in the composition.

At thy nativity, the heavens have worn  
Such visage, as when *Catiline* was born.  
His vaster soul *Rome's* walls could not confine;  
Thine scorn'd an equal e'en in *Catiline*.  
His style, mellifluous *Tully's* did surpass;  
And thine too charming and persuasive was.  
His soul engrossed monopoly of arts;  
And thy *Orphean* skill could ravish hearts.  
His tow'ring genius could not bend the knee;  
And thine, was fitter for a throne than thee.  
The king of terrors could not him affright;  
And thou didst seem to court eternal night.  
Not unbewail'd was his catastrophe;  
And ev'n thine enemies lamented thee.  
Tho' tombless he; yet blazon'd are his facts;  
Thy grave; scarce known; but; well enough thine acts!

We may infer from this parallel, that his temper was bold, his spirit enterprising and intrepid; that his genius was extensive and polished; that he possessed the insinuating talent of elocution in a very eminent degree, and was accomplished in music; but with all these endowments, haughty, ambitious, and defective in his religious and moral character: in regard indeed to his eloquence, considering the weak heads he had to work upon, we should, I believe, rather retract a few grains of our panegyric, and ascribe somewhat to an artful and plausible manner of dressing out his plot; such perhaps as *Anthony* used, in his harangue to the Roman mob; which fell very short of Ciceronian oratory, though very suitable to gain his purpose with such an audience.

*Continued in the service till after the Restoration, p. 285. l. 23.]*  
He received his majesty's commission on the 29th of May 1661, appointing him governor. Sir W. Béefton accuses him of being too partial to the soldiers, of discouraging the planters, and bending his thoughts too much to carry on the privateering; but there seems

no justice in this charge; for he acknowledges, that the island was in a flourishing state, provisions in plenty, the people industrious, and ships began to frequent it; and that he had no sooner erected courts of judicature, pursuant to his instructions, than at the first session, one of the soldiers was tried for some enormity, and hanged; "to let them see," (says he) "that the law could do as much as a court-martial." This is no proof of such a partiality, but the contrary; however, if he had shewn any instance of the kind, it was natural that he should more incline to favour his fellow-sharers in adversity, hardship, and glory, than the new race of men; who flocked hither only to share in the fruits of their labour and victories; and in regard to privateering, he seems much more excusable for encouraging it at that time, when it was politically necessary, than most of his successors in the administration, who did the same, very often, when it was not so; and when their motive could *only* be, the enriching their own purses.

He charges him likewise, with interrupting the industry of the settlers, by telling them, "they would all be called off;" but as he afterwards relates, that there was a report of this sort, and that it was universally believed the island would be delivered back to the Spaniards, or sold to the French, he cannot be blamed for adopting an opinion which every one else besides himself entertained. Lord Windsor arrived the 11th of August, 1662. Colonel D'oyley received him with every mark of respect and cordiality; but his lordship (whether urged by orders from the court, or that he was jealous of the great ascendancy which D'oyley had gained over the army; or had a mind to shew a wantonness of his power, by insulting a man who so long had borne the supreme authority here); made a very unsuitable and ungenteel return. He bad him make ready to set out for England in a very few days; and although he petitioned for a competent time to settle his affairs, and prepare for the voyage; even this so reasonable a desire was refused him: his lordship seemed unwilling to enter upon any act of government till after his departure; and the brave old governor, perceiving his anxiety, used so much dispatch, that on the 10th of September he sailed away in the Westergate man of war, leaving him in peaceable possession of an office,

office, which, but for D'oyley's persevering courage and good conduct, his lordship could never have obtained. What became of this gentleman afterwards, I have not been able to learn, nor whether he left any descendants; but if he did, they may possibly have many curious anecdotes, relative to the state of affairs in this island, during the seven years of his residence in it. His coat armorial was, two bonds dexter azure, on a shield argent; which bearing may serve to shew his descent and family.

*The evacuation was accordingly performed, p. 296. l. 4.]* The 1st of September, 1765, forty families came in one ship, and on the 8th the American and Hercules arrived with about eleven hundred persons, under the care of Mr. Cranfield.

*Another body of useful planters was gained in 1699, p. 296. l. 13.]* Fifteen years antecedent to this, viz. in 1684, several persons were transported hither, who had been convicted of participating in the presbyterian plot, as it was called, or *rye-house plot*; these men were reprieved from hanging, on condition that they should serve ten years in the West-Indies; which sentence was executed with a severity, which argued a very vindictive spirit, in the then government; as appears from the following passage in governor Moleworth's speech to the assembly at that time.

“ And now gentlemen, being met together, I have one thing  
 “ more to recommend to you by *especial* directions from *his ma-*  
 “ *jesty's* command, which still is for our advantage. That you will  
 “ prepare an act for ascertaining the servitude of the rebels lately  
 “ sent from England, for *ten years*, according to the consideration  
 “ of their pardons; and take care to prevent all clandestine release-  
 “ ments, or buying out of their time; to the end, that their punish-  
 “ ments, after so great a mitigation, may yet in some measure be  
 “ answerable to their crime.”

Such mercy was cruelty, and the mitigation worse than the worst punishment which the laws of England would have inflicted on them; since, to slavery, was superadded severity, by the positive injunctions of the crown.

*Began to emigrate under Sir Thomas Modiford's government, p. 298. l. 12.]* Upon his appointment to this government, there

came, on the 1st of June, 1664, in the *Blessing*, four hundred settlers from Barbadoes: on the 4th he arrived and brought with him two hundred more.

*And enslaving their crews, p. 299. l. 34.]* Even in the year 1689, eighteen years after the Spaniards had ratified the American treaty of peace, and notwithstanding their continual complaints to our court of pretended injuries done to them by the English, we find them exercising the most unwarrantable cruelty upon every British subject they were able to lay hold of. In the first mentioned year the following instruction was given by king William to the governor of Jamaica, lord Inchiquin.

“Whereas it has been represented to us, that several of our subjects have been kept in slavery, and barbarously used at Mexico, La Vera Cruz, and other parts of the Spanish West Indies, you are upon your arrival at Jamaica, to send to the governors of those places, and to demand of them, such our subjects, as are detained there, and to use your utmost endeavours, that they be set at liberty.”

*As the condition of granting them commissions, p. 304. l. 35.]* Sir William Beeston mentions, that in 1668, during Sir Thomas Modford's government, who by his own sole authority had twice proclaimed war against the Spaniards, the king (Charles II.) sent out the Oxford frigate, which arrived in October, and brought instructions from his majesty to countenance the war, and empowering him to commission whatever persons he thought good to be partners with his majesty in the plunder, “*they finding victuals, wear and tear.*” So that his majesty entered very seriously into the privateering business, and held this reputable partnership for some years.”

“Quid non *regalia* pectora cogis,

“Auri sacra fames?”

END OF VOL. I.

## A D D E N D A.

Page.

582 The Assembly have lately (in 1773) passed a bill for making the gold coins, in circulation here, go by *weight* instead of *tale*, according to the following standard; which values the grain of gold at  $2\text{ d. } \frac{1}{4}\text{ q.} \cdot \frac{1}{10}\text{ lbs.}$ , Jamaica currency; or somewhat higher than sterling value, which is  $= 2\text{ d. } \frac{1}{4}\text{ q.} \cdot \frac{2}{10}\text{ lbs.}$

## S P A N I S H G O L D.

	Weight. dwt. gr.	Current Rate in England. Sterling.			Current Rate in Jamaica. Jamaica Curr.			Rate in Jamaica ex- ceeds that, allowed in England, <i>by</i> , Curr.	
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Four Pistole Piece, milled or hammered, }	17 8	3	9	4	5	0	0	8	0
Two Pistole,	8 16	1	14	8	2	10	0	1	6
Single Pistole,	4 8	0	17	4	1	5	0	0	9
$\frac{1}{2}$ Pistole,	2 4	0	8	8	0	12	6	0	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Italian Double Pistole,	8 12	1	13	2	2	10	0	3	7
Ditto Single,	4 6	0	16	7	1	5	0	1	$9\frac{1}{2}$

## P O R T U G A L G O L D.

Johannes,	18 12	3	12	0	5	10	0	9	$2\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{2}$ Joe,	9 6	1	16	0	2	15	0	4	$7\frac{1}{4}$
$\frac{1}{4}$	4 15	0	18	0	1	7	6	2	$3\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{8}$	2 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	9	0	0	13	9	1	$1\frac{3}{4}$
$\frac{1}{16}$	1 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	4	6	0	6	$10\frac{1}{2}$	0	$6\frac{1}{4}$
Moidore,	6 22	1	7	0	2	0	0	2	$2\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{2}$	3 11	0	13	6	1	0	0	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{4}$	1 17 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	6	9	0	10	0	0	$6\frac{1}{2}$

The rest in proportion.

This measure will certainly throw the base and light gold out of circulation; it will also be the means of introducing a large quantity in particular of the *Portugal* coin; the profits upon the importation of it, being (according to my calculation) near eight and a half *per cent.* *against* the Island, and about 3 *l. per cent.* on the *Spanish*;—this cannot fail of working a considerable effect on its commerce, after the circulation is fully supplied.

## C O R R I G E N D A.

## V O L. I.

Page.	Line.		Page.	Line.	
18	5	read 1683.	319	3	r. or the <i>Can.</i>
60	6	r. 1769.	321	30	r. <i>thought</i> even of.
73	35	r. ever <i>speeding</i> .	334	3	r. sufficient <i>tallies</i> .
74	22	r. upon <i>any</i> .	Id.	15	r. convenient <i>market</i> .
82	23	r. that <i>the People</i> of.	345	21	r. <i>names</i> .
82	32	r. <i>Profit</i> .	346	8	r. <i>Marthabrae</i> .
86	7	r. <i>included</i> .	Id.	31	r. <i>Cagway</i> .
145	14	r. at proper.	347	27	r. <i>Cobra</i> ( <i>Portuguese</i> ).
164	1	dele <i>in their share of Legislation</i> .	348	15	r. <i>Lia</i> ( <i>witbe</i> ) <i>Guana</i> (name of, &c.)
166	14	r. elected <i>as in</i> .	350		(Note ult.) r. <i>is</i> as yet.
171	7	r. render <i>it</i> .	392	10	r. <i>reduced</i> to ruin.
173	28	r. <i>salus Populi suprema lex</i> .	400	29	r. 96 <i>l</i> .
178	25	r. the first in the <i>Council</i> .	414	14	r. <i>ryals</i> .
182	30	r. any <i>other</i> <i>Servants</i> .	419	4	r. <i>Settlers</i> <i>who</i> .
186	12	r. <i>Power</i> .	453	13	r. <i>without</i> the aid.
194	20	r. <i>Governor</i> .	469	25	r. to this <i>principal</i> .
206	1	del. advice and	531	31	r. 11,000 <i>bbs</i> .
223		(Note y) r. "their Secretary was Mr. "Henry Cary, who dying, "ing, was succeeded by."	533	19	r. a great number.
			536	17	r. State <i>that</i> it was in.
232	34	r. portraits <i>they have</i> given.	547	5	r. through <i>this</i> <i>imperfection</i> .
240	19	r. <i>Caymana</i> <i>isles</i> .	596	9	r. against <i>some</i> .
311	32	r. <i>Cape Corientes</i> .	606	6	del. <i>a</i> .
313	19	r. <i>isle</i> of <i>Piner</i> .	625	10	r. 1675.
314	21	r. river <i>Realejo</i> .			















